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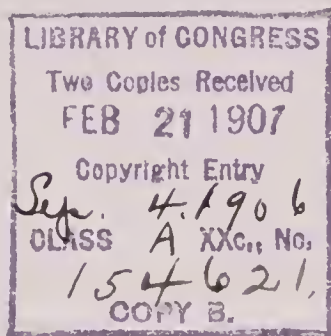
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NATIONALISM, THE GROWTH OF

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF ITALY — PATRIOTIC AIMS OF VICTOR EMANUEL AND CAVOUR — THE HEADSHIP OF PRUSSIA IN GERMANY — BISMARCK AND THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA — THE RECOGNITION OF GERMAN NATIONAL SPIRIT — NAPOLEON III. INVITES WAR OVER THE SPANISH CROWN — VICTORIES OF THE GERMAN ARMIES AND UNIFICATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE — THE TURCO-RUSSIAN WAR AND THE LIBERATION OF THE PROVINCES ON THE DANUBE — THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN IN 1878.

THE history of the second half of the nineteenth century is dominated by the new national spirit which was first aroused to life in the uprising against Napoleon. Two great events mark the history of this epoch,—the liberation of Italy from her petty tyrants and from Austrian bayonets, and the unification of the German Empire, which events brought about the fall of France from the commanding position which she had enjoyed under Louis XIV. and the Great Napoleon, and which she had not wholly lost until Louis Bonaparte, dubbed Napoleon III., surrendered his person and his army to the king of Prussia, at Sedan, on September 2, 1870.

The liberation of Italy, and the union of her small kingdoms and principalities into a vigorous nation, did not come about without much travail. Absolutism reigned supreme on the Peninsula after the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of Austrian authority, or influence, with the petty Italian princes. The death of the Pope, Pius VIII. (November 30, 1830), came at an opportune moment for an uprising in the Papal States and in other parts of Italy, when Europe was going through the ferment of 1830. The insurgents looked for the moment to France, where the revolution of July had been successful, to aid them in throwing off the yoke of absolutism. But "the Citizen King," Louis Philippe, had no stomach for fighting. The Austrian troops soon stamped out the insurrection in Rome, and France contented herself with joining the other powers in suggesting the reform of abuses under the Papal Government, and the evacuation of the Papal States by the Austrian troops.

Italian patriots waited for the gathering clouds of the revolutionary spirit of 1848 before making another serious effort to secure the unity and freedom of Italy. Neither the Pope nor the Austrian Government carried out any of the reforms promised in 1831, and conditions gradually ripened for a fresh outbreak. Again a change

in the Papacy came at a critical moment. Gregory XVI. died, and the new Pope, Pius IX., who was elected (June 17, 1846) over the head of the Austrian candidate, was looked upon with high hopes by Italian reformers. He issued a general amnesty for political offenses, threw open the prison doors, and permitted the enthusiastic people to celebrate festivals in honor of the approaching restoration of Roman liberty. When Austria moved a garrison into Ferrara, within the Papal States (June 17, 1847), the Pope protested against the interference of his nominal protectors. The English and French fleets appeared at Naples, and Charles Albert, the king of Sardinia, announced his intention of taking the field against Austria if war began. A compromise was arranged by the powers, which averted for a brief time a general uprising; but a revolution broke out at Palermo (Jan. 13, 1848) which spread throughout Sicily. King Ferdinand II., in order to save the throne of Naples, was compelled, in imitation of the policy of his predecessor, to proclaim a liberal constitution. Constitutions were granted in Piedmont, and Tuscany, and the Austrian Government woke tardily to the discovery that war would be required to restore its authority in Italy.

Sardinia under her king, Charles Albert, took the lead of the constitutional movement for Italian unity. Lombardy, which adjoined Sardinia, expelled the Austrian troops in March, 1848, while in Venice, the Italian regiments joined the national cause, and the popular leader, Daniel Manin, proclaimed the Republic of St. Mark. But the popular cause soon encountered obstacles. The Italians under Charles Albert were not successful in attempting to drive the Austrians from Verona; while Ferdinand succeeded in crushing the popular movement and dissolving the new constitutional Assembly in Naples. Italy was not yet ready for independence. Charles Albert was defeated in a pitched battle at Custozza (July 25, 1848), and he abandoned Milan in so humiliating a manner as to subject himself for the moment to the suspicion of treachery. The victorious Austrian commander, Radetzky, was halted for a time by fear of French and British intervention, but after an armistice of several months, he delivered another crushing defeat to the Sardinians at Novara (March 23, 1849).

The abdication of Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, was the beginning of a new era in the history of Italy. Charles Albert had endeavored, in his irresolute way, to realize the dream of Italian unity, but he now saw his failure and gave up the crown to his son Victor Emmanuel. The single purpose of securing Italian unity and of throwing off the Austrian yoke, animated the new king and gathered around him all those who were willing to seek this object by constitutional and diplomatic methods rather than by ill-considered popular uprisings. For the moment the situation was dark. Victor Emmanuel

was tempted with promises of territory and prestige for Sardinia if he would suppress the liberal constitution. His firm refusal to do so led to the occupation of Sardinia by Austrian troops, and the exaction of a heavy indemnity; but his position did more to strengthen the House of Savoy in the hearts of Italians than if the government of all Italy had been handed over to him by the Austrian absolutists. In the other provinces, the policy of Austria was carried out. An Austrian garrison supported the grand duke of Tuscany, and Austrian troops were on the point of occupying Rome. They were anticipated by France, but the French met a stubborn resistance from the Roman people and were not able to enter Rome (July 3, 1849) until more than two months after their landing on the Italian coast. Venice was compelled to surrender to the Austrians on August 25, and Sicily was reconquered by Ferdinand of Naples, who worked such violence at Messina that he was stopped by the British and French fleets.

Victor Emmanuel was fortunate in obtaining a prime minister, in 1852, who possessed the same singleness of purpose as himself, and much greater skill in diplomacy. Count Cavour brought Sardinia into the field of European diplomacy for the purpose of liberating Italy. He joined France and Great Britain in sending Sardinian troops to Sebastopol in the Crimean War of 1853,—not because he cared much for the complications in the East, but because he desired to make Sardinia a great power and to secure allies in the West when the time came to strike again against Austria. His plans were realized. Sardinia came to be so obviously the center upon which the hopes of all Italians were fixed that Austria in 1856 sought to recover ground by entering upon a liberal policy. Maximilian, with his charming young bride, was sent to win the affection of the Italians, sequestrated estates were restored to their owners, and the Austrian emperor himself went to Milan to proclaim a general amnesty. These reforms, as in the case of those offered by Spain to Cuba in 1895, and 1897, came too late to stay the progress of events. This Sardinian premier took his seat at the conference of the powers in Paris, in 1856, and the Sardinian policy was openly hostile to Austrian tyranny in Italy. When Cavour at last met Napoleon III. at Plombières, in the famous conference of July, 1858, the time had come to realize the results of six years of effort. An agreement was made that Austria should be expelled from Venetia as well as from Lombardy, that Victor Emmanuel was to become the sovereign of northern Italy, including a part of the Papal territory, and that Tuscany was to be erected into a constitutional kingdom in central Italy. France was to lend her support in the field against Austria and was to receive Savoy, and possibly Nice, as her compensation.

Cavour was almost driven to despair at the last moment by the hesitation of Napoleon. A proposal from London, that the powers should agree to a general disarmament, was followed by a dispatch from the French emperor desiring Cavour to consent to the agreement. Nothing but the rashness of Austria gave the Italians an opportunity to fight for their liberation. Austria submitted an ultimatum (April 23, 1859) that Sardinia should separately disarm within three days. Cavour had only to point to his reluctant acceptance of Napoleon's advice of a general disarmament to put Austria in the wrong and to force France to carry out her pledge to fight for Italian freedom. Austrian troops crossed the Ticino on April 29, 1859, and France immediately declared war against Austria. The Austrians were better prepared, and in better strategic positions, than were their opponents; but they hesitated and maneuvered, until the French reached Italy in force and delivered the crushing defeats which became famous as the battles of Magenta (June 4, 1859) and Solferino (June 24). The liberation of northern Italy was achieved if Napoleon had not yielded to the plea of Francis Joseph, and surrendered a large share of the fruits of victory. It was stipulated that Venetia should remain under Austrian rule, and that Tuscany, and Modena, should continue under their old rulers; but Lombardy was to become a part of the kingdom of Sardinia. The Italian federation which the two emperors set up, including Tuscany, Venetia, and the Papal States, was repudiated by Victor Emmanuel, who declared that he would enter no league of which Austria governed any part.

Cavour was terribly broken up by what the Italians considered the treachery of the French emperor; but the Peace of Zurich (November 10, 1859), by which France made peace with Austria, did not end the movement toward Italian unity. Austria admitted in the spring of 1860 that she would not employ force for the restoration of the sovereigns of Tuscany, and Modena. Tuscany promptly voted for annexation to Sardinia, and the kingdom of Italy extended over all the northern half of the Peninsula except Venetia. Then came the outbreak of revolution in the south under Garibaldi, who at first proclaimed himself dictator of Sicily and Naples, in the name of Victor Emmanuel, but was soon compelled to submit to the union of Naples with Sardinia. In the spring of 1861, Italy, with the exception of Rome, and Venice, was thus united under Victor Emmanuel. Venice fell to the new kingdom in the short and decisive campaign of 1866, in which Prussia brought Austria to her knees. It was necessary to wait until 1870, for the collapse of the French Empire, before the Italian troops entered Rome, brought to an end the temporal power of the Pope, and established in the ancient capital of the world the capital of united Italy.

The unity of Germany was achieved with less bloodshed at home than the liberation of Italy, but was not brought about without political conflicts and much delay. Prussia fell under the influence of Austrian absolutism after the downfall of Napoleon. The union of the courts of Austria and Prussia threatened such a predominance for these two large states apparently united upon the policy of absolutism, that the minor courts were driven to encourage separatist ideas as far as possible, as a counterpoise to the policies of the great powers. The first fruitful step toward the union of North Germany was taken when Prussia entered upon the policy of customs unions. Political objects were carefully disavowed, but a series of commercial treaties between 1828 and 1836 laid the foundations for the *Zollverein*, or German Customs Union, which gradually removed the vexatious charges upon commerce at the boundaries of each petty state, and permitted the free development of trade and manufactures within the union. Prussia not only made her absolutism at home more tolerable by this contribution to the wealth and development of Germany, but drew around her the sympathy and support of all the German states, by the commercial benefits which each found in union with the others.

The revolutionary troubles of 1848 revived among the liberals the hopes for a united Germany, and led King Frederick William IV. to seize upon this sentiment as a means of regaining the popularity which he had lost by his hesitation in adopting a liberal policy at home. He issued a proclamation (March 21, 1848), declaring that he had placed himself at the head of the German nation, for protection from attack from without and for the spread of liberal ideas at home. When the plans were carried forward, however, for a German national assembly, and the crown of the German Empire was offered to the Prussian king (March 28, 1849), Frederick William put the crown away, upon the ground that it should be offered by the princes of Germany and not by the direct representatives of the people. The constitution which had been drawn up, giving a liberal government to the Empire, was thus put aside with the crown, and the national assembly, upon which high hopes had rested, came to an end without material results. The sessions, originally held at Frankfort, were adjourned to Stuttgart, where, after a vain effort to arouse public sentiment in favor of a liberal government, the remnants of the delegates were dispersed by the troops of the king of Württemberg (June 18, 1849).

Austria was jealous from the first, both of the project of popular government and of the formation of a union which might weaken her power over Southern Germany. She insisted that the old federal constitution was still in force, and called a Diet at Frankfort (Sep-

tember, 1850). An issue was made with Prussia which forced the Prussian king to the humiliation of accepting the whole program of Schwarzenberg, the minister of Austria, and the abandonment of the leadership of Germany. The issue was raised as to the right of Prussia to send troops into Hesse-Cassel for the protection of the people in their constitutional rights. Austria secured an appeal by the Elector of Hesse-Cassel to the Diet, and was authorized to intervene in his behalf. Prussia at first disputed the authority of the Diet and claimed to act as the representative of the German states. The matter was referred to the Czar Nicholas, of Russia, who decided in favor of all the demands of Austria. Austria seemed upon the point of attaining the headship of all Germany, thanks to the reactionary and cringing incompetence of the Prussian king, until she was brought to a halt by the western powers, who could not look with indifference upon the creation of a nation of 70,000,000 of people in the heart of Europe. The humiliation of Prussia and North Germany was completed when the national fleet which had been gathered to enforce German interests against Denmark was sold at auction in the summer of 1852, because the national German union no longer existed.

It remained for the genius and iron will of a single man to give direction to the aspirations of the German people for federal union. That man, in early life a reactionist of the most extreme type, who had openly sneered at the reformatory movements of 1848, seemed the least fitted of German public men for the task which was to be carried out. But Herr von Bismarck fixed his eye resolutely upon the making of Prussia a great state; he was willing to override parliaments and minor states, and to take the chances of war with Europe in order to accomplish his ends. The enthusiastic military genius of William, while regent from 1858 to 1861 (king, January, 1861), did much to put the Prussian army upon the basis of the highest fighting efficiency. The term of service of the younger conscripts was extended, and the king, Bismarck, and Roon, the minister of war, persisted, in the face of violent protests by the lower chamber of the Prussian assembly, in the necessary expenditures for a large and well-drilled force.

Bismarck and Roon soon found an opportunity for testing the efficiency of their military machine in extending the territory and the prestige of Prussia. A dispute, dating back some twenty years, regarding the rights of the king of Denmark over the semi-German Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, afforded an opportunity for intervention. Through the skill of Bismarck, Austria was used as a cat's-paw for carrying out the purposes of Prussia. She was drawn into a combination which alienated from her the sympathy of the smaller

states and left the fruits of success to be garnered by her northern rival. Austrian and Prussian troops entered Schleswig (February 1, 1864), Denmark was overrun, and after some fruitless negotiations, Austria was assigned the administration of Holstein, and Prussia that of Schleswig, by the convention of Gastein (August 14, 1865).

Bismarck had already intimated to the Austrian ambassador at Berlin that if Austria did not transfer her political center to Pesth, and leave free scope in Germany to Prussia, she would find Prussia on the side of her enemies in the next war in which she might be engaged. Bismarck proposed to oust Austria from North Germany, but it was necessary to bide his time and insure the support or neutrality of other powers. Italy, in her desire to liberate Venetia, was the natural ally of Prussia against Austria, but Italy could not afford to fight without the consent of Napoleon III. This was obtained by Bismarck in a conference with the French emperor at Biarritz, at which Napoleon's dream of extending the French frontier to the Rhine apparently dazzled his hopes to the point of allowing him to accept ambiguous hints for definite promises. The ground was thus cleared for a treaty with Italy (April 8, 1866), by which she agreed to fight Austria, if within three months Prussia took up arms for the reform of the federal system of Germany. The pretext was soon found in the encouragement of revolutionary demonstrations by Austria, in Holstein, and in her attempt to refer the Schleswig-Holstein question to the Federal Diet. When Austria obtained from the Diet the mobilization of the Federal armies on her behalf, Prussia declared the existing union at an end, and war began (June 12, 1866).

Liberal opinion in Germany did not cordially support the war at first, because the causes were considered trivial, and there was little belief in the sincerity of Count Bismarck. The army, however, was in splendid fighting condition and promptly overran Saxony, which was acting with Austria. General Moltke, the chief of staff, directed the operations of three Prussian armies by telegraph from Berlin, and converged their forces with wonderful precision around the Austrians until the time was at hand for the final move. The Austrian commander saw that the campaign was lost, but was compelled to face the combined Prussian armies at Königgrätz near Sadowa (July 3, 1866). The Austrians were badly beaten and succeeded in escaping only with the loss of 18,000 killed and wounded, and 24,000 prisoners. The Austrians had been winning some successes against the Italians, but their effect was not sufficient to neutralize the disasters in the North. The Prussians, while dallying with the proffered mediation of Napoleon III., pushed on toward Vienna. An armistice was arranged and by the Peace of Prague (August 23, 1866), Austria

was compelled to accept Bismarck's proposition, that she withdraw completely from German affairs, that North Germany and Saxony be brought into a confederation under Prussian leadership, and that the south German states should have the right of entering into a national bond with the northern league. The southern states, although at war with Prussia, were granted easy terms of peace, and were drawn permanently toward the Northern Confederation when Bismarck disclosed to them the proposals of Napoleon III. for the annexation of parts of Southern Germany to France. These disclosures aroused the national spirit of the people of South Germany and were sufficient to enable Bismarck to obtain secret treaties, promising to place the forces of the southern states at the command of Prussia in case of war.

It remained for the folly of the French Emperor, now weakened in body and in intellectual power, to afford the occasion for cementing in blood the union of modern Germany. Already shorn of his prestige by the ill-fated expedition to Mexico and the humiliating withdrawal of the French troops, at the mandate of the United States, Napoleon seemed to be seeking an opportunity to win glory abroad in order to avert revolution at home. He had been misled, perhaps through his own fault, in his negotiations with Bismarck for dividing Belgium and the Rhine countries and had come away empty-handed from his recent diplomatic encounters. He sought at first to annex Luxemburg, but the outburst of German national feeling defeated the treaty which the king of Holland was willing to make. All that he was finally able to accomplish was a conference of European powers, which declared Luxemburg neutral territory, and which secured the withdrawal of the Prussian garrison. France and Prussia began to drift toward war, in spite of the secret misgivings of the French Emperor,—France driven forward by exasperation against the growing power of Prussia, and the Prussians eager to test again the efficiency of their splendid army in extending the prestige of their country.

The occasion for war came in a manner which put France distinctly in the wrong in the court of public opinion. The throne of Spain had become vacant by the expulsion of Queen Isabella. General Prim, the leader of the revolution, offered the crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. This house was distantly connected with the reigning family of Prussia, and the father of Prince Leopold had been prime minister of Prussia in 1859. France was prompt to resent the extension of German influence over Spain. A storm of indignation broke out in Paris when it became known that Leopold had consented to accept the crown if the Spanish Cortes should confirm his election (July 3, 1870). Instructions were at once sent to Benedetti, French minister at Berlin, to demand a pledge

from the king of Prussia that Leopold should not be permitted to accept. The menace of war seemed to be removed for a moment when Leopold announced his withdrawal from the candidacy. But the Duke of Gramont, the French minister of foreign affairs, seemed bent upon a breach. He instructed Benedetti to demand from the king of Prussia a guarantee against the renewal of the candidacy of Leopold. The king refused to see the French ambassador, the latter quitted Ems, where he had sought the interview, and the French cabinet, late in the evening of July 14, decided upon war with Prussia. The Liberals in the French chambers held power by a precarious tenure and did not dare oppose what seemed to be the will of the nation.

The war that followed fully justified the confidence of Bismarck and Moltke in the efficiency of the Prussian army and in the care with which the plans had been laid, distances measured, and resistance anticipated. But the breakdown of the French army was a surprise to the world. The moral dry-rot, which had permeated the governing classes of France, seemed to have taken the heart out of the army as completely as fraudulent contracts and incompetent officers had impaired its fighting force. The French troops, directed by Napoleon himself, were scattered along the frontier without any visible plan of action or unity of purpose. They encountered their first defeat at Saarbrücken (August 2, 1870). Two days later, the German crown prince, Frederick Charles, crossed the Alsatian frontier and crushed the French at Weissenburg. The conflict had begun with a strange mockery of the cries of "On to Berlin," with which the Parisian populace three weeks before had greeted the declaration of war. The Germans were on the straight road to Paris, where revolution was already breaking out in the early days of August. Within less than a month they forced the French back to the Meuse, and cooped them up in an arc of fire at Sedan. Napoleon was compelled to display the white flag and to treat with King William for the surrender of the whole French army (December 2, 1870).

After the yoke of the Napoleonic dynasty was thrown off, the French nation was partially aroused. Paris was defended for many months, but the growing deficiency in the food supply compelled capitulation (January 28, 1871) and the Prussian flag waved over the forts of the French capital. While the war was still going on, Bismarck had availed himself of the enthusiasm aroused throughout Germany to bind closer the bonds of a united nation. In September, negotiations were opened with each of the south German states for entry into the Northern Confederation. The king of Bavaria was forced by the course of events, and by the maneuvers of Bismarck, to address a letter to his fellow-sovereigns, proposing that the king of Prussia

should assume the title of German Emperor. The project was accepted by the other small states, and on January 18, 1871, King William assumed the title of German Emperor; the ceremony taking place in the midst of his officers, in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles, whose walls had reflected the splendors of Louis XIV. and his successors, and whose great paintings portrayed so many scenes which had shed luster on the glories of France. The German Empire had become a dominant factor on the European continent, and France, struggling in the throes of revolution at home and disaster abroad, was almost erased from the list of first-class powers.

The victory of Germany over France was not followed by any further effort to extend German power at the price of blood. Prussia had been generous with Austria after Sadowa, in refraining from annexing any territory distinctly Austrian. Bismarck, after the war with France, held out the olive branch to Austria, upon the one condition that the latter should frankly recognize the supremacy of Prussia in the German Empire, and should cease interference in the affairs of Germany. Russia had been placed under obligations to Germany in matters growing out of the Crimean War and had refrained from interfering in later conflicts. Bismarck now got together the three emperors with their ministers at Berlin. Conferences were held in the summer of 1872, whose results were not embodied in formal treaties of alliance, but which led to an understanding that was properly known as the "League of the Three Emperors." The spirit of revenge which was cherished in France because of the disasters of 1870, was thus held at bay by the knowledge that she would have to fight the three empires if she took up the sword.

The next conference at Berlin, in 1878, was occasioned by problems arising in a different quarter of the world, but was again an outgrowth of the spirit of nationality which was making over the map of Europe. The European provinces of Turkey, harassed by the worst possible forms of misgovernment and oppression, had been seeking for many years to follow the glorious example of Greece in throwing off the Turkish yoke. Weak in themselves against the fanatical fighting power of the Turkish army, they were still further discouraged by the effort of the great powers to maintain an equilibrium which should prevent Russia from extending her own power by aiding them. Great Britain, in the face of the generous instincts of the masses of her people, was compelled by her distrust of Russian purposes to support the integrity of Turkey against her Christian subjects, in the belief that even governments independent in name would fall under the dominating influence of the great power of the North. The Crimean War of 1853-55 grew out of the efforts of Great Britain and

France to resist the interference of Russia in European Turkey, and its results left eastern affairs in an unsatisfactory condition. Moldavia and Wallachia, kept apart by the policy of the powers in the treaty of Paris which followed the war, showed their determination to form a united kingdom of Roumania by electing the same prince for their dual government. They were nominally subject to the sultan, but only to the extent of a fixed annual tribute.

The arrangements of 1858 did not long survive. The Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina rose in revolt in 1861; the tributary state of Serbia expelled its Turkish garrisons with little resistance in 1863, and Crete rose in rebellion. The Turkish Government, in the meantime, made no effort to carry out the reforms promised in 1858, and matters went from bad to worse in all the Christian provinces of Turkey. A revolt broke out in Herzegovina in the summer of 1875, and while the powers were dickering with the Turkish Government about reforms, the world was appalled by the atrocities committed by the Turkish irregular troops in putting down insurrection in Bulgaria. Serbia and Montenegro declared war upon Turkey (July 2, 1876) and Russia prepared to go to the aid of the Turkish Christians. A memorandum adopted at Berlin and known as the Andrassy Note, proposing religious liberty and local self-government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was presented to the Turkish Government, January 31, 1876, but failed to receive the approval of Great Britain. The three emperors got together at Reichstadt (July 8) and prepared a treaty which would have divided the Christian provinces between Russia and Austria. The Servians, in the meantime, suffered serious defeats and Russia stepped firmly to the front as their protector. There was further consultation among the powers, which resulted in united demands for reforms, and for the execution of such reforms under the superintendence of an international commission, as a safeguard against Turkish bad faith. The Turkish Government, although warned by Great Britain against obstinacy, rejected all these propositions, and Russia declared war (April 24, 1877).

The Russian army crossed the River Pruth, forming the boundary of Moldavia, and soon reached the Danube (June 27). For a time the Russian advance was easy and uninterrupted, but before the heights of Plevna, the Russian armies were brought to a halt which taught them that if the capacity for civil government did not exist among the Turks, their capacity for hard fighting remained unimpaired from the time of the great invasions. The first Russian attack was repulsed (July 20), and a second assault (July 30) was beaten back, leaving a fifth of the Russian force disabled on the field. The Russians hurriedly brought up additional forces and made a new attack in force,

under the eye of the czar (September 11-12). Skobeleff, one of the most intrepid of the Russian generals, carried a single outwork, but at every other point the Russians were beaten back with a courage and resolution which attracted the reluctant admiration of the civilized world. Todleben, the aged defender of Sebastopol twenty years before, was drawn from his retirement to take charge of Russian operations and finally compelled the Turkish commander to surrender, not by force of arms, but by the slow process of starvation (December 10, 1877). The remainder of the Russian progress was comparatively unopposed. The Russian army reached Adrianople, January 20, 1878, and the Turks eagerly consented to an armistice (January 31, 1878).

The game of international politics had now to be played before a settlement was reached of the affairs of the Christian provinces. Russia concluded peace with Turkey at San Stefano (March 3, 1878), on terms most favorable to the Christian populations. Great Britain insisted that the treaty affected the balance of power in Europe and should be submitted to an international conference. A secret treaty in the meantime assured the Turkish sultan of the support of British arms in case of further aggression by Russia upon his Asiatic territory. Great Britain obtained Cyprus as the price of these assurances. Russia did not dispute the right of the powers to be consulted on the final adjustments growing out of the war. An international Congress was held at Berlin, which materially cut down the territorial limits of the proposed tributary state of Bulgaria in order to create a defensible Turkish frontier at the Balkans. The severed province of eastern Roumelia was never occupied, however, by Turkish troops, and when the people declared, in 1885, for union with Bulgaria, none of the powers intervened to prevent. The independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro was acknowledged by the Turkish Government, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the administration of Austria. A part of the Greek provinces of Thessaly and Epirus was annexed to Greece. Two important points achieved by Great Britain were the cutting down of the limits of Bulgaria, which, as fixed by the treaty of San Stefano, cut into the heart of what was left of European Turkey, and the maintenance of Batoum as a free port. The latter harbor, transferred from Turkey to Russia, was important as the gateway of the trade of the Orient, and Great Britain was particularly desirous that it should not be closed by the Russian tariff. The enduring result of the war, however, from the standpoint of European national life was the creation of three independent kingdoms,—Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria,—each governed under constitutional forms by its own people and having a separate system of diplomacy, finance, and internal administration.

EMPIRE, THE STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL

CAUSES OF THE SEARCH FOR NEW MARKETS—ENGLAND CEASES TO GROW HER OWN FOOD SUPPLY—THE EXPANSION OF THE BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE—THE CONQUEST OF INDIA—GREAT BRITAIN AS THE TRUSTEE OF CIVILIZATION IN EGYPT—THE PARTITION OF AFRICA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ASIA—THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA IN SIBERIA—THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY—THE RISE OF JAPAN—THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINES—POLICY OF "THE OPEN DOOR"—THE POWERS IN CHINA AND THE MARCH TO PEKIN.

THE civilized world stands at the beginning of the twentieth century upon the threshold of a struggle for new markets and for opportunities for investment in the undeveloped countries, which promises to give color to the entire political and economic life of the century. The movement to acquire territory beyond the national boundaries is not a novel one in the history of the world, and it has on previous occasions, as at present, grown out of the search for trade in new markets; but the struggle upon which the civilized nations have recently entered has some peculiar characteristics, which have not belonged to such struggles in the past. The essential difference between the present movement and previous colonial enterprises is the severity of the industrial competition, which has resulted from the use of machinery. On the one hand, every manufacturing nation has become capable of producing a vastly greater quantity of exchangeable goods than ever before, while on the other hand these goods can be laid down in the most distant markets, at a trifling cost, by the aid of the improved means of transportation due to the development of steam power.

The foreign trade of previous ages was largely a trade in a few luxuries that did not affect vitally the consuming power and industrial life of the nation. The raw materials of manufacturing industries were usually found within the country, and the food supply which sustained the laborers was not far removed from the manufacturing centers. The foreign commerce of to-day is essentially different. The whole economic and industrial life of manufacturing nations is linked with their ability to buy raw materials at low prices in foreign markets, to transport them, as economically as do their rivals, to the centers of manufacture, to transform them at the lowest cost into finished goods, and to sell in foreign markets upon terms as

favorable as those of the most skillful and efficient of their competitors. How keenly a nation suffered from economic changes abroad even forty years ago, before the system of modern machine production had interwoven, to anything like the present degree, the interests of each country with those of all others, was shown by the cotton famine in Lancashire, which followed the cutting off of the American cotton supply. To-day, a war in any quarter of the globe is likely to affect all nations by influencing the prices or the supply of raw materials or by reducing the market for finished goods. This sensitiveness of the world market is further augmented by the organization of the money market and the credit system, which causes any event affecting the world's producing or purchasing power, even by the threat of disturbance, to react upon the demand and supply of goods, and hence upon their prices and upon the demand for money and capital. It is of vital importance, therefore, for the greater manufacturing nations to make sure of their command over all the instruments of production, upon terms as favorable as those secured by any of their competitors, and to have access to sufficient markets abroad, as well as at home, to absorb the enormous output resulting from machine production.

Great Britain was the first nation to enter seriously the field of modern industrial colonization. Some of her earlier conquests, like those of Spain and Portugal, were of a less distinct economic character, but grew out of her position as the mistress of the seas and from the daring and skill of her navigators. When the Napoleonic wars were at an end, England, by means of the security which she had enjoyed for more than twenty years, while every part of Europe was threatened by the tramp of Napoleon's armies, found herself the chief manufacturing nation of the world. It soon became evident that the high duties levied upon the raw materials of industry were an injury to her manufactures, and that they might enable competitors to grow up, who would drive her to the wall. Hence came the proposition of Huskisson, one of the most foresighted statesmen of the Tory government, that the raw materials of industry should enter England free of duty. His plans were gradually carried out. Raw silk was made free of duty, the duties on wool were reduced, and those on the metals were cut in two in 1824, and 1825. The process was already going on which was to convert England from an agricultural into a manufacturing nation and which would compel her to seek beyond her own soil the food supply for her thousands of factory laborers. This movement culminated in the abolition of the corn laws, which had imposed such excessive charges upon imported food, and which did so much to add to the misery of Ireland during the famine

years, from 1845 to 1847. The landed aristocracy fought in vain to retain the duties, maintaining the proposition that England should be kept self-sufficing in her food-supply. The manufacturing interest, supported by the outbreak of feeling against duties on food in the face of starvation, was strong enough to over-ride the landlords. The corn laws were repealed May 16, 1846, and manufacturing England became paramount to the agricultural England of the centuries gone by.

The foundations of the British Empire in India had been laid before the necessity for markets and for fields of investment had dawned, with its modern meaning, upon English statesmen. Spain and Portugal were the first to break in upon the seclusion of Asia and the East Indies. Magellan, while in the service of Spain, was killed in 1519 in a battle with the natives at Zebu, one of the Philippines. The permanent conquest of the Philippines for Spain was made by the famous Admiral Legaspi, in the middle of the sixteenth century. He founded Manila in 1751, and surrounded it by a wall, after the model of a Spanish city. The decline of the Spanish power prevented further progress in the Orient, but several important islands, including Java and Sumatra, were occupied at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the Dutch East India Company, and important factories were erected not only on these islands, but on the shores of India, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. France, also, was an adventurer in Eastern waters and still holds several strong posts, like Pondicherri on the coast of British India.

The romantic story of the English conquest of India,—how Clive won his victory at Plassey (1757), how kingdom after kingdom was annexed by British governors, and how Arthur Wellesley, afterward Duke of Wellington, won his spurs in putting down rebellion at Assaye (September 23, 1803),—belongs rather to the earlier history of the colonization than to its later aspects. But in India were laid the foundations of an Empire which has proved one of the strongest arms of Great Britain and which has afforded an opportunity not only for trade, but for the development of the finest qualities of English manhood. All through the nineteenth century, progress was made in the extension of British power in India. From 1818 to 1838 there was a long reign of quiet, during which native princes learned to appreciate the firmness of British rule, and the conquered and tributary provinces were organized upon a permanent basis. The only war of importance during this period was that with the king of Burma (1824-26), which resulted in adding the entire province of Assam, at the foot of the Himalayas, to the territory under British Government. Then came the British invasion of Afghanistan, with the horrible massacre of

Kabul, where 4,500 British, and Indian, troops were cut down by the Afghans, after a promise that they should be given free exit from the country (1842). Summary vengeance was inflicted upon Kabul and the Afghan people; but this was only the beginning of a number of serious uprisings which tested the capacity of successive governors-general to maintain British authority. Nearly every conflict, however, resulted in a new extension of British power. After the Sikh army laid down its arms, and the province of the Punjab (adjoining Afghanistan) was annexed (March, 1849), the British administration did so much to quiet the country that when the Sepoy mutiny broke out, the Sikhs were enlisted by thousands in putting down the rebellion.

The Sepoy mutiny began in earnest with the revolt of the native brigade at Meerut, near Delhi, on May 7, 1857. The mutineers shot many of their officers, seized the ancient Indian capital, murdered scores of Europeans, and saluted the aged Mogul prince as emperor of India. The European troops in India were fewer than usual, because of serious calls for men in China, but the government acted with a promptness appropriate to the emergency, and soon taught the mutineers that British power could not be safely resisted. Sir John Lawrence, who was cut off in the North, disarmed the Sepoys in the Punjab district, marched against Delhi, and with a force far inferior in numbers to that of its defenders, stormed the city in six days of desperate fighting (September 14-20, 1857). A small force which had been promised free passage by river to Calcutta, was attacked at Cawnpore, the men were murdered, and their bodies, hacked to pieces, were cast into a well. The famous relief of Lucknow was achieved by Sir Henry Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta with troops returned from the Persian war. He reached the besieged garrison on September 25, but it was not until November that Sir Colin Campbell came up with a force large enough to rescue the garrison and escorted the men to a place of safety. Troops now poured into India by tens of thousands, and the rebels after repeated defeats received their final blow at Bareilly (May 7, 1858). The conclusion of the mutiny was followed by a change in the civil organization of India, by which the control of the East India Company was brought to an end and the whole machinery of government was placed under a Secretary of State for India, and a viceroy appointed by the queen. The next twenty years were again a period of quiet, marked by agricultural improvements, by the building of railways and canals, and by other measures of internal development, which cemented English power throughout India.

Lord Beaconsfield was the first modern English statesman to recognize the importance to England of the future of her colonial

empire. When he became a part of the conservative ministry, in 1866, he enunciated the conception of England as an imperial power, interested in the maintenance and development of her colonial and Indian empire. English foreign policy had been weak and evasive under the Liberal party, and when Beaconsfield finally entered upon his long term of power as prime minister, in 1874, the time was almost ripe for public appreciation of his ideas. He proclaimed Queen Victoria empress of India, on January 1, 1877, and he returned from the conference of Berlin, which decided the fate of the Christian provinces of Turkey, declaring that he brought "peace with honor." He lived only three years longer to enjoy the fruits of his policies; but so fully pledged was Great Britain to the resolute foreign policy, which came to be called "Imperialism," that even Gladstone was compelled by circumstances and by public opinion to order the bombardment of Alexandria when British influence was threatened in Egypt.

The control of Egypt by the great powers is one of the most striking illustrations of the modern tendency to acquire financial and economic control of the undeveloped countries, even where complete sovereignty is not asserted. Lord Beaconsfield first brought England into a prominent place in the affairs of Egypt by purchasing from the Khedive his shares in the Suez Canal. The large traffic which passed through the Red Sea to the Orient, after the construction of the canal in 1870, made it of vital importance that order should be maintained in all the adjacent countries. The Khedive wasted the resources of Egypt until the government was practically bankrupt, and Great Britain and France interfered, in 1879, for the protection of the foreign bondholders. The old Khedive, Ismail, was compelled to abdicate, and his son Tewfik accepted what was known as the "Dual Control." This was exercised by the two powers through their ministers at the Egyptian court, who dictated expenditures and endeavored to secure a proper use of the revenues. Their interference cut off some of the perquisites of the native officials, and an ambitious officer named Arabi Pasha put himself at the head of the movement, with the watchword, "Egypt for the Egyptians." The troops supported him, he seized the person of the Khedive, and drove away the foreign ministers (April, 1882).

Mr. Gladstone, who was in power at London, hesitated for a moment but soon ordered the Mediterranean squadron to Alexandria. A great riot broke out in the city, directed against all Europeans, many of whom were massacred.

The insurgents under Arabi believed that the British and the French fleets were in the harbor merely for the sake of a demonstra-

tion. They proved to be right in the case of France. The French fleet sailed away while the British admiral, Seymour, notified Arabi to stop fortifying Alexandria. When his mandate was refused, he bombarded the town (July 11, 1882); it was deserted by Arabi, but was nearly wrecked by the mob before British marines could be landed to restore order. This was followed up by a vigorous campaign on land, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, which soon drove Arabi from one point to another, until he was captured and sent to Ceylon. The Khedive was placed on his throne, but an English army remained in Egypt to see that order was maintained. Mr. Gladstone promised the French and Turkish Governments that the British troops should be removed when the maintenance of order was permanently assured, but the time never arrived when these conditions were fulfilled. While the Khedive nominally governed, a few British officers and financiers advised what course to pursue, and when he showed signs of restlessness, British troops and ships were ready to enforce obedience. Under Sir Evelyn Baring, afterward Lord Cromer, the financial system of Egypt was organized, corruption was brought to an end, taxation was reduced, the revenues were increased, and the debt of Egypt, guaranteed by France and Great Britain, is to-day quoted on the stock exchanges above nearly every loan of continental Europe. The corrupt, barbarous, and wasteful government of the Turks, which alarmed the owners of capital, and discouraged enterprise, has given place to a degree of security which has promoted the building of railways, has permitted the irrigation of the Delta of the Nile, and has given the possibility of a contented and well-ordered life to the oppressed fellahs, who were formerly in a worse condition than that of slavery. Lord Cromer and Sir Herbert Kitchener, who was for several years the military adviser of the Khedive, had only to indicate the measures which they considered wise to have them adopted by the Khedive.*

Southern Egypt, known as the Sudan, was already lost to civilization before the rebellion of Arabi Pasha in lower Egypt. A fanatic named Mohammed Hamed proclaimed himself the prophet expected to appear before the last judgment, and announced that he was the destined conqueror of the world. A British army under Gen. Hicks was cut to pieces (November 5, 1883) and Gladstone determined to abandon the Sudan. Charles Gordon, who had made a remarkable reputation in China, was surrounded and massacred in Khartum, with 11,000 of his garrison (January 26, 1885), and all of Southern Egypt

*For some of the details of these improvements, see Sanderson's "Africa in the Nineteenth Century," ch. VI., pp. 136, 46.

passed under the control of the Mohammedan fanatic. His reign was soon ended by death (June 22, 1885), but his successor, known as Khalifat el Mahdi, destroyed the towns, in order to wipe out the memory of civilized rule, and spread desolation over all the Sudan. The British Government at last began to realize that its own national interests, as well as the more remote interests of civilization, were threatened by the surrender of a great and populous country to barbarism. Kitchener, "the man of certainties," was allowed to organize the Egyptian army and was strengthened by English troops. Moving South early in 1896, he won a series of victories which culminated at Atbara (April 8, 1898), and was soon followed by the capture of Omdurman, and Khartum (September, 1898) and by the rescue of the Sudan for civilization.

While these events had been going on in Egypt, the whole of Africa was being parceled out among the great powers of Europe, eager for territory and for opportunities for commercial development. Great Britain had been the chief power in Africa down to 1880. Only scattered possessions along the coast were occupied, even by the British, in order to afford outlets for the trade of the unknown regions of the interior. The most important establishments were in South Africa, where Cape Town had been acquired by treaty of Vienna in 1815. The original settlers of South Africa were Dutch, and independent states such as the Transvaal, or the South African Republic, were long maintained there. The Transvaal was annexed to Great Britain in 1877, partly to protect the people against the Kaffirs, who were constantly attacking the white settlers. It was in the most important of these wars that the young Prince Napoleon, son of Napoleon III., was killed in 1879. The Boers rose against the British in 1880, and inflicted a severe blow at Majuba Hill (February 27, 1881). Mr. Gladstone, who was then in power, granted them independence under a nominal admission of British sovereignty. Then came the discovery of the gold mines of the Transvaal, which attracted thousands of British subjects to the Witwatersrand, and built up the flourishing town of Johannesburg. The Boer Government refused to grant the franchise to the British settlers, and a variety of causes of irritation finally led to a crisis. An ultimatum was transmitted to the British Government by the Transvaal Republic (October 9, 1899) in terms which made war inevitable, and the Boers were aided by the Orange Free State, mainly peopled by men of their own race. The British at first underestimated the task before them and met serious reverses at Magersfontein, Colenso Hill, Spion Kop, and elsewhere. The British people then became thoroughly aroused, and dispatched to South Africa Lord Roberts, their master in strategy, and Lord Kitchener, who had rescued

the Sudan in 1898. They retrieved some of the blunders of their predecessors, relieved Kimberley (February 15, 1900), and Ladysmith, captured 4,000 Boers under Kronje, and occupied Bloemfontein, the Free State capital (March 13, 1900). The war still dragged along with obstinate resistance on the part of the Boers, however, and it was long before terms were finally forced upon the South African Republic.

While British power was being thus extended, powerful rivals of Great Britain in Africa had been growing up under the influence of the new policy of colonialism on the continent of Europe. Prince Bismarck endeavored, as early as 1880, to enter upon an imperialistic policy for the promotion of German commerce abroad. He sought at that time to secure a loan of \$2,500,000 from the *Reichstag* for a new corporation which took over the property of an older one, with many trading establishments in the Southern Pacific, including the Samoan Islands. He failed to secure the support of the *Reichstag*, but the new South Sea Company received the moral and political support of the cabinet. Then came the German interference in Samoa, which led to friction with Great Britain and the United States, the revolt of the pretender, Tamesese, encouraged by the Germans, the tripartite control by the United States, Great Britain, and Germany in 1887, and finally, the division of the islands between Germany and the United States by the treaty of November 14, 1899, to which Great Britain assented.

The venture in Samoa was only a part of the new colonial policy of Germany. A foothold was obtained in New Guinea in 1885, and the territory was christened Kaiser Wilhelm's Land. Nothing but prompt action by Great Britain prevented the seizure of the entire island and the creation of a threatening neighbor for the Australians. More important in a territorial and financial sense were the acquisitions of Germany in Africa. Bismarck persevered in seeking the support of the *Reichstag* for his colonial policy and encouraged the creation of a colonial association, with seven thousand members, throughout Germany. A colonial bank, with a capital of \$7,500,000, was founded in 1884 at Hamburg. A colonial office was soon after created by the government, and comprehensive plans were carried out for obtaining a footing in East and West Africa. Certain rights acquired by a Bremen merchant prior to 1880, North of the Orange River, were made the occasion of conventions with local chieftains, which resulted in the creation of German West Africa, with an area of 322,450 square miles, under the authority of an imperial commissioner. A German gunboat came to the rescue of German merchants threatened in the Kamerun district in 1884, hoisted the German flag, and took possession of the entire tract between the British Niger

Company on the north, and French Congo on the south. In Eastern Africa, a protectorate was established in 1885, which was extended the next year, with the consent of Great Britain, to a large region in the interior, back of the Zanzibar Coast, and up to Lake Victoria Nyanza. When the Arabs revolted in 1889, the government abolished the administration of the East African Society and established its own direct control. German East Africa is the largest and most populous of German colonies, embracing 384,180 square miles, and containing eight millions of people. The entire German Empire in Africa has been extended to include 930,760 square miles and 14,200,000 people. The number of Europeans residing in these districts is small, their trade is limited, and they are a source of expense to the imperial government, but in the struggle for markets and opportunities, the time may come when the German people will have occasion to thank the foresight of Prince Bismarck in obtaining for Germany a share in the struggle of the nations for colonial establishments.

Italy entered the field of competition for colonial power, in 1885, when she seized the town of Massowah, in Abyssinia. King John of Abyssinia undertook to expel the Italians, but Prince Menelik, one of his subject princes, entered into an arrangement by which he came to the aid of the foreigners, and was himself seated on the throne, with Italian support. Many commercial privileges were ceded by the treaty between Menelik and the king of Italy (September 25, 1889), but the attempt of the Italian cabinet to extend their suzerainty over the whole of Abyssinia resulted in revolt, after some delay, in 1895. The Italians met a crushing defeat near Adowa (February 29, 1896), and were compelled to acknowledge the independence of Menelik. A considerable strip of territory on the Red Sea, known as Eritrea, and Somaliland, on the India Ocean, the two having an area of 188,500 square miles and a population of 850,000, are what Italy has to show for her colonial ventures.

France, in spite of her somewhat bureaucratic methods of government, was a great power in Africa early in the century, and has greatly extended that power in recent years. After Great Britain, she ranks as the greatest colonial power in the world, in the extent and population of her domains; and with the great Empire of India, with its teeming millions, out of the account, France would press Great Britain close in the number of her subject population.

France conquered Algeria in 1830, bringing to a permanent end the reign of piracy which the United States and Great Britain, fifteen years before, had shaken, but had not destroyed. The French army, which entered Algiers (July 5, 1830), was sent to Africa to punish political outrages and to maintain the prestige of the tottering

Bourbon dynasty at home. They found the suppression of the Turkish corsairs easier than the subjugation of the Arabs, who maintained a stubborn war for seventeen years, under the brilliant and humane chief, Abd-el-Kadr. He at last surrendered in 1847, but this was far from ending the local revolts which broke out with peculiar violence when the French garrisons were reduced, in 1870, to supply men for the war with Germany. The French, although not the most tactful administrators, gradually converted Algeria into a civilized state, with 2,156 miles of railway, 1,815 miles of national roads, and 5,025 miles of telegraph routes. Exports which go to France in the proportion of five-sixths, amounted in 1897 to 276,708,518 francs (\$54,000,000). The military and civil establishments of Algeria are estimated to have cost the French Government \$1,000,000,000 from 1830 to 1890, and they still draw a considerable sum annually from the French Treasury.* The population is about 4,430,000, of which 600,000 are white. Algeria has been treated, since the establishment of civil government, as one of the departments of France, and has representatives in the Chambers.

In spite of the heavy cost, in both blood and money, of the conquest of Algeria, France kept covetous eyes fastened upon the neighboring state of Tunis, which included the site of ancient Carthage and some of the best harbors of northern Africa. French influence was potent at the court of Tunis, after the conquest of Algeria, and France finally, in 1881, forced the Bey to acknowledge her protectorate. The administration is in the hands of a cabinet chiefly composed of Frenchmen who act under the direction of a bureau of Tunisian affairs at Paris. Tunis, therefore, is already more strongly under the control of France than is Egypt under the control of Great Britain, and it will eventually be annexed upon the same basis as is Algeria. The larger part of the commerce of Tunis is carried on with France; it amounted in 1898 to about \$12,500,000 in imports and \$10,500,000 in exports.

In the struggle for colonial establishment under the tropics, the large Island of Madagascar, off the east coast of Africa, has fallen into the lap of France. The French title descended from before 1686, when the island was formally annexed to the French crown by Richelieu. The claim was practically abandoned, however, and the trade of the island remained more largely in English and American, than in French hands, until France again acquired political possession. A naval force was sent to the island in 1883, ostensibly to redress some wrongs done to French settlers and to a friendly local tribe. Peace

* Morris's "History of Colonization," I., p. 450.

was made in 1885 upon the condition of a cession of land for a French colony and the acceptance of a French resident as adviser to the native government. Friction continued, because of the obvious anxiety of the Hovas, the ruling race, to give trade preferences to the British and the Americans. When the government refused submission to the acceptance of an absolute protectorate, France declared war (November, 1894). Troops were landed in the following April, entered the capital (September 30, 1895), and compelled the acceptance of a full French protectorate. Formal annexation of the territory to France followed in August, 1896, the queen was deposed in February, 1897, and foreign governments were notified that a discriminating tariff in favor of French products was levied upon imports from other countries.

The establishment of the king of Belgium in the Congo Free State, in the heart of Africa, has been one of the most prosperous, commercially, of African Colonies. The total trade more than doubled from 1894 to 1898, and amounted to \$9,054,000 in the latter year, of which \$6,960,000 was with Belgium. The Congo Free State originated in an effort to promote systematic research in an harmonious manner, and to discourage the slave trade. The International African Association was created for this purpose, in 1876, under the patronage of the king of the Belgians. The Association came into conflict with the claims of France and Portugal, in Central Africa, with the result that a conference was called at Berlin. The International Association was awarded by the convention of February 26, 1885, a territory of 1,100,000 square miles and 40,000,000 people, with authority to organize an independent state. The seat of government is at Brussels, the king of the Belgians is the governor, and in 1890 a treaty between the Belgian Government and the Congo Free State authorized the annexation of the latter at some future time. The king in the meantime has, by will, left to the Kingdom of Belgium all his rights and interests in the Congo, so that this vast territory, slightly reduced by later treaties, is for all practical purposes, a dependency of Belgium.

The limits of French, English, and German control in Central Africa were defined by the treaty of Berlin in 1885, which paved the way for later agreements between Great Britain and France (August 5, 1890, and June 14, 1898), and between Great Britain and Germany (November 15, 1893), more carefully limiting boundaries. These agreements were not reached before there had been serious risks of a clash between the earth-hungry powers in various parts of Africa. The French had small settlements at Senegal and on the Ivory coast, which they began after 1880 to extend inland. It was to checkmate their projects, and to keep the basin of the lower Niger free from

trade, that the Royal Niger Company was organized in 1885. The treaty of 1898 gave the lands on the middle Niger to France, and those along the lower Niger to Great Britain. Great Britain and France came to the verge of war in the spring of 1898, from a clash at Fashoda, in southern Egypt. Kitchener had just rescued the country from barbarism, when a small French exploring party, under Major Marchand, reached Fashoda and seized it in the name of France. Lord Salisbury, the British premier, notified France that this force must be withdrawn. The French Government yielded, and a treaty was signed, conceding that the whole Nile basin was within the English sphere of influence.

With Egypt subject to British dictation, and her borders extended to the upper Nile; with South Africa a part of the British Empire; with northern Africa practically in the hands of France, and with the intervening territories parceled out between Great Britain, Germany, and a few Portuguese settlements, the whole of Africa has, within the past twenty years, been absorbed or claimed by European governments. It remains to discuss the extension of the colonial system to Asia, the greatest and richest of the undeveloped continents.

The firm footing obtained by Great Britain in India has already been set forth. France had already obtained strong stations on the coast of India, as the result of her early colonial ventures. She lost some of these in the settlements of 1815, but has more than made up for them within the past generation. An expedition was sent by France and Spain to Annam, in 1858, to protect the native Christians, who had grown to respectable numbers under the teachings of the early missionaries. Several provinces in Cochin China were retained as the result of these operations and Cambodia was occupied by the French in 1863. Annam was finally subdued completely by French arms, after some hard fighting and picturesque marches, in 1883-85. Then followed the conquest of Tonking, which was not completed until 1893, and finally the annexation of a part of Siam in 1896. The entire area in India and on the borders of China under the control of France is 363,027 square miles and the population is 22,679,100. Cambodia, Annam, and Tonking, are nominally under French protection, but were united with Cochin China in 1887, under the name of Indo-China, with a customs union, and a governor-general as the chief representative of French power. Railroads, public roads, and industries, are being rapidly extended, but the French have not yet reaped material commercial benefits from their policy of conquest and occupation.

The most striking modern fact in European aggression in Asia is the rise of the power of Russia. The Russian Empire, although rec-

ognized as an important military force in Europe in the time of Napoleon, was not regarded as an industrial competitor of the Western world until within very recent years. Struggling with a heavy debt and a fluctuating paper currency caused by the early wars with Turkey, the struggle against Napoleon, the Crimean War, and the war against Turkey in 1877, the financial organization of Russia was regarded in Western Europe as not much better than that of Turkey, and her industries were supposed to be in swaddling clothes. But even under her worst conditions, from an economic point of view, the Russian Government enjoyed such advantages as arise from a continuous policy and a fixed purpose. The executive government is not subject to the fluctuations of public opinion, and there is little or no division of opinion in Russia in respect to the long cherished national policy of extending the Empire to the Mediterranean in Europe, and to the Pacific and the Indian Oceans in Asia. It was a natural outcome of the modern struggle for commercial supremacy that Russian statesmen discovered, a few years ago, that economic power was as vital to national greatness as is political and military power. M. de Witte, the minister of finance, entered, in 1893, upon a vigorous policy for restoring specie payments, encouraging domestic industry, and extending banking privileges to the peasants as well as to merchants, in order to stimulate agricultural and manufacturing production. Then came, in 1898, the famous proposition of the Czar Nicholas III. for the peace conference at The Hague, which was a coherent part of the Russian plans for reducing military expenditures in order to encourage the economic growth of the country. In proposing The Hague Conference, however, the Russian Government by no means renounced the arts of war nor the triumphs of the most tortuous diplomacy in seeking the extension of the Empire, wherever skill, finesse, or threats would achieve results.

Siberia, for so many years a penal colony, was looked upon by the Western world as a land of desolation and barbarism until the wonderful revelations of the past few years. The country was for centuries in the hands of the roving Tartar tribes, who paid little attention to the title, "Lord of Siberia," which was assumed by the Russian czar, Ivan the Terrible, in 1558. In 1850, however, the attention of the Russian Government was attracted seriously to Siberia by the Cossack chief, Yermak, who appealed successfully to the Russian Government to aid him against the Don Cossacks. Yermak was defeated soon after, but the Russians invaded Siberia, fortified Tobolisk on the Obi, built stockades wherever they found convenient sites, and gradually extended their power until, in 1639, they reached the Pacific Ocean. The Russians were excluded from the Valley of the

Amur by a treaty with China, signed in 1689 at Nertchinsk. The foundations were thus laid for the Russian Empire in the East, which a century and a half later was to prove so serious a menace to the British Empire in India. Russia made little further progress in the extreme East for two centuries, but she constantly extended her power and influence in the South, until she acquired control of nearly the whole of Central Asia. One of the expeditions of Peter the Great reached the shores of the Caspian and erected several forts, one of which was at Krasnovodsk. The Kirghiz tribes were gradually brought under Russian authority, the Jaxartes Valley was seized in 1830, and Tashkend was captured and made the capital of Russian Turkestan in 1865. The Khanate of Bokhara was subdued in 1868, that of Khiva in 1873, and the Turkomen of Merv in 1884. The Russian frontier was thus carried up to Afghanistan.

It was before the last of these conquests that serious alarm spread throughout Great Britain and the journals were full of warnings that the Russians were at "the gates of Herat," from whence they would have an easy march into British India. In order to prevent their occupation by Russia, Great Britain extended her boundaries in 1893 into the mountain districts north of India, and considerable garrisons were planted in the district of Chitral in 1895. The appearance of the British uniform in these remote mountain sections led to outbreaks among the Afridis, which were put down by some hard fighting in 1898. The Russian Government came to a halt for a time on the South, when it reached the frontiers of Afghanistan, but soon began intrigues with the government of Persia, which bore important fruit in the beginning of the year 1900. British financial influence was overthrown by the creation of a Russian bank at the capital of Persia, which advanced to the government \$12,000,000 to pay off debts to British bondholders, and secured the pledge of the Persian customs receipts for the payment of interests on the loan. It was soon announced that Persia would lease to Russia a port on the Red Sea, which would enable her to establish a naval station on the Indian Ocean, and to threaten the entrance to the Suez Canal and the route to India.

While Russian policy was thus being relentlessly pursued in Central Asia, Russian generals and governors were not idle on the side of China. When the Chinese were exhausted, in 1859, by their conflict with England and by the Taiping rebellion, Russia forced them to make a treaty giving to her the whole left bank of the Amur River, and bringing her frontier on the Pacific down to Korea. The large inlet formerly known as Victoria Bay was rechristened for Peter the Great, and a new city was founded in 1861, called Vladi-

vostok or "Dominion of the East." It was this port which Russia proposed to make the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the great route designed to connect European Russia with the Pacific, and to transform the commercial map of the world. But even this achievement did not fix the limit of Russian ambition. Vladivostok was closed for two months in the year, by ice, and it was the declared ambition of Russian statesmen to secure an outlet on the Pacific, which could be used at all seasons. The opportunity did not come until 1895, but the interval was employed in strengthening Russian power in Siberia and in making the plans for the railway, which was to make it possible to carry Russian troops and supplies across the greatest of continents, while her possible military rivals were employing roundabout routes on the ocean. The Trans-Siberian Railway, the most extensive engineering enterprise of modern times, was the dream of Russian statesmen as far back as 1850. The opening of the Ural line, in 1880, connected European Russia with Tyumen, on the Tobol, a branch of the Irtysh, in the heart of Asia. Serious work upon the extension of the line to the Pacific began in 1891, and was supplemented in 1897 by the beginning of the Eastern Chinese Railway across the Chinese province of Manchuria.

It remains to set forth how Russia was able to fasten upon a Chinese province as an object for her military and political projects, and how a rival world power sprang into existence, almost in a night, and stood defiantly facing her in the Orient. This new power is Japan, which remained split up into small principalities, without a vigorous central government, down to the restoration of the Mikado in 1866. In 1852 the United States sent an expedition to open Japan to modern commerce, an enterprise which at first encountered opposition. The reappearance of Commodore Perry with a larger fleet, in 1854, led to a treaty, which opened two ports to American trade. Similar treaties were quickly made with Great Britain, Russia, and Holland, the number of open ports was increased, and foreign residents were permitted to travel freely in parts of the interior. Disorders growing out of the system of feudalism broke out, which in many cases took the form of anti-foreign demonstration, but in 1867, the new sovereign, Mutsuhito, was acknowledged sole emperor, and he began the organization of Japan as a modern state. The feudal princes surrendered their powers, their military followers were disbanded, and the emperor issued a decree (August 7, 1869), dividing the country into districts, under the direct control of the central government.

The Japanese people responded at once to the plans of their leaders for utilizing foreign inventions and adopting foreign ideas. Almost

as if by magic, Japan was equipped with railways, telegraphs, a postal system, a regular custom service, an army and a navy armed with European weapons, and a constitutional government divided into political parties. Nearly all of these events were consummated within a score of years, and when war broke out with China, over Korea, in 1894, the Japanese army swept everything before it and was on the road to Peking, when China sued for peace. The Japanese, with their modern steel cruisers and battleships, dealt a severe blow to the Chinese at the battle of the Yalu River (September 17, 1894), and seized Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei. The prestige of Japan was so greatly heightened by these incidents that when she proposed to retain Port Arthur, three great European powers, — Russia, Germany, and France, — intervened to demand her withdrawal from the Chinese mainland. Japan looked for a moment to Great Britain, but found the latter unwilling to aid her to the extreme limit. She yielded to superior force, but obtained control of the Island of Formosa and an indemnity in money, which enabled her still further to strengthen her position as a great power by substituting gold for silver as her standard of value, and by entering upon an elaborate project of naval equipment and railway construction.

The collapse of China, in spite of its enormous population and untouched natural resources, revealed to the world the weakness of the Empire. Almost in a moment, the great powers gathered around the prey, from which they had driven the courageous little Empire of Japan. It was suspected from the first that Russia had warned Japan away from Port Arthur in order to seize it for herself. Russia was anticipated by Germany, however, in seizing a Chinese port. The German Government took possession of Kiao-chau (November 4, 1897), upon the ground that some German missionaries had been murdered, and held it by force until the Chinese signed a treaty, leasing the port and the adjacent territory to Germany for ninety-nine years. The German Government was authorized to construct fortifications and to establish a naval station; and German subjects were to have the right to construct railways, to open mines, and to transact business in the rich mineral and agricultural province of Shantung. Russia did not long delay action. She obtained permission to winter her naval squadron at Port Arthur, and soon secured from the Chinese Government (March 27, 1898) a lease for twenty-five years of Port Arthur and the neighboring port of Talienwan. It was stipulated that Russia should have the power to extend the Trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria to Port Arthur, and to protect it by Russian troops. The British Government then stepped forward and obtained a lease of the harbor of Wei-wei (April 2, 1898) on the same

terms as those by which Port Arthur was granted to Russia. England obtained also (June 9, 1898) an additional lease of about two hundred square miles on the mainland, opposite Hong-Kong. France, not to be outdone in the scramble for Chinese territory, obtained a lease of the harbor of Kwangehanwan near its possession in Tonking. The Italian Government made a demand in the spring of 1899 for Sanmun Bay, but this demand was rejected.

The partition of China among the powers of Western Europe seemed upon the eve of taking place, when a new power, younger than Japan by many centuries, but with an older heritage of European civilization, became a factor in the problem. This new power was the United States. Comparatively indifferent to Oriental affairs after the opening of the Chinese treaty ports, and without any military or naval footing in the East, the United States suddenly became one of the foremost of Oriental powers, by what seemed like the merest of accidents. Spain was directed, early in 1898, to evacuate Cuba, her chief possession in the West Indies, because she had proved herself incapable of restoring order there and of protecting the interests of American citizens doing business in the island. The natural refusal of Spain to comply with this mandate resulted in war with the United States. The resolutions declaring "that the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent," and directing the President "to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States" to carry these resolutions into effect, were accepted by both houses of Congress on April 19, 1898, and approved by President McKinley on the next day. The Spanish minister demanded his passports, and quitted Washington, and Congress on April 25, 1898, declared war against Spain.

The evacuation of Cuba by Spain might have been enforced by the United States without gaining for it a foothold in the Orient, but for the foresight of John D. Long and Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Navy. In the anticipation of war, they directed Commodore George Dewey, who commanded an American squadron at Hong-Kong, to proceed at once, if war should be declared, to Manila, the chief city of the Philippine Islands, and to take or to destroy the Spanish fleet. Commodore Dewey promptly left Hong-Kong upon the proclamation of neutrality issued by the British Colonial Government there, and at daybreak on May 1, 1898, entered Manila Bay. The American fleet was engaged by the Spanish naval vessels, which were supported by strong batteries on land; but so skillful was the handling of the American vessels, and so incompetent were those who manned the Spanish guns, that a complete victory was won without the loss of a life on the American ships.

The Spaniards sustained serious losses, including the sinking of nearly all of their ten warships and the capture of Cavite their naval station on land.

Up to the morning of the second day of May, 1898, hardly an American had dreamed that the United States would ever become an Oriental power. There had already, however, been much discussion regarding American interests in China, and the capture of the Spanish outposts of Manila, which was followed later by the surrender of the city, came at a singularly opportune moment for making the United States a factor in the settlement of the future of the Orient. There was hesitation at first among the American people and American public men, who doubted whether the responsibility of governing hundreds of islands, with a population of eight or ten millions, including many barbarous tribes, could be accepted without doing violence to the traditions of self-government, and to the written constitution of the United States. When an armistice was arranged between the contending countries, August 12, 1898, the article regarding the Philippines provided simply that "the United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor, of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government, of the Philippines." Public opinion, however, influenced on the one hand by far-sighted students of American economic interests, and on the other by the natural disinclination of the masses to see the flag lowered, where it had once been raised in triumph, gradually crystallized upon the decision that the whole of the Philippine Archipelago should remain forever under the paramount influence and control of the American Republic. The treaty, which was signed at Paris on December 10, 1898, provided, therefore, for the surrender of the Philippines to the United States for an indemnity of \$20,000,000 paid to Spain, and the assumption by the United States of the claims of American citizens against Spain for injuries arising in Cuba, in connection with the recent war.

The war with Japan, and the encroachments of the European powers, opened the eyes of the young emperor of China to the need of sweeping reforms. He submitted to his council in 1897 a series of projects for the suppression of the provincial armies and for the erection of a national force on European models; for the abolition of the *liken*, or provincial barrier taxes; for the adoption of a regular monetary standard; and for the creation of a central bank. These and other proposed reforms aroused the hostility of the Chinese conservatives, and a palace revolution (September 22, 1898) dethroned the young emperor, and put him under the control of his able, but reactionary, aunt, the Empress Dowager. The anti-foreign party at the

court availed itself of the seizure of the leading ports of China by foreign powers to organize anti-foreign sentiment throughout Northern China. The Chinese people have never had the national spirit of a cohesive nation, and ignorant prejudice against railways, the foreign missionaries, and other visible aspects of foreign intervention in Chinese affairs, was easily worked upon to provoke an uprising. Secret societies, known as the "Boxers," rapidly spread. They were soon encouraged to begin a general crusade.

Attacks upon foreigners were reported from various points in China early in 1900, and all the leading powers ordered their available ships of war in Eastern waters to rendezvous at Chinese ports. The foreign legations were surrounded in Peking and an effort to keep the railway open and to send a force for the protection of the legations was met by hostile fire from the Chinese forts at Taku. The forts were shelled by the foreign vessels, except the Americans, and were captured in two days. The legations in Peking were completely cut off from communication with the outside world on June 19, and the German minister was killed in the street on the next day. A regular siege of the legations was now begun by the Boxers, with the aid of many of the Chinese Imperial troops. The mission compounds were abandoned, and all the legations took refuge in the British Legation, which afforded the strongest points for defense. An almost continuous fire was poured upon the devoted band of Europeans, Japanese, and Americans, from June 20 until July 17, and repeated attempts were made to burn the legations by setting fire to neighboring houses.

Preparations for rescue were set on foot at the close of June, but were inevitably slow in completion. An expedition of about two thousand men, under a British admiral, fought its way over half the distance to Peking, but was compelled by overwhelming forces to turn back. The movement of the civilized troops in force began at the end of July with hard fighting at Tien-tsin, a large Chinese city, which was stormed and partly destroyed. A force set out from this point in August, made up of Japanese, Russian, British, and American troops, which won another important victory at Yang-tsun and pursued its march to the Chinese capital. The city was reached on August 14, 1900, and the heroic defenders of the legations, including many women and children, were rescued. The Chinese imperial family and the government had fled, a few days before, to the interior of China.

The United States, with its authority firmly planted at Manila, at the gates of the Orient, was able to take a more resolute part in meeting the outbreak in China than might otherwise have been the

case. The seizure of important ports by Russia, Germany, and France, was not viewed with indifference by the United States. When it appeared that the seizure could not well be resisted without armed conflict with some of the great powers, the effort was made to preserve equality of opportunity for American trade in the territories still under Chinese authority. For this purpose, an inquiry was addressed during the autumn of 1899, by the Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, to each of the leading European powers, asking them to give assurances that the people of all nations should continue to enjoy equality of opportunity for trade and investment, and equality of tariff and railway charges, with the people of the country exercising protection over any part of China. Each power responded favorably, after more or less consultation, that they would give such assurances if they were concurred in by all the other powers. Full concurrence was obtained from all early in the year 1900, and the correspondence on March 27, 1900, was communicated to Congress in a special message by the President.

It was in pursuance of the same policy of equality of opportunity, which had come to be designated as "the open door in China," that the Government of the United States thought proper again to define its attitude, when armed intervention in China was proposed by the powers for the rescue of their besieged legations. A note addressed to each of the powers by Secretary Hay on July 3, 1900, declared: "The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." This principle was accepted by all the powers, and was the basis of the policy pursued by the United States in all its negotiations in regard to the settlement of affairs in China. A protocol intended to form a basis of settlement was agreed upon at the close of the year 1900, and was signed by the envoys of the Chinese Government in January, 1901. This protocol provided for the revision of the commercial treaties with China, in the interest of wider trade and of greater privileges for foreign merchants. The details were left for later negotiations.

While the struggle for the unappropriated territory under the tropics, and for the control of the backward nations, was becoming thus acute during the closing years of the nineteenth century, a development of a somewhat different character was going on among the colonies of the British Empire. This development, encouraged by the healthful climate of the temperate zone, raised Canada and Aus-

tralia to the position of vigorous, self-governing nations, held to the empire only by pride in its greatness and by the tolerant policy of the mother country. Canada became a people numbering nearly 5,000,000, with a foreign trade of more than \$250,000,000. Australia drew from Great Britain many millions of English capital, and developed with a rapidity almost unparalleled, even by the Western territories of the United States. From 1861 to 1898, her population increased by more than 25 per cent., and stands at about 3,500,000. Her foreign trade rose from £39,729,016 in 1871, to £83,678,859 in 1897 (\$415,000,000), or more than three times the amount per capita of the trade of the United States, and her producing power per capita is calculated higher than that of any other people. The separate provinces of Australia began to yearn for a common nationality, and Australian federation was established and inaugurated at the beginning of the year, 1901. The Earl of Hopetoun was on that day inaugurated as the first governor-general of the Federal Australian Colonies, and received a message from the British colonial secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, that "the Queen commands me to express through you to the people of Australia her Majesty's heartfelt interest in the inauguration of the commonwealth." The governor-general was appointed at London, but a new Federal Parliament was created, which deals with the federal affairs of Australia as the Federal Congress deals with the affairs of the United States. Australian and Canadian troops fought by the side of British regiments in South Africa in 1900-01, and their courage and loyalty served to cement the bonds which bound together the Empire of which Beaconsfield had dreamed a quarter of a century before.

The other islands of the Pacific have been parceled out among the leading European states, principally between Great Britain and Holland. Java and Sumatra are among the most important of the Dutch possessions and are very productive in tea, tobacco, coffee, and sugar. There have been insurrections in Java against Dutch authority, but the island has prospered greatly from an economic standpoint in recent years, and a more liberal policy than formerly prevailed has been adopted toward the natives. The coffee crop of Java in 1897 reached 156,503,866 pounds, and it was estimated that the profit of the public treasury, which gets a share of the crop, would in the year 1902 be more than \$4,000,000.

At the close of the nineteenth century, the colonies, protectorates, and other dependencies of the leading countries of the world, including China and Turkey, numbered nearly 140, and covered two-fifths of the land surface of the globe, and one-third of its population. Great Britain, whose possessions in India and Africa place her at the

head of colonizing nations, controls more than half of the subject territory and two-thirds of its population. Her colonial dependencies grew from 2,541,240 miles in area in 1860 to 7,684,970 miles in 1880, and to 11,605,238 miles in 1900. Their population, which was 145,129,080 in 1860, rose to 267,935,144 in 1880, and to 345,222,339 in 1900. The smallest of the great colonizing nations in her own area, and surpassed in her home population by Russia, the United States, and Germany, Great Britain finds the strongest reasons for keeping open, at any cost, the ocean routes which afford her people the means of obtaining their food supplies. She finds in these conditions, and in her wide colonial responsibilities, the natural justification for a navy strong enough to cope with that of any other single power, or with any two powers combined. France and Germany, in striving to follow in British footsteps, have acquired a strong footing in the undeveloped countries, and their forces played a prominent part in the restoration of order in the Chinese Empire. The following table presents a careful calculation of the area and population of the dependencies of each colonizing country and of their relation to the mother country:—

	NO. OF	AREA (SQUARE MILES)		POPULATION	
	COLO- NIES	MOTHER COUNTRY	COLONIES, ETC.	MOTHER COUNTRY	COLONIES, ETC.
United Kingdom.	50	120,979	11,605,238	40,559,954	345,222,339
France	33	204,092	3,740,756	38,517,975	56,401,860
Germany.....	13	208,830	1,027,120	52,279,901	14,687,000
Netherlands	3	12,648	782,862	5,074,632	35,115,711
Portugal	9	36,038	801,100	5,049,729	9,148,707
Spain.	3	197,670	243,877	17,565,632	136,000
Italy	2	110,646	188,500	31,856,675	850,000
Austria-Hungary	2	241,032	23,570	41,244,811	1,568,092
Denmark.	3	15,289	86,634	2,185,335	114,229
Russia.....	3	8,660,395	255,550	128,932,173	15,684,000
Turkey.....	4	1,111,741	465,000	23,834,500	14,956,236
China	5	1,336,841	2,881,560	386,000,000	16,680,000
United States.....	6	3,557,000	172,091	77,000,000	10,544,617
TOTAL.....	136	15,813,201	22,273,858	850,103,317	521,108,791

The reason for the remarkable outburst of colonial activity during the closing generation of the nineteenth century, will be appreciated in some degree from the facts presented in an article entitled "Economic Progress of the Nineteenth Century," elsewhere in this vol-

ume, showing the remarkable capacity of the civilized world for producing finished goods, and the great amount of saved capital which now seeks investment in new enterprises. If the older countries are comparatively well equipped with these enterprises, as tested by their capacity to pay dividends, the new opportunities for the investment of capital under profitable conditions must be sought in the equipment of the undeveloped countries, with the same producing plant and the same means of transportation which have spread the benefits of civilization over Western Europe and the United States. The colonizing and organizing countries are those of the temperate zones. Their population has been increasing under the influence of growing wealth and constitutional liberty, at a rate which threatens soon to exhaust the food-producing capacities of their own territories, and to drive them to the rich resources of the tropical, and undeveloped, countries. The races inhabiting these countries have thus far shown less capacity than have those of the temperate zones for drawing from the soil its full riches for the benefit of the human race. Hence, by a logical evolution of events, the civilized countries, having equipped themselves with the most efficient machinery of production, are turning their enterprise, their capacity for organization, and their fund of saved capital, to the development of the countries which have not yet felt the full impulse of modern civilization. Already the development of increased producing power and modern means of transportation, under governments which protect personal rights, private property, and the sanctity of contracts, has created a volume of importations by the subject, or protected, countries, of \$1,500,000,000 per year, of which 40 per cent. is drawn by the dependencies from the governing countries.

AMERICA

IN 1001, an Icclander named Lief made a voyage of discovery along the eastern shore of North America, and from his information it appears that he went as far south as Rhode Island. To one locality, probably Nova Scotia, he gave the name of Markland, as it was low and wooded. To another the name of Vinland because vines were found growing in a wild state there. The only people whom he records seeing were Eskimos. It is one of the strangest things in history that such an event as this discovery made by such an intelligent people as the Icelanders should have been not noticed or so soon forgotten by the people of Europe. The voyage of discovery made by Columbus arose from his own convictions of the existence of a vast ocean to the west and of the spherical form of the earth. (See COLUMBUS.) John Cabot was an Italian merchant from Genoa and Venice who settled in England and succeeded in arousing the cupidity of Henry VII. who allowed him, under royal charter, to fit out two vessels at his own expense and to sail eastward on a voyage of discovery in 1496. He sailed past Newfoundland, and down the coast, and took home with him slight evidences of his landing. He was accompanied by his son Sebastian. A map, drawn by Sebastian Cabot and engraved by Clement Adams in 1549, used to hang in Whitehall Court, bearing the inscription: —

“In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son, Sebastian, discovered that country which no one before his time had ventured to approach, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning.”

The region first visited embraced Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. After the death of John Cabot Sebastian sailed in 1498 with five vessels. On this voyage he sailed up to Hudson Bay in his efforts to find a passage to India by the West, and down to north latitude 38° and traversed about 1800 miles of the east coast of North America. Amerigo Vespucci (1451–1512), a Florentine, sailed from Cadiz in 1497, touched at the Canaries and in twenty-seven days made land near Campeachy Bay, doubled Cape Sable and sailed north as far as Cape Hatteras. In 1499 he made a second voyage and struck the coast of Brazil and sailed north to the Amazon and returned in 1500 to Spain. In 1501 he sailed to Brazil, made Cape St. Roque, named Rio Janeiro Bay, and appears to have reached

South Georgia. In 1503 he made a fourth voyage and made a settlement at Bahia and built a fort at Cape Frio. It is said that he made two more voyages to Panama. He died at Seville in 1512. Corte-Real made a voyage from Lisbon and landed in Labrador in 1500. On a second voyage to the Arctic regions he was lost. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa (1475-1517) was a gentleman of Spain who sailed on a western expedition in 1501. He settled in Hispaniola, but when Enciso, a lawyer, fitted out two ships under orders of Ojeda, in 1510, Balboa was carried on board one of them in a cask to evade his heavy debts. When the expedition reached San Sebastian, Ojeda was gone and the settlement destroyed. On the suggestion of Balboa they went to Darien. Quarrels ensued and Enciso was deprived of authority, afterward imprisoned and sent to Spain. Balboa commanded the force and became friendly with the Indians. Enciso had meantime prevailed with the King of Spain and had Balboa recalled. Balboa, in despair, decided to accomplish something which would appease and please the King. In 1513 he started with one hundred and ninety men across the Isthmus of Panama. In less than a month he saw the Pacific Ocean and took possession of it in the name of the King of Spain. On his return to Darien he sent a joyous message and gifts to the King. Meantime an expedition had left Spain with orders to displace Balboa. After a time letters came to him from the King appointing him admiral. He then transported material to build ships across the Isthmus and with two small vessels took possession of the Pearl Islands and sailed toward Peru. Pedrarias, who had been sent by the King to displace Balboa, became jealous of him and enticed him to Acla, and after a form of trial, Balboa was executed in the public square in 1517 amid the grief of the people.

HERNANDO CORTES (1485-1547) was the conqueror of Mexico. He was born in Spain and intended to join the expedition of Orando who was appointed to San Domingo, but was prevented by an accidental injury. At nineteen he arrived at San Domingo and was then noted for his handsome military bearing. In 1511 he went with Diego Velasquez to Cuba. Owing to the failure of Grijalva, a lieutenant of Velasquez, in an expedition to Mexico, Cortes was sent. In 1518 he sailed from St. Iago with about 700 Spaniards, 18 horses, and some cannon in 10 ships. Velasquez repented in jealousy over the appointment and tried to recall Cortes, but as his soldiers remained loyal to him he persisted in his design. He landed in Mexico in 1519, took Tabasco, and overawed the Mexicans with his cannon, horses, and ships which were new to them. They looked upon him as a god

and sent him rich gifts. Montezuma was then King of Mexico. The stories of the extent of empire and of enormous wealth inflamed the Spaniards and they determined to conquer the entire country. Cortes founded Vera Cruz and left a small garrison there. He succeeded in gaining the support of some of the caciques or rulers who were hostile to Montezuma, and he fought his way to the city of Mexico. His force at this time was only 6,000 natives and a few Spaniards. The people of Mexico fell down before him and treated him and his followers as immortals. He then received word that Montezuma had sent a force to massacre his garrison at Vera Cruz, and the leader had sent the head of one of the Spaniards to the capital as a warning. This disillusioned the Mexicans and proved to them that the Spaniards were only human. Cortes then seized upon the person of Montezuma and ordered him to hand over the Mexican general and the forces who had attacked Vera Cruz. These he caused to be burned alive before the gates of the palace. He then chained Montezuma, compelled him to acknowledge Charles V. as his overlord and to pay over an enormous ransom of gold and gems. Then he heard that Velasquez had sent Narvaez to compel him to desist from his work. Cortes attacked this force and took Narvaez prisoner and enlisted all of his men under his own banner. On his return to Mexico he found that Montezuma was dead, and a new emperor was reigning in his stead. The people rose against Cortes and drove him out. A great battle followed on the plain of Otumba on July 7, 1520. This really decided the fate of Mexico. Cortes after his victory at Otumba marched upon Tlascala, and thence to the city of Mexico which surrendered to him after a siege of several months (August, 1521).

Charles V. was delighted with this success and in spite of the irregular conduct of campaign, appointed him governor and captain-general of Mexico. He governed harshly and the natives rose in rebellion, but were speedily put down. He had Guatimozin, the chosen emperor, and several caciques executed publicly and was otherwise very cruel to the natives. The home government became jealous of him and he made two voyages to Spain to set himself right, but his power was gradually curtailed so that he went home to Spain for good. The Emperor's friendship cooled and although he took the field against the Algerian pirates, Charles was unfriendly to him and he could scarcely gain an audience. On one occasion it is said that Cortes pushed his way through the crowd of courtiers near to the Emperor's person. The Emperor, in a rage at his boldness, asked him who he was. Cortes replied: "I am a man who has given you more provinces than your ancestors left you cities." He retired dis-

gusted by this ingratitude and lived in retirement near Seville until his death. Francisco Pizarro (1471-1541) was of obscure Spanish birth and made his way to America on one of the several expeditions. He was with Alonzo de Ojeda and the ill-fated colony of San Sebastian in 1510. He went with Balboa to Darien, and Balboa's successor Pedrarias gave him a grant of land at Panama. In 1522 he entered into a compact with Hernando de Luque, a priest, and Diego de Almagro, a soldier, to explore and conquer the south. Several attempts failed; and in 1526 they sailed with a small force south from Panama. The force was too small, and the party suffered many privations. As the governor would not help him, he went to Spain and after much difficulty obtained permission to raise a force. This was hard to do and he sailed for America secretly with only a part of it. His brother Hernando joined him and they left Panama early in 1530 with three ships, twenty-seven horses, and one hundred and eighty men. They began their conquest of Peru in 1532 by entering Caxamarca. Peru was then governed by the Incas, the most highly civilized of all the tribes. They had succeeded in building up a solid government when Pizarro appeared. The great Inca Huayna Capac died in 1527. His sons Huascar and Atahualpa fought out a struggle for supremacy. Atahualpa was victorious and was marching from Quito to Cuzco when Pizarro met him at Caxamarca. Atahualpa was murdered in August, 1533, and in November Pizarro entered Cuzco. He caused Manco, the son of Huayna to be crowned and Almagro advanced against Chili while Pizarro founded Lima in 1535. The Incas tried to free themselves and attacked the Spaniards in Cuzco. Almagro, returning from Chili, raised the siege. The Pizarros and Almagro disputed over the territory, Almagro was defeated at Las Salinas, and was executed by order of the Pizarros. His half-native son, Almagro the Lad, was recognized by his friends, and Pizarro was assassinated at Lima in 1541. The Emperor sent Vasca de Castro to Peru. He assumed the title of governor and defeated the forces of Almagro the Lad and had the latter executed at Cuzco in 1542. Jacques Cartier, a French navigator of St. Malo, set sail in 1534 with two ships to explore the fishing-grounds of Newfoundland. After touching at Cape Bonavista, he sailed through the straits of Belle Isle and landed on the peninsula of Gaspé in Quebec on the south of the mouth of the St. Lawrence. He took possession of the land in the name of the King of France. In 1535 he sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as the Indian town of Hochelaga, the modern Montreal. He returned to France in 1536. In 1540, Jean Francis de la Roche, Sieur de Roberval, undertook the work of colonization and Cartier commanded the ships. He built a fort near Quebec, called Charlesbourg Royal. He

found the Indians very hostile because on his previous voyage he had taken their king home on a visit and he died in France. He decided to return and although he met di Roberval's part of the expedition and was ordered by him to return to Canada he went on his way back to France. It is known that he was alive in 1552 but the date of his death is uncertain.

FERDINAND DE SOTO (1496-1542).—This noted explorer and soldier was born in Spain and was a protégé of Pedrarias whom he accompanied on the second expedition to Darien, in 1519. He explored the coast of Guatemala and Yucatan and in 1528, led a small force to the assistance of Pizarro in Peru. He discovered the pass over the mountains to Cuzco and took a prominent part in the capture of the town. He returned to Spain with wealth enough to marry the daughter of Pedrarias and to lend money to Charles V., who, in acknowledgment, made him governor of Cuba and admiral of Florida. He landed in Florida in 1539 with a small force in search of fabulous wealth. In his search he came to the Mississippi in 1541. De Soto died on the Mississippi in 1542 and was buried in the river.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH (1552-1618).—This celebrated courtier of Queen Elizabeth took an active part from a distance in the colonization of Virginia. After securing the Queen's favor and several grants and privileges in the new world, he sent out an expedition in 1584 to examine the section which he named Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth the Virgin Queen. This settlement was made on the banks of the Roanoke River and the parents of Virginia Dare, the first white child of English parents born in America were among the settlers. This colony failed, as did another formed by Raleigh in 1587. This ended his attempts in Virginia. He was engaged in the suppression in Ireland in 1585, and took a leading part against the Spanish Armada in 1588. Through jealousy, Raleigh was imprisoned in 1592, but was released to look after the division of spoils taken by his expedition against the Spaniards. The rumors of El Dorado, a country rich beyond all the wildest fancies, were credited and Raleigh fell a prey to them. Orellana declared that he had found it, and the search for it was the delusion of the explorers during the whole 18th century. He sent Wheddon out to the Orinoco in 1594. In 1595 he followed in person to Trinidad, sailed up the Orinoco, heard more stories of El Dorado from the Indians, brought back some gold-bearing quartz, and prepared to fit out a large expedition. The war with Spain continued, and Raleigh was needed to share in the defeat of the Spaniards at Cadiz in 1596, in which he was wounded. After Essex was executed, Raleigh was restored to favor. But when James I. came to

the throne he was disgraced and arrested for treasonable speeches made in anger. He was condemned but his sentence was commuted. It was during his imprisonment that he wrote the "History of the World." He was released in 1616 on a promise that he would go to South America and find the gold which he had reason to believe was near the Orinoco. He was unsuccessful both in his attempts to find the mine and bring rich treasures of Spanish ships to England. On his return he was arrested for failure, charges of piracy against the Spanish were lodged against him and he was beheaded in 1618.

In 1606, Sir Thomas Gates and Company, under charters from King James I. planted two colonies in Virginia. This was superseded by the London Company in 1609 who undertook the colonization under royal patent. Captain John Smith (1580-1631) was a president of the colony for some time. Between 1596 and 1604 the story of his desperate adventures all over the world read almost fabulous. His escapes from death in war and from shipwreck are almost miraculous. He took part in the war against Holland in the service of Henry IV. of France; wandered through Italy; fought against the Turks; was taken prisoner in Constantinople and sold into slavery and carried off to Tartary, when he passed into the hands of Timor, a pasha. He was treated so cruelly by the Timor, that Smith beat out his brains and, mounting a horse, rode into the desert. He made his way to Muscovy, on into Leipsic where he met his old master Sigismund who gave him much money. He wandered through Germany, France, and Spain; was blown to sea to the Canaries and in 1603 returned to England. In 1606 he joined the London Company and sailed in one of three ships with about one hundred and forty colonists. They touched first at Dominica in the West Indies. Their next stopping place was Nevis, one of the British Islands in the Leeward group. Charges of conspiracy had been brought against Smith and a gallows was erected here to hang him. His execution was postponed and the expedition sailed northward. The ships encountered a gale which blew them into Chesapeake Bay in April, 1607. Here they explored the James River and settled upon a site for their town. A box of sealed orders was opened on arrival. By them the directors were named, one of whom was Smith. On the first election Captain E. M. Wingfield was elected first president of the colony. All this time Smith was regarded as a prisoner. He challenged the false charges and on being exonerated received £200 damages. In 1607 he was admitted to his place among the directors. Mortality among the colonists was great. In June, 1607, there were one hundred and five. In January, 1608, only thirty-eight survived the lack of food, good water, and the incessant watching and fighting during all kinds of weather,

On a voyage up the James River, three of his companions, George Carson, Jehu Robinson, and Thomas Emery were killed, and Smith taken prisoner. Smith pleased the Indians by showing them curiosities, and displaying his skill as a craftsman, and he was led about as a wonder by Opecanchanough, the brother of the great chief Powhatan. In 1608 his captor passed him over to Powhatan, who made great preparations for his execution after the barbarous custom of the Indians. Just as the blow was descending, the King's favorite daughter, Pocahontas, rushed forward and interposed her body and begged him off.

After Smith's deliverance he devoted all of his energies to the welfare of the colony. He was made president against his will in 1608; he tried to capture Powhatan in 1609; with a force of only eighteen men he compelled Opecanchanough in the presence of a great force of Indians to sell him corn. His rule of the colony and of the Indians was excellent until in 1609 the colony was increased by the arrival of five hundred colonists who refused to recognize Smith's authority and by their treatment of the Indians undid much of his good work. In an attempt to kill him they set fire to his powder bag, which wounded his foot and set fire to his clothing. In his attempt to put out the fire by jumping in the river he was nearly drowned. In October, 1609, he returned to England for good. In the following spring all but sixty of the colonists died of starvation. Pocahontas did not visit the James Town colony after Smith left in 1609, until she was brought there as a prisoner in 1613. Led to believe that Smith was dead she fell in love with John Rolfe whom she married in April, 1614. She became a Christian and in 1616 went with him to London. She remained there for six or seven months and was much petted by Queen Anne and the Court, who had been interested in her by Smith's account of her rescue of him. On her return to America in 1617, with Capt. Argall who had taken her prisoner in 1613 in Virginia, she died off Gravesend. Smith never returned to Virginia, but made voyages of exploration in the North of America and was made Admiral of New England. In 1619 he offered to take the Puritans to America but was refused his offer on account of his religion. He devoted the latter part of his life to literature, the bibliography is quite extensive. In 1624 the London Company became bankrupt with liabilities amounting to £200,000. Lord Delaware was governor of Virginia. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale. In a very short time by encouraging the cultivation of tobacco, he made the colony self-supporting. There was a sort of communistic sharing of wealth and property which did not promote individual effort. The changes which Dale made in this led to great prosperity and in a very few years there were four thousand

whites besides slaves. The first negro-slaves came in a Dutch man-of-war, but whites were also enslaved for a term of years. In response to the requests of the colonists, the London Company granted the right of formal government by representation; and in 1619 two delegates from each of the eleven districts or boroughs met in the House of Burgesses. The London Company was composed of opponents of James I. who by way of punishment annulled their charter shortly before his death. His successor Charles I. paid little attention to Virginia except to appoint his favorites as governors. The colonists deposed one of them, James Harvey, and William Berkeley his successor ruled despotically until the execution of Charles in 1649. During Cromwell's time the colonists appointed their own governors. When Charles II. succeeded, the colonists tried to please him by choosing Berkeley again. He was worse than ever. He kept the same House of Burgesses in session for fourteen years and disposed of lands and property as he pleased. He allowed the Indians to attack the colony until the people rebelled under Nathaniel Bacon.

BACON, NATHANIEL.—Born in England about 1642; died, 1676. An Anglo-American lawyer. He emigrated to Va. and led an expedition against the Indians but was refused a commission by the governor. He captured and destroyed Jamestown, but died before he could accomplish his projects of reform. (See BACON'S REBELLION.)

BACON'S REBELLION.—A revolt in 1676 of the people of Va., led by Nathaniel Bacon, against their governor, Sir William Berkeley. The Crown, in 1673, assigned the province for thirty-one years to Lord Arlington and Lord Culpeper, granting to them almost absolute power over the conduct and property of the inhabitants. This authority, delegated to Berkeley, was so grossly abused by him that the people rebelled. Not only was he a petty tyrant, levying exorbitant taxes and antagonizing free education and a free press, but he was either unable or unwilling to protect the colonists against the Indians. When the settlers chose Bacon to lead them against the savages, the governor declined to commission him, but he headed the expedition, nevertheless, and was victorious. Berkeley then proclaimed Bacon a rebel, and the people retorted by electing Bacon to the assembly. He was arrested and tried, but was released on parole and left the capital, Jamestown, to which he soon returned at the head of 600 men. This time his commission was given to him. While he was absent on another successful campaign against the Indians, Berkeley once more proclaimed him a rebel and traitor. Bacon retaliated by burning Jamestown, the governor seeking safety aboard an English vessel. The rebellion was thereafter conducted fitfully until the death of

Bacon in 1676, when it collapsed. It is worthy of note that it was the first revolt against British rule in America, and that it occurred just one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence.

On the death of Bacon, Berkeley wreaked vengeance upon the people and hanged twenty of them; for which he was recalled to England in disgrace by the King.

PILGRIM FATHERS.—A name given by William Bradford to certain emigrants, who under the leadership of Bradford, Brewster, Cushman, Carver, and Miles Standish, came from England early in the seventeenth century and founded the colony of Plymouth. Those who arrived in the first three ships were also called "old comers" or "fore-fathers." The "Mayflower" was the first to arrive on the American coast (Dec., 1620), and had 108 persons on board. Next came the "Fortune," with twenty-nine in 1621, and she was followed by the "Anne," and "The Little James" in August, 1623, bringing forty-six persons.

The unsettled condition of religious matters in England consequent upon the attitude of Henry VIII. toward the Pope, the restoration of Catholicism by Mary; the substitution of Protestantism by Elizabeth; and the favor of Presbyterianism by James I., led up to the founding of Puritanism. In consequence of the persecution of these people, a whole congregation, under John Robinson, their pastor, went from Scrooby in Nottingham to Leyden in Holland where they were well treated and enjoyed liberty of conscience. But they wished to remain English so they emigrated to America under grants obtained from the London Company. John Carver (1575-1621) was the first governor of Plymouth (1620-1621). He and half of the colonists died during the first spring.

BRADFORD, WILLIAM.—Born at Austerfield, Eng., 1590; died at Plymouth, Mass., 1657. An American pioneer and historian, one of the "Pilgrim Fathers." For many years he was governor of Plymouth and wrote a "History of the Plymouth Plantation," the manuscript of which, after being lost for a long time, was found at Fulham Library, Eng., and printed in 1856.

His rule was wise and the colony was so prosperous and the harvest of the first year so bountiful that the colonists united in a formal giving of thanks, which was the origin of the national observance of Thanksgiving Day. Miles Standish (1584-1656) one of the "Mayflower's" colonists was appointed captain of the Colony, and by his military experience gained in the Netherlands succeeded in keeping down the attacks by Indians, whom he defeated at Weymouth in 1623. He was a settler, and later, a magistrate of Duxbury, Mass.,

where he died. He is the subject of Longfellow's poem "The Courtship of Miles Standish." The struggles of the Puritans to found a colony amid fearful hardships contrasts markedly with the prosperity of the Virginia colony, which at the age of sixty-five years had a population of forty thousand in well-to-do circumstances. It has been said that the Virginian colony raised tobacco and the Puritans raised men. Charles I. gave a grant incorporating the Company of Massachusetts Bay, which carried with it very liberal political privileges. The colonists had the right of appointing their own governor and council and could make all laws provided such did not conflict with those of England. The head office of the Company was removed to America in 1630. John Winthrop (1587-1649) came to America in 1630 with about one thousand colonists. He was appointed governor in 1629, and settled near Boston. He held office until 1634, and again 1637-1640, 1642-1644, and 1646-1649. He left an interesting journal which was published in two volumes in 1825, under the title of "History of New England, 1630-1649." During the years 1630-1640 the immigration amounted to twenty thousand people. Their government was a mixture of democracy and theocracy. The parish grew up around the church and was governed by elected local officers. Each parish sent delegates to a General Assembly. The clergyman had great authority in his parish. The town-meeting was introduced and proved a most efficient check on wrong-doing. Harvard College was founded in 1636 with a view to educating the youth to the ministry in an orthodox way. The colonists had to contend with a niggardly soil and a severe climate. They clung pertinaciously to their religious opinions and when in 1635, Roger Williams (1600-1684) a pastor of Salem rejected certain views on Sabbath-breaking and other opinions, he was regarded as a heretic and expelled from the community by the General Court. In 1636 he went to Seekonk and founded Rhode Island. In 1639 he founded the first Baptist Church in America. He secured a charter for his colony and was its governor for several years. His great offense in the eyes of the Plymouth colony was his insistence upon religious tolerance. Mrs. Anne Hutcheson proved also a thorn in the flesh and professed such views that she was requested to leave. Accordingly, she, too, went to Rhode Island, and not long after the colonies in that locality were merged into Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. A new colony was founded near Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by John Mason (1600-1672); and another in Maine by Sir Ferdinand Gorges. Their object was to break up the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Mason's colonists finally joined Massachusetts, and Maine went in later. Settlers from Massachusetts branched out and formed settlements on the Con-

necticut River near the site of Hartford. These settlements of Windsor and Weathersfield were founded upon more democratic principles than those which prevailed in the Plymouth Colony, which was somewhat aristocratic. Thomas Hooker was instrumental in disseminating democratic ideas around Hartford. John Winthrop (1606-1676) was the son of Governor Winthrop. He founded Saybrook in Connecticut in 1635 to keep out the Dutch and became its first governor. He was governor of all of Connecticut (1657-1676) and secured the charter which united the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. This New Haven colony was founded in 1638 by Rev. John Davenport who attempted to found a colony which should be governed by the Bible alone.

The Pequot Indians numbering about 30,000 occupied the strip of coast in Connecticut between the Niantic River and Rhode Island. In 1637 the colonists under Captain John Mason attacked their fort on the Mystic River and slaughtered 600 of them. The survivors fled and coalesced with other Indian tribes. This is known as the Pequot War. They secured peace to the colonies for several years, during which the internal political growth of the colonies was greatly promoted. Several of the colonies formed a protective union against Indians in 1643. This did not include Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. The Quakers or Friends were followers of George Fox. Knowing the religious intolerance of the Plymouth Colony, they entered it from a settlement in Rhode Island where they had lived in peace. They were promptly expelled, and in 1659 two were hanged for returning; in 1660 a woman met the same fate and in 1661 another man was hanged. After that the punishment was reduced to whipping and imprisonment. A belief in witchcraft seized upon some of the best people in Salem, Mass., and a number of people were put to death for exercising their supernatural powers.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.—Philip, son of Massasoit, sachem of the Wampanoag Indians, and a friend of the early settlers of Plymouth, determined to drive away or kill all the European settlers in his colony. His camp was at Mount Hope, R. I., and his first blow was struck at Swansea, Mass., July 4, 1675. The settlers took up arms in defense and drove the enemy to the more remote settlements. Philip was reinforced by other tribes, but the Indians suffered many defeats, and were finally subdued. Philip was shot in a swamp by a treacherous Indian, and his head was carried in triumph to Plymouth. This was in spite of the efforts and teachings of John Eliot.

ELIOT, JOHN.—Born in England, 1604; died at Roxbury, Mass., 1690. A distinguished missionary, known as "The Apostle of the

Indians." A translator of the Bible into the Indian language. He also composed an Indian grammar and catechism.

HUDSON, HENRY.—Died in Hudson Bay (?), 1611. A famed English navigator. After commanding several exploring expeditions in the Arctic regions in 1609, he explored the river which now bears his name, and ascended nearly to the site of Albany. The year following, he sailed in the "Discovery" to find a northwest passage and entered Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. He passed the winter in James Bay, but on his return a mutiny occurred among his men who took him, along with eight others, and set them adrift in a small boat on Hudson Bay. They were never seen again. In his early years Hudson was in the service of the Dutch East India Company.

The Dutch settled in this territory and at once engaged in trade especially along the Hudson River. A colony was founded on the Delaware, on the present site of Wilmington by some Swedes and dissatisfied Dutch in 1638. New York was then New Amsterdam, and Peter Stuyvesant was governor there in 1655. He claimed all territory occupied by the colony of New Sweden, upon the ground that Hudson had discovered it. They surrendered and the colony prospered. In 1664 Charles II. sent a fleet and took away the possession from the Dutch, claiming the territory by Cabot's discovery. The King gave it to his brother James, Duke of York, afterward James II., and it was called after him New York. He in turn gave Jersey, which was divided into east and west Jersey, to his friends Lord Berkeley and Sir George Cartaret, by whom it was sold to a colony of Quakers and to William Penn in 1676.

The colony of Massachusetts now entered upon a very troublous period. New Hampshire was erected into a royal colony. Maine was separated from her. In 1684 because the people of the colony persisted in restricting the right to vote to only those who were members of the Congregational Church, King Charles II. revoked the charter of the colony. Then James II., a pronounced Catholic, came to the throne and treated the colonists with scant consideration. He sent out Sir Edmund Andros as Viceroy of New England including New York and New Jersey. Andros tried to secure the charter of Connecticut, but it was safely hidden in a hollow tree. His efforts to coerce Rhode Island were also fruitless. In Boston he established the Protestant Episcopal religion and built King's Chapel. He governed without the General Court of Assembly and levied taxes at will. About this time James II. was driven from the throne and William and Mary gave back not only the charter but Maine, Nova Scotia, and Plymouth to Massachusetts. The only changes were that Episcopalians

could vote, and the King appointed the Governor. The colony of Carolina was first settled by some of the Virginians who took up land there. It was named Carolina in honor of Charles II. In 1663 Charles gave a charter to some of his friends and important colonization resulted in founding Charleston and other settlements. John Locke, the philosopher, worked out a fantastic form of government for the colony which was followed more or less closely for twenty-five years. The holders of the charter in 1729 handed it back to the Crown as it was not a profitable investment to them. The founding of Maryland was primarily as a refuge for the Catholics in England who were not allowed the rights of citizenship or liberty of conscience. It was granted originally to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, by Charles I., who gave him that portion of Virginia from the Potomac to 40° North latitude. As George Calvert died before the charter had passed the great seal it was made out in the name of his son, Leonard Calvert.

CALVERT, LEONARD.—Born about 1582; died in 1647. Was the first governor of Maryland, and commanded the colonists who set sail from Cowes, Nov. 22, 1633, and founded St. Mary's in 1634. The colony was named Maryland in honor of the Queen. It prospered materially until 1691, when William III. annulled the charter and revived the oppressive laws against the Catholics. Frequent disputes with neighboring states as to territory disturbed the colony for several years. The founding of Pennsylvania was the work of William Penn.

PENN, WILLIAM.—(1644-1718.) A famous Anglo-American Quaker, philanthropist, and statesman. In 1681 he received from Charles II. the grant of the territory that is now Pa. He founded the colony of Pa. and the city which he named Philadelphia. His administration was marked by liberality and wisdom, with special efforts to improve the condition of the negroes and Indians. In 1701 Penn returned for the last time to England, leaving the government in the charge of one Ford, by whose rascality he was financially ruined.

Penn bought his land from the Indians and made a treaty with them that was never broken. He bought a few sea-counties from the Duke of York, a part of Delaware.

MASON AND DIXON'S LINE.—The boundary line between Pa. and Md. It is coincident with the parallel of 39° 43' beginning at the Delaware River and running 244 miles westward. It was laid out by two eminent English mathematicians and astronomers, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, about 1766. Lord Baltimore and William Penn having disputed the boundary between their adjoining grants, the

case was taken to London for adjudication and the parties to the suit were ordered to have the line run. The surveyors marked the line with posts, having on one side the arms of Penn and on the other of Lord Baltimore. The line became famous in later days as marking in part the boundary between free and slave states.

In 1732 James Oglethorpe, a general and philanthropist, received from King George II. a grant of land in Georgia, named after the King. Here a colony of the oppressed prisoners for debt was founded. It was assisted by George Whitefield and the Wesleys, who did much to further the benevolent work. The colonists thrived and raised rice and indigo in spite of the trouble with the Spanish who still held Florida.

American politics begins, with the charter granted by James I., in 1606, for the settlement of the North American coast. In that charter, he declared for himself, his heirs, and successors, that British subjects who should go and inhabit the intended colonies, their children and posterity, should have and enjoy all the liberties, franchises, and immunities, of British subjects anywhere within the British dominions. At the time, this grant was more important in relation to civil liberty than to political right; but it was an expanding grant that grew with the growth of political franchise at home, and the keen lawyers and constitutionists, with whom the colonies afterward swarmed, gave to the heirs and successors of "Steenie" many a bad quarter of an hour, in picking holes in the Joseph's coat that these teasing dialecticians made out of the grant.

Although eventually some of the colonies belonged directly to the crown, and others to proprietors to whom the crown had made grants, with powers of government, and still others to their inhabitants, with only a general allegiance to the crown, they were all, practically, self-governing colonies. The inhabitants blocked out for themselves the political arrangements that suited their temper and circumstances, and with quiet determination worked those arrangements according to their own pleasure; winding in and out among the legal meshes that nominally held them subject to external government, without breaking a thread or catching a foot in the tangle. A little more than a century after the colonization had fairly begun, Franklin was able to contemplate "near a million English souls" in the colonies, eleven-twelfths of them native born; who had all the government they needed, without an excess; all the distribution of the powers of government necessary to efficiency, without complexity; all possible respect for authority, without adulation of rank or person; public order, with personal freedom; a mastery of all the original obstacles to settlement, whether savage, soil, or climate, and, amid circumstances

tending to self-will and self-assertion, a mastery of themselves. The world had never seen the like. The Greek colonies that had gone out east, and west, in ancient times had taken with them comparatively simple local institutions, and had reproduced them in their new homes. But the English who had migrated to, or who had been born in, America, had not reproduced their home institutions. They had taken them as the model, and had remodeled them to their own newer and plainer circumstances. To understand their capacity to do this, one would have to read English political history backward to the dawn of parliaments at least. Perhaps it is pleasanter to read forward from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, and to see how, again and again, the like political aptitude has been shown. English speaking men, resolute yet restrained, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, exhibit, as yet, no decline from the then matchless art that planted free political institutions along the American seaboard. In our own country, the far West has been built up into free commonwealths in the same way as was New England, and the Old Dominion, in the colonizing days. That the great West is a broadened out New England, rather than an expanded Old Dominion, is due to the greater migratory habits of the Northern people in the past.

The Puritan cast that New England gave to our national character, during our first century of national existence, is disappearing under the rise of other parts of the Union to a larger importance than had been hitherto attained—the effect of a greater intercourse among the sections, and with the Old World, and the influence of foreign habits and manners brought over by immigrants, or brought in by natives who reside or visit much abroad. Socially, the American types of manhood and womanhood have perceptibly changed within the small compass of the last quarter of a century; but up to date, our political institutions still rest on their original foundations, and show their old-time characteristics of quickness, power, and mobility, in collective action, without any narrowing of that individual freedom, dear alike, in ancient colony days, to Virginia planter and Massachusetts farmer. New England has long since disestablished congregationalism, and Virginia, episcopacy, as parts of the political machinery; but that has broadened freedom and bettered religion. And in place of the little democracies, resemblances of the little democracies of ancient Greece, there came in, with the revolution and the Declaration of Independence, parties of national extent, with national aims, resemblances of that Christian republic that Constantine saw planted within, and conterminous with, his great Roman empire. So that, with the revolution, the national history of American politics fairly begins.

Before entering finally the domain of national politics, a passing mention is due to the famous covenant of the Pilgrim Fathers, drawn up and executed on board the "Mayflower," just before the landing at Plymouth Rock. With a little modernizing and amplification, it would yet serve as a manifesto for a political party or a leader wishing to touch both the hearts and the consciences of the people. It is more important, however, as a statement of the true ends of government and of the true modes of their attainment; and being the earliest American declaration upon these subjects, it will be of interest to note wherein it differs, if at all, from our present ideas of what government stands for, and of how it should be carried on.

After a pious preamble, and a describing of themselves as loyal subjects of their dread sovereign, the covenanters define the objects of their colonizing adventure to be the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of their king and country. To better order, preserve, and further, these objects, they, in the presence of God and of each other, solemnly and mutually organize themselves into a civil body politic, and by virtue of the covenant, to frame and to enact, from time to time, such just and equal laws, ordinances, constitutions, and offices, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, and unto which they promise all due submission and obedience.

Making allowance for modern-day religious toleration, this would not be a bad or ill-timed constitution or government for any community. Brief as the instrument is, drawn up in the cramped cabin of a tiny vessel, in bitter cold and stormy weather; off a strange and forbidding coast; after a voyage of unspeakable hardship, and with hostile arrows beating the side of the little vessel, it would be easier, almost, to enumerate what is not in it than to summarize all it expresses or implies. One thing that may be safely said of it is, that it is an immortal tribute to the political genius of the race from which it sprang. For if these were of England's best men, they were also of England's common men, men who lacked the distinction of gentle birth, high place, fortune, and college breeding, that marked so many of the after colonists of Massachusetts Bay. But such as they were, they anticipated Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people, for the people"; in religion, and piety, the missionary and martyr spirit of zeal and devotion and a reverent faith. We find, too, loyalty and patriotism, public spirit, mutual brotherhood and trust, and the fidelity that makes men stand back to back, and shoulder to shoulder, in times of stress. On the moral side of the instrument we see justice and equity, peace, good-will, unselfishness, and the resolve that all shall be ordered for the common good. Lastly, and perhaps most

characteristic and important of all, the unobtrusive but clear determination to govern themselves. Thus was democracy planted on American soil, and hedged about with the noblest of human purposes.

When the stamp act of 1765 brought on a violent agitation in the colonies, parties in Great Britain were divided into Whigs, or liberals, and Tories, or conservatives; the former having the most talent and the latter the most character. The Tories being in power, the Whigs, as the opposition, attacked or criticised all the leading ministerial measures, the stamp act included. They certainly knew less, and probably cared less, about the colonies than did their adversaries; but in abusing the ministry, they necessarily had to eulogize the colonists, and so became endeared to the latter. Out of compliment to their friends at home, the extremists in the colonies took to themselves the party name of Whigs, and bestowed the name of Tories upon the submissionists and temporizers. When actual war came, after ten years of agitation, the American Whigs received an accession from those who deplored the war, but meant to stand with their own people in the conflict. The name of Tories, or Loyalists, as they preferred to call themselves, then remained to those who favored the reduction of the now united colonies by force. The Whigs triumphed, and the Tories, despite the appeals and protests of many of the Whig leaders, were treated with a severity that would now be impossible.

ADAIR, JAMES.—An English trader, resident among the North American Indians from 1735 to 1775; author of a "History of the American Indians."

ALDEN, JOHN.—(1599-1686.) A "Mayflower" pilgrim, magistrate of Plymouth for fifty years. His romantic association with Miles Standish furnished Longfellow with a theme for his poem.

ALLERTON, ISAAC.—(1583-1659.) One of the "Pilgrim Fathers," a founder of Plymouth, Mass., and agent in Europe of the Plymouth Colony.

BACKUS, ISAAC.—Born at Norwich, Conn., 1724; died, 1806. An American Baptist minister; author of a "History of New England" (1777-96).

BARD, SAMUEL.—Born at Philadelphia, 1742; died at Hyde Park, N. Y., 1821. An American physician and medical writer; president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons at New York (1813-21).

BARNARD, JOHN.—Born at Boston, Mass., 1681; died, 1770. An American Congregational Clergyman; author of "The Strange Adventures of Philip Ashton" (1725), etc.

BARTRAM, JOHN.—Born in Chester County, Pa., 1699; died at Kingsessing, Pa., 1777. A noted American botanist and founder of the first botanical garden in America, at Kingsessing, near Philadelphia.

BARTRAM, WILLIAM.—Son of the above; born at Kingsessing, Pa., 1739; died there, 1823. An American botanist and ornithologist. He prepared the most complete list of American birds before Wilson, and wrote "Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida," etc. (1791).

BAY PSALM BOOK, THE.—The first New England version of the Psalms. Published by Richard Mather, John Eliot, and Thomas Welde in 1640. There are but eight copies known to be extant.

BELKNAP, JEREMY.—Born at Boston, Mass., 1744; died there, 1798. An American historian and Congregational divine. He wrote "History of New Hampshire"; "American Biographies," etc., and was the founder of the Mass. Historical Society.

BELLINGHAM, RICHARD.—Born in England, 1592; died in Mass., 1672. A colonial governor of Mass. He came to America in 1634 and was governor of Mass. many years. His wife having died he contracted a second marriage, and performed the marriage ceremony himself, without proclamation of banns. He was presented by the great inquest for breach of the order of court; but refusing to vacate the bench, the other magistrates were at a loss how to proceed, and he escaped censure.

BLACKSTONE, WILLIAM.—Died near Providence, R. I., 1675. An English colonist in America, the first white settler in Boston, about 1623.

BLODGETT, SAMUEL.—Born at Woburn, Mass., 1724; died at Haverhill, N. H., 1807. An American inventor; constructor of a machine for raising sunken vessels. He began the canal around Amoskeag Falls, at Haverhill, N. H., which bears his name.

BLUE LAWS.—A term applied in derision to some of the early laws of the New England colonists. These laws were designed to regulate minutely the conduct, labors, and limited pleasures of the early settlers, and their extreme narrowness, rigidity, and inquisitorial character made their enforcement difficult and incomplete.

BOGARDUS, EVERARD.—The first Dutch pastor of New York (1633); was drowned off the coast of England.

BOHEMIA MANOR.—A tract of 5,000 acres in the Elk River district, Md., granted in 1666 by Lord Baltimore to Augustine Herman, a Bohemian surveyor, who had become a denizen, and had taken advantage of the first naturalization act passed in the province.

BOYLSTON, JABDIEL, F. R. S.—(1680–1766.) An American physician who first practised vaccination in Boston.

BRADDOCK, EDWARD.—(1715–1755.) A major-general commanding the British forces against the French in America. In 1755, he led a force of 2,000 regulars and provincial troops to invest Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, Pa. An ambush of Indians fell upon them in a forest and over half the force was slain. Braddock was mortally wounded and died after a journey of forty miles in a cart.

BRADFORD, WILLIAM.—Born in Leicestershire, Eng., 1663; died at New York, 1752. An Anglo-American printer, the founder, in 1725, of the "New York Gazette," the first newspaper in New York. He sailed with Penn for America, 1682, returned to Eng., and again sailed for America in 1685. The first book issued from his press was an almanac, "America's Messenger," for 1686.

BRADSTREET, ANNE.—Born at Northampton, Eng., 1612; died at Andover, Mass., 1672. An Anglo-American poet, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. In 1628 she was married to Simon Bradstreet, afterward governor of Mass., with whom she emigrated to New England in 1630. A collection of her poems was published in London in 1650 under the title, "The Tenth Muse," the second edition of which (Boston, 1678) contains the best of her poems, "Contemplations."

BRAINERD, DAVID.—Born at Haddam, Conn., 1718; died at Northampton, Mass., 1747. An American missionary among the Indians. His biography was written by Jonathan Edwards.

BRATTLE, THOMAS.—Born at Boston, Mass., 1657; died there, 1713. A merchant and writer on astronomical topics. In 1692 he protested, in a private letter, printed by the "Massachusetts Historical Society," against the proceedings of the court in the so-called witchcraft cases.

BREWSTER, WILLIAM.—Born at Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, Eng., about 1560; died at Plymouth, Mass., 1644. One of the founders of Plymouth Colony in New England. He arrived in America by the "Mayflower" in 1620, and became ruling elder of the Brownist or Independent church at New Plymouth.

BURROUGHS, GEORGE.—Died at Salem, Mass., in 1692. An American clergyman, pastor at Falmouth, Me. He was accused of witchcraft, condemned and executed on the evidence of confessed witches, who affirmed that he had attended witch-meetings with them.

BYRD, WILLIAM.—Born at Westover, Va., 1674; died there, 1744. An American lawyer. Was for 37 years a member and finally president of the council of Va. In 1728 he was one of the commissioners

appointed to fix the boundary between Va. and N. C., an account of which is contained in the "Westover Manuscripts" written by him.

CALVERT, GEORGE, LORD BALTIMORE.—Born at Kipling, Yorkshire, Eng., about 1580; died 1632. He was the founder of Maryland, the charter for which, owing to his death before it had passed the great seal, was issued in the name of his son Cecil, in 1632.

CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM.—So called from the adoption of certain principles of church government and doctrine by a synod of Congregational churches of New England, held at Cambridge, Mass., 1648.

CARVER, JOHN.—Born in England about 1575; died at Plymouth, Mass., 1621. One of the "Pilgrim Fathers" and first governor of Plymouth Colony (1620-21).

CARVER, JONATHAN.—Born at Stillwater, Conn., 1732; died at London, Eng., 1780. An American trans-Mississippi explorer (1766). He wrote "Travels to the Interior Parts of North America" and several accounts of Indian customs, manners, and languages, etc. (1778); also, "A Treatise on the Cultivation of the Tobacco Plant."

CARY'S REBELLION.—The Quakers, in 1705, had Thomas Cary deposed from the deputy-governorship of N. C., because, under the requirements of the test act, he had disfranchised them. He made many attempts to usurp the government and one to kidnap Gov. Hyde, his successor in office, who, with the aid of militia sent by Gov. Spotswood of Va., overcame Cary.

CHARTER OAK.—In the early days of the New England colonies, when James II. was on the English throne, the king, who was a bigot and opposed to the liberties his American subjects sought to enjoy, had the N. E. charters revoked. To this there was much demurrer, particularly in Rhode Island and Connecticut. In the case of the latter, Governor Andros proceeded to Hartford in 1687 to seize the charter of the colony, and though the local governor pleaded to retain it and maintain the rights of the people, Andros would not consent. Suddenly, while the parley was going on, after nightfall, the candles on the table where the charter lay were blown out, and when, after some confusion, they were re-lighted, the charter was nowhere to be found. A captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, had made off with it and hidden it in the hollow trunk of a tree nearby, which came afterward to be spoken of as "the Charter Oak." The oak was overthrown in a storm so recently as Aug. 20, 1856.

CRADLE OF LIBERTY.—This name was first applied to Faneuil Hall, Boston, by Daniel Webster. The building was presented to that city in 1742, by Peter Faneuil and originally consisted of a large room for

public meetings, with small apartments above and a market on the ground floor. Destroyed by fire in 1761, it was soon afterward rebuilt and before and during the Revolution it was the scene of many important political meetings. When, in 1850, Daniel Webster was refused the use of Faneuil Hall in consequence of his erratic political course toward the end of his life, he wrote: "I shall defer my visit to Faneuil Hall, the cradle of American liberty, until its doors shall open on golden hinges to lovers of Union as well as of liberty."

DANA, RICHARD.—Born at Cambridge, Mass., 1700; died, 1772. A prominent American lawyer and patriot. He presided over the Boston town-meetings between 1763 and 1772, and took an active part in movements which preceded the Revolutionary War.

DAVENPORT, JOHN.—Born at Coventry, Eng., about 1598; died at Boston, Mass., 1670. A Puritan clergyman who emigrated from England and settled at Boston, 1637. He was one of the founders of the New Haven Colony, in 1638.

DE PEYSTER, ABRAHAM.—(1658-1728.) An American merchant; son of Johannes De Peyster, a Dutch colonist of New Amsterdam; mayor of New York, 1691-95, and afterward filled several important offices.

DINWIDDIE, ROBERT.—(1690-1770.) Lieutenant-governor of Va. (1752-58). Under his command, George Washington was despatched in 1753, to remonstrate with the commanders of the French forts on the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers against their violation of British territory. He took also an active part in the French and Indian War.

DONGAN CHARTER.—A charter granted to New York City by Thomas Dongan, lieut.-gov. and vice-admiral of N. Y., in 1686, which remained in force until 1730. Another charter given to the city of Albany is known by the same name.

DUDLEY, JOSEPH.—(1647-1720.) He was one of the commissioners for the United Colonies of New England (1677-81); appointed president of New England (1686); became chief-justice of the Supreme Court (1687); was chief-justice of N. Y. (1690-93); governor of Mass. (1702-15).

EASTON, NICHOLAS.—Born in England in 1593; died at Newport, R. I., 1675. He was governor of the United Colonies of Rhode Island and Providence, in 1650-52.

EATON, NATHANIEL.—Died in London after 1660. He was the first head-master appointed at Harvard College, in 1637. On account of gross brutality to one of his ushers, he was fined 100 marks, to evade payment of which he fled to Va., leaving debts amounting to \$5,000.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN.—Born at East Windsor, Conn., 1703; died at Princeton, N. J., 1758. A renowned American theologian and metaphysician. In the latter part of his ministerial career he was a missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, Mass. (1751-58); subsequently he became president of Princeton College in 1758, but died the same year. His principal works include "An Essay on the Freedom of the Will," "Doctrine of Original Sin Defended," "History of Redemption," etc.

ENAMBUC, or ESNAMBUC, PIERRE VANDROSQUE DIEL D'.—(1570-1636.) The founder of the French West Indies; his first colony was founded in 1625 on the island of St. Christopher.

ENDICOTT, JOHN.—Born in England in 1589; died at Boston, Mass., 1665. A former governor of Massachusetts colony, noted for his persecution of the Quakers, four of whom he caused to be executed in Boston during his administration.

FANEUIL, PETER.—(1700-1743.) An American merchant and founder of Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.

FOREFATHERS' DAY.—The name given to the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, Mass., Dec. 21, 1620. The date by the old-style calendar is Dec. 11. In 1769, the Old Colony Club was formed by seven citizens of Plymouth, to celebrate "the landing of our ancestors in this place," but in adjusting the date, to the new-style or Gregorian calendar, the Club by mistake established the anniversary on Dec. 22 instead of Dec. 21. New England Societies have been established in many of the states and the celebration of Forefathers' Day is becoming more general.

FORT WILLIAM HENRY.—At the head of Lake George, N. Y. It was surrendered by the English to the French and Indians under Montcalm in 1757.

FRENCH AND INDIAN or OLD FRENCH WAR.—The last of a series of wars between France and England for supremacy in America which extended over a period of ten years, from 1753 to 1763. The principal events in connection with this war were the dispersion of the Acadian settlers in 1755, Braddock's defeat (1755), capture of Oswego by Montcalm (1756), capture of Fort William Henry by Montcalm (1757), battle of Quebec under Wolfe (1759), surrender of Montreal (1760), and the surrender of Canada to Great Britain (1763).

GILBERT, Sir HUMPHREY.—(1539-1583.) A noted English soldier and navigator. He established the first English colony in America, at St. John's, Newfoundland, and was lost at sea off the Azores, on his return voyage.

GOSNOLD, BARTHOLOMEW.—Died at Jamestown, Va., 1607; one of the founders of the settlement at Jamestown. He was also the discoverer of Cape Cod, and Martha's Vineyard in 1602.

GRAN REUNION AMERICANA.—A secret political society founded in London by Francisco Miranda at the close of the 18th century. Its object was the emancipation of the American colonies from Spanish rule.

GRIDLEY, JEREMIAH.—Born at Boston, 1702; died at Brookline, Mass., 1767. A noted American lawyer, brother of Richard Gridley. He became attorney-general of the province of Massachusetts Bay. When before the superior court of judicature, he defended against James Otis the legality of the writs of assistance demanded by the British custom-house officials.

HENNEPIN, LOUIS.—(1640-1701.) A French missionary and explorer who traveled extensively in America in the west and along the Mississippi.

HOPKINS, EDWARD.—Born in England, 1600; died in London, 1657. He was governor of Conn. in alternate years from 1640 to 1654.

JOHNSON, EDWARD.—(1599-1672.) He was a joiner by trade and emigrated to America in 1630. He was a member of the Mass. House of Representatives (1643-71, except 1648) of which he became the speaker in 1655. He was the author of a "History of New England from the English Planting in 1628 until 1652."

JOHNSON, ISAAC.—Born in England; died at Boston, Mass., 1630. Noted as one of the founders of Massachusetts. He emigrated with Winthrop to America in 1630 and superintended the settlement of Shawmut or Boston.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL.—Born at Guilford, Conn., 1696; died at Stratford, Conn., 1772. A clergyman and educator; the first president of King's College (Columbia College), New York (1754-63).

JOHNSON, Sir WILLIAM.—Born in Ireland, 1715; died near Johnstown, N. Y., 1774. Distinguished as a British commander and magistrate in America and superintendent of Indian affairs in the colonies. He was appointed by Governor George Clinton, colonel of the Six Nations in 1744, and commanded the provincial forces in the attack against Crown Point, and also of the Indian forces in the advance of Amherst on Montreal. He obtained a grant of land called King's land in the Mohawk Valley, where he built Fort Johnson in 1743. and was the first to introduce sheep and blooded horses. He was the author of "Transactions of the Philosophical Society," a paper on the "Languages, Customs, and Manners of the Indian Six Nations."

KENNEBEC PURCHASE.—In 1628, the council for New England granted to William Bradford and other Plymouth colonists a tract of territory along the Kennebec and Cobbiseecontee Rivers for fishing purposes. It was sold in 1661 to Tyng and others and has since been known as the Kennebec Purchase.

KIDD, WILLIAM.—Born probably at Greenock, Scotland; hanged at Execution Dock, London, 1701; a notorious pirate. In 1695, the governor of Massachusetts Bay placed Kidd in command of a privateer for the suppression of piracy. Kidd turned pirate himself; was arrested at Boston, 1699, and sent to England for trial, which resulted in his execution.

KING GEORGE'S WAR.—The war waged by Great Britain and her American colonies against the French and Indians—the American phase of the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-48); named from George II.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.—The war carried on by Great Britain and her colonies against France and her Indian allies; it was the American phase of the contest between England and other European powers, and Louis XIV. of France.

KIRKLAND, SAMUEL.—Born at Norwich, Conn., 1741; died at Clinton, N. Y., 1808. A Congregational clergyman, a missionary among the Oneida Indians in N. Y.

LA SALLE, ROBERT CAVELIER, Sieur DE.—(1643-1687.) A famous French explorer, noted for his expeditions to the New World.

LOGAN, JAMES.—(1674-1751.) A colonial politician; accompanied William Penn to America in 1699 as secretary of the Society of Friends. He was chief-justice of the supreme court of Pa. (1731-39), and, as president of the council, was for two years acting governor of the colony.

MARIANA.—The name given by a colonist, John Mason, to the territory granted to him between the Salem River and the Merrimac.

MARQUETTE, JACQUES.—Born at Laon, France, 1637; died near Lake Michigan, 1675. A Jesuit missionary and explorer in America. He accompanied Joliet in his voyage down the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers, and up the Illinois River in 1673. He died while attempting to establish a mission among the Illinois Indians. He wrote an account of the expedition of 1673, entitled "*Voyage et découverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amerique Septentrionale.*"

MASON, JOHN.—Born at King's Lynn, England, 1586; died at London, 1635. The founder of N. H. He was appointed governor of Newfoundland in 1615; was granted in 1622 a patent for all land

between the Nahumheik and Merrimac Rivers in New England; established himself as deputy-governor at New Plymouth in 1623; formed the Laconia Company in 1629, for the purpose of founding an agricultural settlement. His rights in N. H. were sold to Gov. Samuel Allen in 1691.

MASON, JOHN.—Born in England, 1600; died at Norwich, Conn., 1672. A colonial commander. He assisted in the migration of the Dorchester settlers to Windsor, Conn., in 1635, and in 1637 commanded the colonial troops in the Pequot War. He wrote "Brief History of the Pequot War."

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY.—A colonizing company chartered in England in 1628, by John Humphrey, John Endicott, and others. The company grew out of the preëxisting Dorchester Company, and was the result of imperiled political and religious rights in England under Charles I. The patentees received a grant of land extending from the Atlantic to the "Western Ocean," in width from a line running 3 miles north of the Merrimac to one 3 miles south of the Charles. Endicott headed a colony which settled at Salem in September, 1628. March 4, 1629, a new charter was granted to the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay, and the old officers were succeeded by John Winthrop as governor, with 18 deputies. In 1630 Winthrop transferred the company headquarters to America and founded Boston. Under his charter, Mass. carried on her government for 55 years.

MASSASOIT.—Born, about 1580; died, 1661. A chief of the Wampanoag Indians, in southeastern Mass., and R. I., and an ally of the Plymouth colonists (1621-61).

MATHER, COTTON.—Born at Boston, Mass., 1663; died there, 1728. A Congregational clergyman, scholar, and author; son of Increase Mather. He was associated with his father in the North Church in Boston in 1684, and remained in that pulpit until his death. He took an active part in the persecutions for witchcraft. His writings include "Magnalia Christi Americana," "Wonders of the Invisible World," "Manuductio ad Ministerium," and "Biblia Americana, or Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, Illustrated."

MATHER, INCREASE.—Born at Dorchester, Mass., 1639; died at Boston, 1723. Youngest son of Richard Mather. He took the degree of M. A. at Harvard in 1656, visited England in 1651, and graduated (M. A.) at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1658. He preached first at Great Torrington, Devonshire, and then in Guernsey. On May 27, 1664, he was ordained minister of the New South Church, Boston. In 1685, he was elected president of Harvard College, resigned in 1701, but retained his Boston pastorate until his death.

MATHER, RICHARD.—Born at Lowton, England, 1596; died at Dorchester, Mass., 1669. A Congregational divine. He was suspended for nonconformity in 1634, went to New England in 1635, and settled at Dorchester where he remained until his death. Among his sons were Samuel, Nathaniel, and Increase Mather.

"MAYFLOWER."—(1) A ship of about 180 tons burden, in which the English Pilgrims sailed from Southampton to Plymouth, Mass., in 1620. (2) A wooden center-board sloop yacht, designed by Edward Burgess, launched May 6, 1886. The dimensions are: length over all, 100 ft.; length, load water-line, 85.7; beam, 23.6; beam, load water-line, 22.3; draught, 10 ft.; displacement, 128 tons. She defended the "America's" cup against the "Galatea" Sept. 7 and 9, 1886, winning both races.

MAYHEW, EXPERIENCE.—Born in Martha's Vineyard, Mass., 1673; died there, 1758. A missionary to the Indians in Martha's Vineyard.

MAYHEW, JONATHAN.—Born in Martha's Vineyard, Mass., 1720; died at Boston, 1766. A clergyman, controversialist, and advocate of liberalism; son of Experience Mayhew. His writings were edited by A. Bradford (1838).

MIANTONOMOH.—Died, 1643. A sachem of the Narraganset Indians, nephew of Canonicus. In 1637 he aided the colonists of Conn. and Mass. in defeating the Pequots. He became involved in a war with Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, was defeated, captured and put to death with the approval of the English, who claimed jurisdiction over both tribes.

MIRANDA PLOT.—A joint scheme of citizens of the U. S. and Great Britain, about 1806, whereby, through the agitation of one Miranda, a citizen of Caracas, Venezuela, dissatisfaction was to be spread among the Spanish and French provinces. During the revolutions which it was expected would ensue, Great Britain was to obtain the West Indies, and the U. S. would secure Florida and other territory.

NEGRO PLOT.—Alleged attempts on the part of certain negroes, incited and assisted by whites, to burn New York City. Mar. 18, 1741, a fire occurred in the chapel and barracks of Fort George. It was at first thought to have been accidental, but eighteen other fires of unaccountable origin within a month, strengthened the allegation of one Mary Burton, that a number of negroes and sailors were implicated in a plot to destroy the town. It was charged that Spaniards were inciting plots among the negroes. Twenty whites and about 160 negro slaves were imprisoned. Four whites and 18 negroes were hanged and 13 others were burned at the stake before the excitement abated.

NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION.—The union formed by the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, in 1643, for defense against the Dutch and Indians. Discontinued in 1684.

NEW ENGLAND, COUNCIL FOR.—Incorporated Nov. 3, 1620, with headquarters at Plymouth, England. The patent granted the company all the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean lying between lat. 40° and 48° north. The land was afterward divided among 20 noblemen. From this company William Bradford obtained the permit which resulted in the settlement of Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts.

NEW ENGLAND PRIMER.—A small book of instruction, printed at Boston in 1691.

NEW FRANCE.—The name was given to that part of North America which was settled or claimed by France. The first permanent settlement was Quebec, which was founded by Champlain in 1608. The territory rapidly extended so that in 1650 it included the basin of the St. Lawrence and neighboring regions. By 1750 it included also the basin of the Great Lakes and of the Mississippi River. Meanwhile there had been many wars, with conquests and reconquests. In 1759 Canada was reconquered by the English, and the Treaty of Paris, 1763, ceded all the territory east of the Mississippi to England and all west of it to Spain.

OGLETHORPE, JAMES EDWARD.—(1696–1785.) An English general and philanthropist. Founder of Georgia.

OLD COLONY, THE.—That territory of eastern Massachusetts which was occupied by the Plymouth Colony.

OLD DOMINION.—A popular name for the state of Va., having its origin in such phrases as "His Majesty's dominion of Virginia," and "the colony and dominion of Virginia," which frequently occurred in colonial documents.

OLD SOUTH CHURCH.—In Boston, on the corner of Milk and Washington streets. Built in 1729, it was the scene of many stirring meetings in Revolutionary days. It is now used as a museum of relics.

OLIVER, ANDREW.—(1706–1774.) A politician. He was stamp distributor in Boston in 1765, and later lieut.-gov. of Mass.

OTIS, JAMES.—(1725–1783.) An American patriot and orator; especially noted for his speech at Boston in opposition to the "writs of assistance," in 1761.

PARRIS, SAMUEL.—(1653–1720.) A Congregational clergyman identified with the Salem witchcraft persecution.

PATERSON, WILLIAM.—(1658–1719.) A Scotch adventurer, whose scheme to plant a colony on the Isthmus of Darien met with disaster. He was the originator of the plan of the Bank of England.

PATROONS.—Early settlers of the New Netherlands, or the old Dutch government of N. Y. and N. J., who received tracts of land, with privileges and exemptions akin to those of feudalism, as a compensation for colonizing the country. The last traces of patroonship were abolished in 1850.

PENN, JOHN.—(1729–1795.) A grandson of William Penn; proprietary lieut.-gov. of Pa. (1761–73), and gov. (1773–75).

PENN, RICHARD.—(1736–1811.) A grandson of William Penn, lieut.-gov. of Pa. (1771–73).

PENN *vs.* BALTIMORE.—This case which was settled in English courts, determined what land was comprised in the land grants to William Penn and to Lord Baltimore, and is practically important in the U. S. because it decided the boundary line between Pa., Md., and Va. The dispute was compromised, and in 1760 the court of chancery confirmed this compromise. The famous Mason and Dixon line, run in 1766, accords with the boundary line thus decreed.

PEPPERELL, Sir WILLIAM.—(1696–1759.) Commander of the provincial army which besieged and captured Louisburg, in 1745.

PEQUOT WAR.—A war between the Pequot Indians of Conn. and the settlers (1636–38).

PETTAQUAMSCUT PURCHASES.—In 1660 a tract of land, now Washington Co., R. I., adjoining Pettaquamscut Rock, was purchased of the Indians independently by two separate companies. The conflicting claims ultimately involved R. I. and Conn. in a dispute that lasted 50 years.

PHILIP, KING (originally METACOMET.)—Killed at Mount Hope, R. I., 1676. A noted Indian chief, son of Massasoit.

PHILLIPS, JOHN.—(1719–1795.) A merchant, founder of Phillips Academy in Exeter, and one of the founders of Phillips Academy in Andover.

PLYMOUTH COLONY.—The first settlement in Mass. The Pilgrims, sailing from Plymouth, England, in the "Mayflower," landed at Plymouth Rock, Dec. 21, 1620. The colony became a member of the New England Confederation in 1634, and in 1691 it united with Massachusetts Bay Colony.

PONTIAC'S WAR.—An uprising, 1763–66, of several Indian tribes led by chief Pontiac, to prevent white settlers from pushing westward. Many forts were taken and their garrisons massacred, but the uprising was not successful.

PROPRIETARIES.—In the early history of America, the European sovereigns parceled out the territory to their personal friends, who were thus proprietors. The latter appointed the governors and exercised all the prerogatives of the crown. Such governments were called proprietaries. Examples of the same were N. Y., N. J., Md., and the Carolinas.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.—The war between the English and the French and Indians, which grew out of the War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-13.

QUINCY, JOSIAH.—Born at Boston, 1772; died at Quincy, Mass., 1864. An orator, historian, and statesman; son of Josiah Quincy. He was a member of the Massachusetts legislature, and of Congress; was mayor of Boston, and for 16 years president of Harvard University, of which he wrote a history in 1840.

RIBAULT, or RIBAUT, JEAN.—(1520-1565.) A French navigator, who established colonies and forts in S. C. and Fla.

RIVINGTON, JAMES.—(1784-1802.) A noted bookseller and Royalist printer of Colonial times.

ROGERS, ROBERT.—(1727-1800.) A hero in the French and Indian Wars.

ROYALL, ISAAC.—(1700-1781.) Brig.-general in the French and Indian War. Founder of the Royall professorship at Harvard University.

RUTGERS, HENRY.—(1745-1830.) An American philanthropist. Rutgers College was so called in acknowledgment of a liberal gift made by him.

SAMOSET.—An Indian chief friendly to the early colonists.

SCHUYLER, PETER.—(1657-1724.) A noted pioneer; acting governor of N. Y. in 1719, and the first mayor of Albany.

STUYVESANT, PETER.—(1602-1682.) The last Dutch governor of New York.

SUNDAY LAWS.—The Sunday Laws passed in Mass. in 1649, forbade "Labor, play, or travel, on the Lord's Day"; the latter, beginning on Saturday evening, continued 24 hours. Similar laws prevailed in other states, but in New England they were most strictly enforced.

TRUMBULL, JOHN.—Born, 1756. A noted American painter.

UNCAS.—A famous American Indian chief, born, about 1588, died, 1682. Founder of the tribe of the Mohegans, and an ally of the colonists. A monument to his memory was erected, in 1825, at Norwich, Connecticut.

VAN CORTLANDT, OLOFF STEVENSE.—(1600-1684.) Dutch colonist and magistrate of New York.

VAN CORTLANDT, PIERRE.—(1721-1814.) Great grandson of Oloff Van Cortlandt; first lieutenant-governor of New York.

VAN CORTLANDT, STEPHANUS.—(1643-1700.) Son of Oloff Van Cortlandt; he was magistrate of New York and filled other important official positions.

VANCOUVER, GEORGE.—(About 1758-1798.) A British navigator, who served under Cook in two of the latter's voyages, and commanded an expedition of his own, 1791-95, during which he explored the shores of Vancouver Island.

VANE, Sir HENRY.—(1612-1662.) An English Puritan statesman and patriot; was governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1636-37; executed in England on a charge of treason.

VAUDREUIL (PHILIPPE DE RIGAUD), MARQUIS DE.—(1641-1725.) Brigadier-general in the French army and sent to Canada as commander of the forces there. Made governor-general of Canada, in 1703, and brought about many reforms in the colony.

VESPUCCI, AMERIGO.—(1452-1512.) An Italian navigator and explorer who, it is said, was the first to visit the coast of the western continent. The continent was named after him and an honor thus conferred which is based upon very doubtful, if not erroneous, statements of fact.

WENTWORTH, Sir JOHN.—(1737-1820.) Royal governor of New Hampshire, 1767-75. As a Royalist he went to Nova Scotia where he was lieutenant-governor of the province (1792-1808).

WINGFIELD, EDWIN MARIA.—(1570-1608.) One of the earliest colonists of Virginia and first president of the colony.

WINSLOW, EDWARD.—(1595-1655.) A colonial governor, one of the founders of Plymouth Colony.

YALE, ELIHU.—(1648-1721.) An English colonial official in India. Benefactor of Yale College, which is named for him.

"YANKEE DOODLE."—A popular national air of the United States. The words were said to have been written in 1755, by Dr. Schuckburgh, a surgeon in the British army in derision of the Continental troops and their motley appearance.

YANKEES.—A word said to be a corruption of Yengees, the Indian pronunciation of English, or of the French "Anglais," when referring to the English colonists. It was first applied to the New Englanders by the British soldiers as a term of reproach, later by the English to Americans generally, and still later to the people of the North by the Southerners.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

THE War of Independence was carried on under the general direction of a Congress, in which each colony had an equal voice. This national government had no executive head, no judiciary, no power of taxation, no regulation of foreign or interstate commerce, nor any means of enforcing its own laws or measures. The articles of confederation that constituted this general government, proved a mere rope of sand. There was no national politics, because there was no real national authority. Each colony, now become a state, was completely sovereign and independent.

So long as the war lasted, some semblance of life and action was kept up in Congress, through the fear of each state that if the confederation fell utterly apart, the king might subdue the members of it singly. But there were thirteen separate wills and opinions to be consulted, and when anything was agreed, each of the thirteen did as it pleased about giving effect to it.

If the war was carried on by Congress, it was carried through by two men: Washington, with his little army of ragged, and half-starved continentals, and Franklin, with his successful diplomacy abroad. By bringing France into open alliance with the revolution, Franklin gave to America its one chance of ultimate victory, and the chance turned the right way.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—The war for independence waged by the thirteen colonies (now states) of North America against Great Britain, beginning with the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, and ending with the surrender of Cornwallis to Washington at Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781.

ADAMS, SAMUEL.—(1722–1803.) An American patriot and statesman; prominent in the Revolution; a delegate to the first Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and governor of Massachusetts (1794–97).

ALBANY CONVENTION.—An important forerunner of the Continental Congress, and one of the first definite steps toward national union. Upon a call issued by the Lords of Trade, commissioners from the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland met at Albany, N. Y., June 19, 1754, to arrange a treaty with the Six Nations of

Indians. The convention adopted a plan for colonial union proposed by Benjamin Franklin. It provided for a president-general of all the Colonies, with veto power, and a grand council composed of delegates from each Colony, chosen by the assembly, for a term of three years each. This council was to be authorized to equip forces for the common defense of the Colonies, to levy taxes for their maintenance and to have control of all Indian affairs. The plan was rejected by the British Government because it gave the Colonies too much power.

ALLEN, ETHAN.—(1737-1789.) A distinguished commander in the Revolutionary War. Colonel of the "Green Mountain Boys." Born at Litchfield, Conn.

ALLEN, IRA.—(1751-1814.) An American Revolutionary soldier and politician, brother of Gen. Ethan Allen.

AMERICAN FLAG.—In 1777, the U. S. Congress resolved that the United Colonies of America should have a flag of their own. It was to be symbolical of the thirteen original states of the Union that had thrown off allegiance to England, and was constructed to represent these states—with 13 stripes, alternately red and white, together with 13 white stars on a blue ground. A new star has since been added for each new state entering the Union, but the stripes remain the same.

ANDERSON, JOSEPH.—(1757-1837.) An American lawyer and politician, and an officer in the Revolutionary War. He was the first Comptroller of the Treasury (1815-36).

ANDRÉ, JOHN.—Born at London, 1751; executed at Tappan, N. Y., Oct. 2, 1780. A British officer in the Revolutionary War. As the representative of Sir Henry Clinton, he made the arrangements, near Stony Point, with Benedict Arnold, for the surrender of West Point (Sept. 21, 1780), but on his return was arrested at Tarrytown Sept. 23, and condemned and hanged as a spy.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN.—(1758-1843.) An American general, politician, and diplomatist; served in the Revolutionary War, and was author of the "Newburg Addresses" to the army in 1783.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN.—(1725-1795.) An American general who served in the French and Indian War; was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress (1778-80 and 1787-88).

ARNOLD, BENEDICT.—(1741-1801.) An American general in the Revolutionary War; noted for an act of treason. He was appointed commander of West Point in 1780; he planned with Major André of the British army the surrender of that place to the British. The plan being discovered through the arrest of André, Arnold escaped

to a British vessel, receiving the rank of major-general in the British army. Subsequently he conducted expeditions against Virginia and New London, Conn. (1781). The latter part of his life was spent chiefly in London. He never returned to his own country.

ASHE, JOHN.—(1720-1781.) An American officer in the Revolutionary War, defeated by the British under Gen. Prevost at Brier Creek, Ga., 1779.

ASPINWALL, WILLIAM.—(1743-1823.) An American physician who fought as a volunteer in the battle of Lexington (1775) and became a surgeon in the Revolutionary army. He is said to have been the first to introduce the practice of vaccination in America.

ATTUCKS, CRISPUS.—Died at Boston, 1770. A half-breed Indian or mulatto, the alleged leader of the mob at the "Boston Massacre," Mar. 5, 1770, in which he was the first to fall.

AUGUSTA (Ga.), SIEGE OF.—Late in 1780, Cornwallis garrisoned Augusta with a loyalist force commanded by Lieut.-col. Brown. Col. Clark later attacked the town, inflicting some loss upon its defenders. Early in 1781, while Gen. Greene was striving to reduce Fort Ninety-six, Lee, Pickens, Clark, and other Southern Continental officers laid siege to Augusta which capitulated on June 5, of the same year, with a loss of 52 killed, while the American loss was 51. The prisoners taken and the British wounded numbered 334.

AUSTIN, JONATHAN LORING.—(1748-1826.) An American Revolutionary patriot, who was sent to Paris (1777) with dispatches to Dr. Franklin, announcing the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne; he remained two years with Franklin as his private secretary.

BACHE, RICHARD.—(1737-1811.) Postmaster-general U. S. 1776. Son-in-law of Benjamin Franklin.

BARBER, FRANCIS.—Born at Princeton, N. J., 1751; died at Newburg, N. Y., 1783. An American officer in the Revolutionary War. In 1781 he was selected by Washington to quell the mutiny of the N. J. and Pa. troops.

BARKER, JACOB.—Born on Swan Island, 1779; died at Philadelphia, 1871. An American politician and financier; was employed by the government on the outbreak of the War of 1812, to raise a loan of \$5,000,000.

BARLOW, JOEL.—Born at Reading, Conn., 1754; died near Cracow, Poland, Dec. 24, 1812. An American poet and diplomatist, one of the "Hartford Wits." He was consul to Algiers (1795-97) and U. S. minister to France (1811-12). He was a voluminous writer; his most notable works are "The Columbiad," "Hasty Pudding," and "Advice to

the Privileged Orders." While minister to France, he was on his way to have an official interview with Napoleon, who was then engaged in his Russian campaign. Severe exposure brought on a sudden illness and he died as above stated.

BARNEY, JOSHUA.—Born at Baltimore, Md., 1759; died at Pittsburgh, Pa., 1818. An American naval officer in the Revolutionary War; was sent to France with dispatches for Franklin in 1782; commanded in Chesapeake Bay, 1814, and was taken prisoner at Bladensburg in the same year.

BARRY, JOHN.—Born at Tacumshane, County Meaford, Ireland, 1745; died at Philadelphia, 1803. An American naval commander, distinguished in the Revolutionary War. In command of the "Lexington," he captured the British tender "Edward" (1776), also the British ships "Atalanta," and "Trepassy" in 1781 when commanding the "Alliance," and in the same year conveyed Lafayette and Noailles to France; was appointed commodore in 1794.

BARTLETT, JOSIAH.—Born at Amesbury, Mass., 1729; died 1795. An American patriot and statesman. He was a member of the Committee of Safety of N. H. (1775); was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence in 1776; was president and governor of N. H. (1790-94).

BARTON, WILLIAM.—Born at Warren, R. I., 1748; died at Providence, R. I., 1831. An American Revolutionary officer who planned and, with 38 men, executed the capture of the British general, Robert Prescott, at his headquarters in a farmhouse near Newport, R. I. (1777).

BATTLE HILL.—A height in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, the scene of a part of the battle of Long Island, in 1776.

BEAUHARNAIS, VICOMTE DE.—(1760-1794.) A French soldier, born at Martinique, took part in the American War of Independence, was beheaded during the Reign of Terror. His widow married Napoleon I.

BEDEL, TIMOTHY.—Born at Salem, N. H., about 1740; died, Haverhill, N. H., 1787. An American officer in the Revolutionary War. He was commander of the force which was attacked by Brant's Indians at the Cedars, near Montreal, and which was surrendered without resistance, by Capt. Butterfield, the subordinate officer in command. The blame for this affair was thrown by Gen. Arnold on Bedel, who at the time of the attack lay ill at Lachine.

BENNINGTON, BATTLE OF.—A notable engagement of the Revolutionary War, fought August 16, 1777, between 2,000 Americans,

principally N. H. and Vt. militia, commanded by Col. John Stark, and 800 British with their Indian allies, led by Lieut.-col. Baum. The British force had been sent by Gen. Burgoyne from Fort Edward, Aug. 11, to forage for supplies and cattle. In the action, which followed five days later, Baum, deserted almost at the first fire by the Indians, and his force was signally defeated. Col. Breyman, who was sent with 500 men to his aid, met a similar fate. The British lost 850 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 4 pieces of artillery, and 1,000 stand of arms. About 40 Americans were killed and as many wounded.

BENSON, EGBERT.—Born at New York, 1746; died at Jamaica, L. I., 1833. An American jurist and politician. He wrote a "Vindication of the Captors of Major André," and other works.

BIDDLE, CLEMENT ("The Quaker Soldier").—Born at Philadelphia, 1740; died there, 1814. An American Revolutionary officer, one of the signers of the non-importation resolutions framed at Philadelphia, 1765, and served as colonel in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Monmouth. He was a personal friend and correspondent of Washington.

BIDDLE, NICHOLAS.—Born at Philadelphia, 1750; killed at sea, 1778. An American naval commander, distinguished in the Revolutionary War. He was blown up with his ship, the "Randolph," in action with the British ship, "Yarmouth."

BLACK COCKADE.—This was worn originally by American soldiers in the Revolution, and later was used by the Federalists, in 1797, during the trouble with France, as a patriotic emblem, in contradistinction to the tricolored cockade affected by the Republicans or followers of Jefferson, as an evidence of their sympathy with the radical and violent political movement in that country.

BLACKSTOCK'S (S. C.), BATTLE OF.—A skirmish, Nov. 20, 1780, on Blackstock's plantation, Tiger River, S. C., between Gen. Sumter, who was on his way to attempt the capture of Fort Ninety-six, and Col. Tarleton, British. The latter was defeated, losing nearly 200 dead and wounded, while the Americans lost but eight.

BLAND, THEODORIC.—Born in Prince George Co., Va., 1742; died at New York, 1790. An American patriot who joined the Continental army in 1777 and was a representative from Virginia to the first Congress under the Federal Constitution (1789-90). He left memoirs of the Revolutionary period, now known as "The Bland Papers," published in 1840.

BLOUNT, WILLIAM.—Born in N. C., 1744; died at Knoxville, Tenn., 1800. An American politician, one of the signers of the Constitution

in 1790, and U. S. senator from Tenn. in 1796. Was expelled in 1797 for instigating the Cherokees to aid the British in conquering the Spanish territory of west Florida.

BONHOMME RICHARD, THE.—An East India merchantman, equipped as a man-of-war by the French in 1779. One of five that Benjamin Franklin persuaded France to provide and arm, it was named in his honor "Bonhomme Richard." Commanded by John Paul Jones, flying the American flag and accompanied by two French vessels, it attempted to enter the harbor of Leith, Scotland, but gales frustrated this plan. Off Flamborough Head, Sept. 23, 1779, the three vessels bore down on a British merchant fleet under the protection of the war vessels "Serapis" and "Countess of Scarborough." The former in every way superior to the "Richard," was savagely attacked by Jones in the presence of thousands of spectators who, in the moonlight, crowded the nearby shore. Jones lashed the bowsprit of the "Serapis" to the "Richard's" mizzenmast and swept her deck with musketry. During an engagement that continued three hours each ship poured broadside after broadside into the other until a bucketful of hand grenades was thrown down the hatchway of the "Serapis," when its commander was obliged to strike his colors. Jones and his men took possession of the "Serapis" at once, and the "Bonhomme Richard" sank soon afterward. (See JONES, JOHN PAUL, 108.)

BOSTON, EVACUATION OF.—The British evacuated Boston, Mar. 17, 1776, without the firing of a gun by the British army and fleet that had been for some time in and about the city. Washington, who had received considerable ammunition captured by privateers, and ordnance from Ticonderoga, had occupied Nooks Hill, on Dorchester Neck, and Dorchester Heights, which commanded both the hill and the town. Mar. 4, at night, he strongly fortified the heights and the British had to choose between an attempt to dislodge the Americans and the abandonment of Boston. They decided upon the latter.

BOSTON MASSACRE.—The British navigation acts had irritated the Americans and had caused them so much loss that the execution of the laws was generally resisted. The presence of troops, sent to compel compliance with the obnoxious legislation, further angered the citizens, who in 1769-70 had many encounters with the soldiery. The massacre appears to have been the outcome of a riot precipitated by the course of a press-gang that landed from the frigate "Rose," late in Feb., 1770, and boarded a ship owned by one Hooper of Marblehead. The indignation of the citizens smoldered for a few days, but on the night of Mar. 5, the fire bells were rung, the people assembled and came to blows with the troops, who fired, killing three and wound-

ing many. The details of the massacre were soon known in all the Colonies and greatly strengthened the spirit of revolt.

BOSTON PORT BILL.—An act of the British Parliament that discriminated against Boston and Boston Harbor for the receipt or shipment of merchandise. The measure was introduced by Lord North in retaliation for the destruction of cargoes of tea in Boston Harbor, and was passed Mar. 7, 1774. Shipping was transferred to Salem and Marblehead, and when Gen. Gage arrived in Boston, June 1, 1774, to enforce the law, he found the populace aroused and sympathy for the Bostonians universal in the Colonies. In some places the feeling was so pronounced that the people would not buy British goods. Oct. 20, 1774, the American Association, which included 52 men who afterward became members of the Continental Congress, was formed and pledged to non-intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies and the non-consumption of their products.

BOSTON TEA PARTY.—On the evening of Dec. 16, 1773, after an excited meeting of the citizens at Faneuil Hall, some 50 men disguised as Indians, boarded three British ships in the harbor and tossed their cargoes of tea, 342 chests, into the water. About the same time a similar scene was enacted at New York. These proceedings were expressions of the people's determination that they would not pay the tax on tea sold in the Colonies, a tax that Great Britain originally imposed on the East India Company in 1767 and, at the instance of the latter, transferred to the consumers in 1773.

BRANDYWINE, BATTLE OF.—Fought at Chadd's Ford, on Brandywine Creek, 30 miles southwest of Philadelphia, Sept. 11, 1777. Late in May of that year Washington left Morristown, N. J., and assumed a strong position behind the Raritan. Aug. 25, Gen. Howe, the British commander, with about 18,000 men, landed at Elk Ferry, 50 miles from Philadelphia. Washington, who had been joined by Lafayette, De Kalb, and Pulaski, advanced to defend the city. He had only 11,000 effective men. Howe moved slowly and the opposing armies did not meet until Sept. 11. The result of the battle was a victory for the British, the Americans losing about 1,000 killed, wounded, and missing, while the enemy's loss was somewhat greater. The British then took possession of Philadelphia.

BRANT, JOSEPH THAYENDANEGER.—(1742-1807.) A Mohawk Indian chief who fought in the British army during the Revolution.

BREED'S HILL.—An eminence in Charlestown, Mass., connected with Bunker Hill, and fortified by Prescott on the occasion of the battle of June 17, 1775.

BRIER CREEK (Ga.), BATTLE OF.—An action, Mar. 3, 1779, at a stream in eastern Ga. between Gen. Ashe with 1,500 N. C. militia and some Ga. continentals, and 2,000 British under Lieut.-col. Prevost. The battle was fought where Brier Creek meets the Savannah River, and resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the Americans, who lost several officers, had nearly 200 men captured and many killed. The British had 16 killed and wounded.

BROOKS, JOHN.—Born at Medford, Mass., 1752; died, 1825. An American Revolutionary officer and politician. He carried the German intrenchments at the battle of Saratoga. Was governor of Mass. (1817-23).

BROWN, TARLETON.—Born in Barnwell District, S. C., 1754; died, 1846. An American Revolutionary soldier. He served throughout the War of Independence, and wrote "Memoirs" pertaining to contemporaneous events in the Carolinas, which were privately printed with notes by Charles J. Bushnell (1862).

BUNKER HILL, or BREED'S HILL (Mass.), BATTLE OF.—This engagement, commonly known as the battle of Bunker Hill, is more correctly described as the battle of Breed's Hill, as through a misunderstanding of orders, the Americans seized and fortified Breed's Hill, which is nearer Boston, on the night of June 16, 1775. They numbered 1,000, under Col. Prescott. The following morning the British, estimated at from 3,000 to 3,500, thrice charged the hill, which then had about half as many defenders, all raw militiamen. The third assault was successful, but it resulted in a barren victory, for the British loss was 1,050, as against the American loss of 450. Among the slain on the side of the patriots was Gen. Joseph Warren, whose death was deeply lamented. The moral effect produced by the spectacle of farmers and tradesmen stubbornly resisting and mowing down British regulars, was of incalculable value to the patriot cause. The battle was one of the bloodiest in history, in proportion to the number engaged, as 30 per cent. of the combatants were killed or disabled in less than two hours, whereas at Gettysburg, after three days of fighting, the casualties in the Union army amounted to but 25 per cent.

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.—A monument at Charlestown, Mass., dedicated June 17, 1843, the sixty-eighth anniversary of the famous Revolutionary battle. It is 221 feet high, and in the form of an obelisk with an obtusely pyramidal apex. The dedicatory oration was delivered by Daniel Webster and is considered one of his ablest addresses.

BURGESSES, HOUSE OF.—The official name by which was long known the state legislative body of Virginia. The name was adopted from England in colonial days.

BURGOYNE, JOHN.—(1730–1792.) An English general who served in the American Revolution. He was captured at Ticonderoga and was obliged to surrender to Gen. Gates at Saratoga.

BURKE, ADAMS.—Born in Galway, Ireland, 1743; died at Charleston, S. C., 1802. An American jurist and politician; was a judge of the state supreme court in 1778, and wrote "Considerations upon the Order of Cincinnati," a pamphlet denouncing that organization.

BURKE, EDMUND.—(1729–1797.) A noted English statesman and essayist. His attitude toward the American colonies was one of conciliation and justice. His connection with the trial of Warren Hastings amply sustained his reputation as an orator and jurist.

AARON BURR

THERE is the greatest difference of opinion concerning the character, ability, and worth of this remarkable man. It is probable that the number of his admirers is rapidly exceeding his opponents. He was born at Newark, N. J., in 1756. His father was Aaron Burr, president of Princeton College, and his grandfather was Jonathan Edwards. He graduated from Princeton at the age of sixteen, and had entered upon the study of law at nineteen. The War of Independence broke out that year. Washington had taken command of the forces, and young Burr joined the expedition against Quebec. He was chosen to carry a message to General Montgomery at Montreal one hundred and twenty miles alone through the woods of a hostile country. As a reward for his services he was raised to the rank of captain.

In a night attack on Quebec, Montgomery and the whole force, except Burr and a guide, were killed. Burr carried the dead body of his general back into safety from the enemy through darkness and storm. He was promoted to the rank of major and became one of Washington's secretaries. As he preferred active service, he joined General Putnam. He became a lieutenant-colonel at Valley Forge and distinguished himself at Monmouth. Then at twenty-three he was in command at West Point. In 1779 he had charge of Westchester and did wonderful work in securing and maintaining military discipline in his command. In the spring he was compelled to ask for leave of absence on account of ill-health. As he did not recuper-

ate sufficiently to resume his military duties, he began the practice of law. Burr's only rival in his profession was Hamilton. It is stated that Burr won every case which he conducted alone, and this success was largely due to the fact that he never undertook a case unless he believed that his client was right. He was noted for the terseness and conciseness of his addresses. He could say more in a half-hour than others said in two hours. He was very happy in his married life. His wife was a widow and the mother of two boys. After twelve years of the happiest life Burr was left alone with a little eleven-year-old daughter. At thirty-five he was at the head of the New York bar. He was spontaneously elected United States Senator to succeed General Schuyler, Hamilton's father-in-law. This was the foundation of Hamilton's dislike for and opposition to Burr. Hamilton entered Washington's cabinet and Burr became foremost in the respect of the senators and congressmen. Three times did the Senate recommend Burr for a position abroad and three times Washington refused to appoint him through the influence of Hamilton. During nearly the whole of the six years that Burr was in the Senate, its meetings were secret and his speeches are not reported. In 1800 Burr set himself to defeat the Federalists in New York. In this campaign, which seemed almost hopeless, he fought strenuously against Hamilton, and displayed the greatest executive ability. He carried the election by 490 majority. Hamilton's humiliation was intense and he sought to recover his prestige by proposing that the expiring legislature, whose successor had been already elected, should be called in special session, to appoint the electors for the presidential election. But Governor Jay, though a supporter of Hamilton, refused to countenance the scheme. Burr was now in line for a Republican vice-presidency. In the ensuing election Jefferson and Burr each received seventy-three votes in the electoral college. When the case went to the House Jefferson received eight states, Burr six and two were blank. It took thirty-six ballots and all of Burr's steadfast opposition to give Jefferson the presidency, which was all but forced upon Burr. This act of unselfishness is used by his admirers with telling effect against the unprincipled conduct of Hamilton in his opposition to Burr, for there is slight question that Burr could easily have been elected President. In 1804 Burr was nominated the Republican candidate for governor of New York. He was opposed by Clinton. During the campaign, which was extremely bitter and personal, a newspaper charge was made that Burr had been in negotiation for Federalist votes. The charge was made the subject of trial in the Supreme Court. In the campaign of 1804, Jefferson, Clinton, and Hamilton were arrayed against Burr. On June 17, 1804, Burr

sent for Judge Van Ness and told him that he had heard that Hamilton had been diligently circulating reports and stories calculated to injure Burr's reputation. He handed Van Ness a letter addressed to Hamilton in which he demanded an explanation of his conduct, and this Burr asked Van Ness to deliver to Hamilton. This was the beginning of a lengthy correspondence between Burr and Hamilton. Throughout it, Burr insisted upon Hamilton making a complete disavowal of all intent to cast aspersions upon Burr's honor in his reported conversations. Hamilton steadfastly refused to do this. On June 27 a challenge from Burr by Judge Van Ness was presented to Hamilton through Mr. Pendleton, and a meeting was arranged for July 11. The principals and their seconds repaired to Weehawken, New Jersey, by barges and fought at seven in the morning. Burr's fire was effective and Hamilton fell. It is said by Mr. Pendleton that Burr advanced displaying signs of regret but that he was hurried away to escape detection by the surgeon and the bargeman. Hamilton died at two o'clock the next afternoon and was buried with military honors.

In December, Burr, as Vice-president, presided at the impeachment of Judge Samuel Chase and he was cordially received by all. When this trial was concluded, Burr resigned his office and retired from his place as Vice-president. On doing so he made a farewell address and received a unanimous vote of thanks from the Senate. On account of threats of disfranchise in New York, and of hanging in New Jersey, Burr made a trip to the western states in 1805. On this journey he went down the Mississippi to New Orleans. In 1806 he was back in Washington and Philadelphia. Later in the year he went west again. It was reported in January, 1807, by Captain Bissell that he had seen Colonel Burr pass Fort Massac with ten boats and sixty men on his way to New Orleans. General Jackson appointed Mr. John Murrell to look into the matter and he reported from Nashville that this force had gone down the river but that it was unarmed. Upon this evidence Jefferson issued his proclamation and charge against Burr. Then Daviess, District Attorney for Kentucky, an enemy of Burr, investigated the affair on his own account and reported unfavorably to Jefferson. Meanwhile Jefferson learned of the evidence that had come out concerning his own election, and was aroused against Burr. Daviess accused Burr in the courts of treasonable conspiracy with purpose to invade Mexico and of making war upon Spain. A grand jury was called at Daviess's suggestion and Burr's insistence and, when it was summoned, Daviess said he was not ready with his evidence, and the jury was dismissed. In December, Daviess tried again to indict Burr, but failed. On both occasions

Burr was defended by Henry Clay. In November, 1806, Burr and his party were arrested at Bayou Pierre in Mississippi. He was tried by a grand jury which acquitted him. It was then developed beyond doubt that Burr intended to do what Houston did with credit thirty years later,—erect an independent state in Mexico. In March, 1807, Burr was handed over to the authorities in Richmond, Va. He was examined by Chief-Justice Marshall and held in bail for ten thousand dollars, which was supplied and Burr discharged. Burr was tried in May, 1807, Chief-Justice Marshall presiding. He was charged with high treason. The trial dragged along and the grand jury found a true bill against him. At the trial Mr. Wirt made his celebrated speech, the Chief-Justice charged in favor of Burr and the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. Burr then went abroad where he spent several years. Upon his return he resumed his practice with his old time energy. He became a helpless paralytic in 1836 and died at Staten Island in September. His body was taken to Princeton College, thence to the cemetery where it was buried with military honors.

BUTLER, JAMES.—Born in Prince William Co., Va.; died, 1781. An American patriot in the Revolutionary War. He distinguished himself in the partisan warfare with the British and was killed in the massacre at Cloud's Creek, S. C.

BUTLER, JOHN.—Born in Conn.; died at Niagara, 1794. An American Tory commander in the Revolutionary War. He led a force composed of Indians and loyalists, in the so-called "Wyoming Massacre," which desolated the infant settlement of Wyoming in 1778. After the war, he fled to Canada, and his estates were confiscated. He was, however, rewarded by the British government with the office of Indian agent, 5,000 acres of land, and a salary and pension of \$3,500 a year.

BYLES, MATHER.—Born at Boston, 1706; died there, 1788. An American clergyman and poet. He was imprisoned as a Tory in 1777.

CARROLL, CHARLES ("of Carrollton").—Born at Annapolis, 1737; died at Baltimore, 1832. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and was U. S. senator from Md. (1789-91).

CASWELL, RICHARD.—Born in Md., 1729; died in N. C., 1789. He was actively engaged in the Revolutionary War and was governor of N. C. (1777-79 and 1784-87).

CHARLESTOWN.—Once a city, now a district, of Boston, separated from it by the Charles River. The points of interest are Bunker Hill Monument, a U. S. Navy Yard, and the state prison. It was burned by the British, June 17, 1775.

CHASE, SAMUEL.—Born in Md., 1741; died in 1811. A noted American jurist and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was associate justice of the Supreme Court and was impeached for misdemeanor in 1804, but was acquitted in 1805.

CHERRY VALLEY (N. Y.) MASSACRE.—Committed by 800 Indians and Tories, Nov. 11, 1778. During a heavy storm, they descended upon Colonial troops commanded by Col. Ichabod Alden, killed 43 persons, many of whom were women and children, captured 40 soldiers, fired all the buildings and practically effaced the settlement.

CINCINNATI, SOCIETY OF THE.—The charter members were officers of the Revolutionary army. It was founded in 1783, and in 1787 Washington was elected president-general and retained the office until his death. The membership was limited to the officers—including several Frenchmen who had held commissions in the army—and their eldest sons, to whom the membership descended. The hereditary principle provoked adverse criticism and was denounced by the governor of South Carolina and the legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. In 1784, at Washington's suggestion, the objectionable requirement was eliminated and the immediate objects of the society—to raise a fund for the aid of the widows and orphans of soldiers of the Revolution and to strengthen the political union of the states—were made prominent. The idea, however, that it was essentially an aristocratic body had lodged in many minds, and advantage was taken of this circumstance to found the Democratic Tammany Society, as opposed to the alleged aristocratic Cincinnati. The society took its name from the famous Roman general, Cincinnatus, who left the plow to serve his country, and who, at the conclusion of his dictatorship, betook himself again to agricultural pursuits.

CLARK, ABRAHAM.—Born at Elizabethtown, N. J., 1726; died at Rahway, N. J., 1794. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and a celebrated Revolutionary patriot.

CLINTON, JAMES.—Born in Ulster Co., N. Y., 1736; died at Little Britain, N. Y., 1812. An American general who defended Fort Clinton unsuccessfully (1777) against the British, and was actively engaged in the Indian Wars (1779).

CLYMER, GEORGE.—Born at Philadelphia, 1739; died at Morrisville, Pa., 1813. An American politician, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and member of the Constitutional Convention (1787).

COMMITTEE.—One or a number of persons charged, by an assemblage acting in concert, with any business and to report to the

appointing or any other designated body on the manner in which the business has been transacted. Committees do very much of the actual work of legislative bodies in this country, Great Britain, and the possessions of the latter. In effect, they save time and labor, and expedite law-making or the discharge of such other business as may be referred to them, for generally in theory, and as often in practice, committees are constituted with special regard to the character of the duties they may have to perform. They present to the larger bodies, for discussion, coherent plans and matured conclusions. The committee system had its rise in the English House of Commons, in Elizabeth's time, and was in great favor during the Commonwealth. Early in colonial history, Va., N. Y., Md., Pa., and N. C. adapted the system to their wants, and the Continental Congress used it freely. Under the Federal Constitution it was not at first popular in Congress, but in the early '20's during the speakership of Clay, standing committees became recognized as valuable adjuncts of legislation. The Senate—which appoints its own committees, while the speaker appoints those of the House—was slow to follow the example of the latter. The prestige the speaker of the House derives from his power of appointment makes him, next to the President, the most influential official in this country. A committee of the whole is an entire legislative or other deliberate body that has assumed the former character and designation that it may discuss matters not in the scope of the regular committees and is under the chairmanship of a person other than the usual presiding officer. In practice, the House of Representatives recognizes two committees of the whole—the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which has to do with public business and bills appropriating public money or property, and the committee of the whole that has cognizance of private bills and private business. The rules that govern the House in its proceedings also govern the committees of the whole, as far as practicable. The latter cannot enact legislation. As early as 1744, the legislature of Pa., had a committee on correspondence, ostensibly to keep in touch with the agents of the colony in England but actually to combine the colonies in protest against the tyrannical exactions of the Crown. Samuel Adams, at a town meeting at Boston in 1772, moved the appointment of a committee to define the rights of the colonists and correspond with other New England towns and colonies. The communications were secret and did much to prepare the country for the impending conflict. Virginia followed the example of the eastern colonies and went a step in advance, as its committee favored the formation of a confederacy. The committees on correspondence were followed by committees on safety, formed in all the colonies to

oppose the encroachments of the royal governors. A committee of this character was appointed by the second provincial congress of Mass., early in 1775, to resist the enforcement of obnoxious laws, muster the militia, and otherwise prepare for the war that was then impending. It corresponded with like committees, and as the Revolution progressed, these bodies assumed the functions of the deposed governors until the adoption of state constitutions relieved them of such self-imposed duties.

CONCORD (Mass.), BATTLE OF.—Though little more than a skirmish, from a military point of view, it was most important in its immediate consequences, as it convinced Minutemen, fresh from the plow, that they could defeat British regulars. After the engagement at Lexington, 800 British, under Lieut.-col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn, marched to Concord, where, April 19, 1775, they were confronted by 300 Americans, commanded by Col. Barrett and Maj. Buttrick. The conflict was brief and sharp, and the British did not get the military stores they had been sent to capture or destroy; but, on the contrary, were obliged to retreat to Boston in the face of a galling fire.

CONFEDERATION, ARTICLES OF.—June 11, 1776, the second Continental Congress appointed a committee to prepare articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. The draft, amended, was finally ratified by Congress, March 1, 1781. It provided for a single house of Congress, with authority to raise money by requisitions on the states, but Congress and the articles commanded little respect at home or abroad, as Congress lacked the power to enforce its decrees. So unsatisfactory were the articles in the practical working of government, that a convention to devise a better system met at Annapolis, Md., in 1786, and this body, in turn, called the convention that in Philadelphia, in 1787, framed the existing Constitution

CONSTITUTION.—As understood in the U. S., and in the individual states of the latter, it is a written statement of the powers of government. In Great Britain it is the sum total of traditions, customs, royal charters, Parliamentary statutes, common law, Magna Charta, the Declaration of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Reform Bill, and other measures. The British Constitution has never, except tacitly and by acquiescence, received the sanction of the people, while the Constitution of the U. S., and that of each particular state, has been directly so approved. The Constitution of the U. S., framed in 1787, went into effect Mar. 4, 1789. Limited monarchies and republics have constitutions. (See HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, 159; also MARSHALL, JOHN, 116.)

CONSTITUTIONS, STATE.—When the Declaration of Independence was adopted, the governments of the Colonies, with few exceptions, were only temporary. Constitutions were adopted by the original states in this order: Md., N. H., N. J., N. C., Pa., and Va. in 1776; Ga. and N. Y. in 1777; S. C. in 1778; Mass. in 1780; Del. in 1792; Conn. in 1818; R. I. in 1842.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.—This body had its origin in a recommendation of the Virginia Assembly, adopted in 1774, on receipt of the news of the passage of the Boston Port Act. The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774, with representatives present from all the colonies except Ga. Its action was very moderate. It commended Mass. for her temperate resistance to obnoxious Parliamentary legislation, and declared that all America should endorse its course. This Congress suggested a compact not to import British goods after Dec. 1, 1774, nor to export goods to Great Britain later than Sept. 10, 1775, unless in the meantime the government of the later had redressed the grievances of the Colonists. The Second Continental Congress assembled in the same city, May 10, 1775, and each state, which was allowed one vote, was represented by delegates. It formally declared the independence of the U. S. and began the Revolutionary War, remaining in session until Dec. 12, 1776, when it adjourned to meet at Baltimore. Influenced by the changing course of events, it went back to Philadelphia, whence it adjourned to Lancaster, Pa. There it spent but one day, going to York, Pa., June 27, 1778, only to return to Philadelphia, July 7, 1779. Here it held its deliberations for four years and then met, in the order named, at Princeton, N. J., Annapolis, Md., Trenton, N. J., and finally New York, there adjourning Nov. 5, 1787, when the Federal Congress, under the present Constitution, came into existence.

CONTINENTAL MONEY.—The Second Continental Congress authorized an issue of paper money in 1775 and other issues were made until 1779. This money was in the form of bills of credit, and its value fluctuated with the varying fortunes of the Revolutionary army. About \$242,000,000 was circulated, and it was received at first on a par with gold, but within two years it had fallen 50 per cent. It was finally quoted at less than three cents on the dollar. Thereupon Congress ordered the notes bought at their market value and replaced them by others at the rate of 20 to 1, the new issue to bear interest at five per cent. Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury under the Federal Constitution, persuaded Congress, in order to firmly establish the credit of the National Government, to redeem the latter notes at par.

CONTINENTAL SOLDIERS.—The troops commanded by Washington and paid by the Government. Congress in 1775 appropriated £6,000 for their maintenance. They were regular soldiers constantly employed and under discipline, as distinguished from guerrillas and militia.

CONVENTIONS, REVOLUTIONARY.—These were meetings of colonial assemblies that, in consequence of their opposition to the obnoxious measures of Parliament, had been dissolved by the royal governors. With the lapse of time the authority of these conventions displaced that of the mother country.

CONVENTION TROOPS.—The soldiers of Burgoyne's army, after their surrender at Saratoga, Oct. 17, 1777, were known as Convention troops, because by the convention or articles of capitulation they were under a pledge that they would refrain from hostile acts against the U. S. They were allowed to march out of camp with the honors of war, and, while they were awaiting transportation to England, they were at Winter Hill and Prospect Hill, Boston. Congress, fearful that they would violate their parole, revoked it. After much delay, Burgoyne and his officers were sent to England and their men were taken, first to Rutland, Vt., and thence to Charlottesville, Va., where they remained until 1780, when the Englishmen were quartered at Fort Frederick, Md., and their German allies at Winchester, Va. They were moved once again, some to Lancaster, Pa., and others to East Windsor, Conn. The Revolutionary War virtually ended with the surrender of Cornwallis in 1781, and by the end of 1782 Burgoyne's army had been dissipated by exchange or desertion.

CONWAY, THOMAS.—Born in Ireland, 1733; died about 1800. An American general in the Revolutionary War. He originated the intrigue known as the Conway Cabal, the object of which was to supplant Washington in the chief command of the army, in favor of General Gates.

CORNWALLIS, CHARLES.—(1738–1805.) An English statesman and soldier, entered the army in 1756 and took part in the battle of Minden and other battles. He was elected to parliament in 1760 and entered the House of Lords in 1763. He took part in the American Revolutionary War; gained the battle of Brandywine and took possession of Philadelphia, Apr., 1778; in 1780 he defeated Gen. Gates at Camden; won the battle of Guilford Court House, 1781; and surrendered at Yorktown to Washington, Oct. 19, 1781. He then went to India as governor-general; was viceroy and commander-in-chief in Ireland; and went a second time to India as governor-general, where he died.

COWAN'S FORD (N. C.), BATTLE OF.—An incident in Cornwallis's expedition in Feb., 1781, to prevent the union of Morgan's division of the Revolutionary army with the main army commanded by Gen. Greene. The Americans, followed by the British, crossed the Catawba River at Cowan's Ford, where Gen. Davidson, with 300 militia, made a stand against the British. Davidson was killed and his men were dispersed.

COWPENS (S. C.), BATTLE OF.—One of Gen. Morgan's most brilliant exploits in the Revolutionary War. Morgan had but 900 men when, Jan. 17, 1781, Tarleton attacked him with 1,100 British. The battle was splendidly contested but Morgan clearly outgeneraled his adversary, of whose command only Tarleton, himself, and about 270 men escaped. The Americans took, besides prisoners, 800 muskets and two cannon. Their loss was 12 killed and 61 wounded.

CROWN POINT (N. Y.), CAPTURE OF.—Followed closely upon the fall of Ticonderoga, which was taken by Col. Ethan Allen, May 12, 1775. It is on Lake Champlain and had 114 cannon, but the British garrison numbered only 12 men. It surrendered to Col. Seth Warner with a small force.

DALE, RICHARD.—Born in Va., 1756; died at Philadelphia, 1826. An American naval officer who distinguished himself as first lieutenant under Paul Jones on the "Bonhomme Richard" in the battle with the "Serapis," 1779. During hostilities with Tripoli, he commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean.

DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.—A patriotic society founded in New York, 1891. Its terms of membership are (1) Descent from an ancestor actually engaged in the military or naval forces under any of the Thirteen States; (2) Descent from any of the signers of the Declaration of Independence or from any official who actually assisted in establishing American independence.

DAVIDSON, WILLIAM.—Born in N. C., 1746; killed at Cowan's Ford, N. C., 1781. An American brigadier-general in the Revolutionary War. While interrupting the passage of Cornwallis across the Catawba, he was mortally wounded and died on the following day.

DAYTON, ELIAS.—Born at Elizabethtown, N. J., 1737; died there, 1807. He was actively engaged throughout the Revolutionary War and took part in many of the chief battles. He was a member of the Continental Congress and was major-general of the N. J. militia.

DEARBORN, HENRY.—Born at Hampton, N. H., 1751; died at Roxbury, Mass., 1829. An American officer, greatly distinguished in the Revolutionary War. He was Secretary of War (1801-09), and minister to Portugal (1822-24). He captured York (Toronto) in 1813.

DEBTS, BRITISH.—Under the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain, provision was made for the payment of all debts due by Americans to British subjects. Some of the state governments, however, provided, even after the ratification of the treaty, that such debts might be paid into the state treasury, and the state would then refuse to entertain suits on the part of the creditors. The Supreme Court, in 1796, declared that such debts must be paid, and that no state law could repudiate them. (See *WARE vs. HYLTON*.)

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—The first step toward the independence of the colonies was taken by N. C., in a resolution, Apr. 12, 1776, "to concur with those in the other colonies in declaring independence." The same state had declared previously (May 31, 1775), in her famous Mecklenburg resolutions, which were forwarded to the Continental Congress, that the people of the colonies were "a free and independent people." Va. in her resolution of May 17, 1776, directed her representatives to propose in Congress a "declaration of independence." A resolution to that effect was introduced in the Continental Congress by Richard Henry Lee, and adopted June 11. The document was prepared by a committee composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. The draft was made by Jefferson. It set forth the rights of men in general and of the colonies in particular, citing their grievances against the British Government and declaring that "these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states." The Declaration was adopted July 4, 1776, by the unanimous vote of 12 states. N. Y. did not vote but afterward ratified it. The adoption of the Declaration by Congress was hailed with enthusiastic acclaim by the people, and that day, July 4, became the national patriotic holiday. (See *JEFFERSON, THOMAS*, 330.)

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.—In 1765, the "Stamp Act Congress" published a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists of America," in which they vigorously protested against the Stamp Act and all other schemes to tax them by a parliament in which they had no representation, and demanded all the rights of British subjects. This was the first general declaration of rights of which there is any official record. In 1774, the Continental Congress made a similar declaration against later aggressions of Parliament. Declarations of the same character were incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. (See also *BILL OF RIGHTS*.)

DE KALB, JOHANN.—Born at Huttendorf, Bavaria, 1721; died near Camden, S. C., 1780. He served as general in the American army in the Revolutionary War, being one of the force that came from

France to aid the Colonists. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Camden.

DERBY, ELIAS HASKETT.—Born at Salem, Mass., 1739; died there, 1799; prominent as an American merchant in the India and China trade and for the activity he displayed in equipping privateers during the Revolutionary War.

DICKINSON, JOHN.—Born at Crosia, Md., 1732; died at Wilmington, Del., 1808. An American statesman and author. He was a member of the Colonial Congress in 1765, and of the first Continental Congress of 1774; also president of Pa. (1782–85) and a member of the Federal Convention of 1787. He published the "Fabius" letters in 1788, and was the founder of Dickinson College, Pa.

DRAYTON, WILLIAM HENRY.—(1742–1779.) When chief-justice of S. C., in 1776, he delivered a charge to the grand jury which greatly accelerated the cause of independence. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1778 until his death.

ELLERY, WILLIAM.—Born at Newport, R. I., 1727; died there 1820. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

E PLURIBUS UNUM.—A Latin phrase meaning "out of many one" or "one of many." As so commonly used in America it refers to the formation of one Federal Government out of several independent states. It is the motto of the U. S., having been selected by a committee composed of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson. They made their report on a design for a motto and great seal Aug. 10, 1776. The phrase is probably derived from "Moretum," a Latin poem by Virgil. As stamped on coin, it first appeared on money issued by N. J. in 1786.

EUTAW SPRINGS (S. C.), BATTLE OF.—A fierce but indecisive fight of the Revolution, occurring September 8, 1781. The American general, Greene, with an army of 2,500 men attacked the southern division of the British army, a force of 2,000 men under Lieut.-col. Stewart, at its headquarters at Orangeburg, S. C. Stewart fell back to Eutaw Springs, near the Santee River, where the battle took place, the British held the field, but at night retired toward Charleston. Greene took possession of the battle-ground and sent detachments in pursuit of the British. The Americans lost 408, the British, 693.

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, THE.—The fundamental law of the United States; framed by the Constitutional Convention, in Philadelphia, 1787.

FEDERALIST, THE.—Eighty-five essays, written originally for the "Independent Journal" of New York, and published afterward in book form, constituted "The Federalist." Alexander Hamilton wrote 51 of

the essays, James Madison 29, and John Jay five. They appeared between October 27, 1787, and April 2, 1788, and their purpose was to inform and educate the people and to develop a public sentiment favorable to the Federal Constitution, then under discussion. They bore the common signature "Publius," and are a repository of Federal principles.

FEDERALIST PARTY.—The first national political organization formed in this country after it had won its independence. Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Jay, and Marshall were among its most distinguished leaders. During the French Revolution, the Federalists did not sympathize with the elements of disorder in France, and because they would not involve this country in a war with England, in order to aid Robespierre, Marat, and others of their kind in France, they were most unjustly accused of favoring the British. Burr and Jefferson organized the Republican (Democrat) party and, themselves aristocrats who had little in common with the masses, charged the Federalists with being enemies of the people. The Federalists elected Washington President, and John Adams Vice-president. Hamilton's financial measures had found great favor with the friends of stable government and those who desired to see the various states of the Union consolidated and authority and responsibility centralized. In 1797 a considerable element in the party favored war with France. In 1798 Federalist influence and votes passed the Alien and Sedition Laws (which see). The Democrats made political capital of these, and in 1800, Adams and Pinckney, Federal candidates for President and Vice-president, respectively, were defeated by the influence of Hamilton and Burr. The course of the Federalists in the War of 1812, was very unpopular, and after the Hartford Convention (see HARTFORD CONVENTION), that party disappeared as a political factor.

FLOYD, WILLIAM.—(1734-1821.) An American politician, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

FORT CLINTON.—A fort of the Revolutionary War, situated on the Hudson, south of West Point.

FORT GRISWOLD (CONN.), CAPTURE OF.—Sept. 6, 1781, Arnold and the Tories captured Fort Griswold, opposite New London, which they had already taken. The garrison fought stubbornly; 73 of its 150 men were killed, including Col. Ledyard, the commander.

FORT MERCER (N. J.), ATTACK ON.—Though the British occupied Philadelphia in Sept., 1777, Washington's army encamped near by, prevented them from getting control of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. Near the mouth of the latter, on the N. J. side at Red Bank,

was Fort Mercer, garrisoned by 400 men. Oct. 22, it was unsuccessfully attacked by British ships and Hessian troops. The enemy lost 400 men and 3 ships; the Americans, 35 men.

FORTS CLINTON AND MONTGOMERY (N. Y.), LOSS OF.—These forts were on the west side of the Hudson River, six miles below West Point. The latter was unfinished and was defended by a company of artillery, a few regulars, and some poorly armed militia. Fort Clinton, commanded by Gen. James Clinton, was a completed work, but was insufficiently garrisoned. Oct. 6, 1777, they were carried by the British under Gen. Henry Clinton, the Americans losing 300 in killed, wounded, and missing, 100 cannon and much ammunition. The British lost about 200.

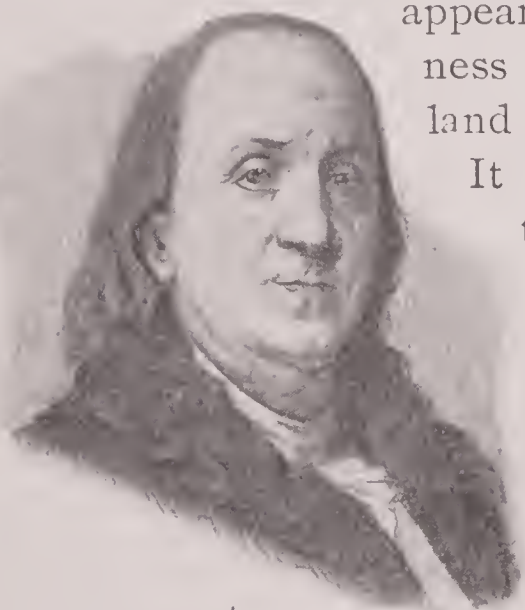
FORT WASHINGTON (N. Y.), CAPTURE OF.—This work was one of the principal defenses of the Hudson River, and after the disastrous battle of Long Island in 1776, Washington quickly saw that it would become untenable and urged that it be abandoned. The Continental Congress disregarded his advice, and Gen. Howe sent an expedition against Fort Washington and Fort Lee, the latter on the opposite or N. j. side of the river. Fort Washington fell Nov. 16, 1776, the British capturing 2,600 men and all the munitions of war. The victory was dearly bought, as the English lost 450, while the American killed and wounded did not exceed 130.

FOX, CHARLES JAMES.—(1749–1806.) An English statesman and Cabinet minister under Lord North. In 1772, in consequence of a quarrel with Lord North, he passed over to the Opposition. He was the most powerful advocate of just concession to the American colonists during the War of the Revolution. His contest with Pitt, the trial of Warren Hastings, the French Revolution, gave him abundant opportunity to exert his wonderful talent and oratory. He was elected to parliament when he was only nineteen years of age. He was lord of the admiralty, and in 1782, became secretary of state for foreign affairs. He sided with Burke against Pitt, especially in American Colonies affairs. He ranked as a speaker with Burke, Sheridan, and Pitt. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Printer, philosopher, statesman, diplomat, patriot.

“THE genius which has freed America and poured a flood of light over Europe has returned to the bosom of the Divinity,” were the words in which Mirabeau announced to the French National Assembly the death of Benjamin Franklin. Hardly less impressive were the words of Turgot, spoken in their subject’s lifetime: “He snatched the lightning from heaven and the scepter from tyrants.” It was the great Lord Chatham who said, after Franklin’s appearance at the bar of the House of Commons as a witness against the Stamp Act: “He is an honor, not to England only, but to human nature.”

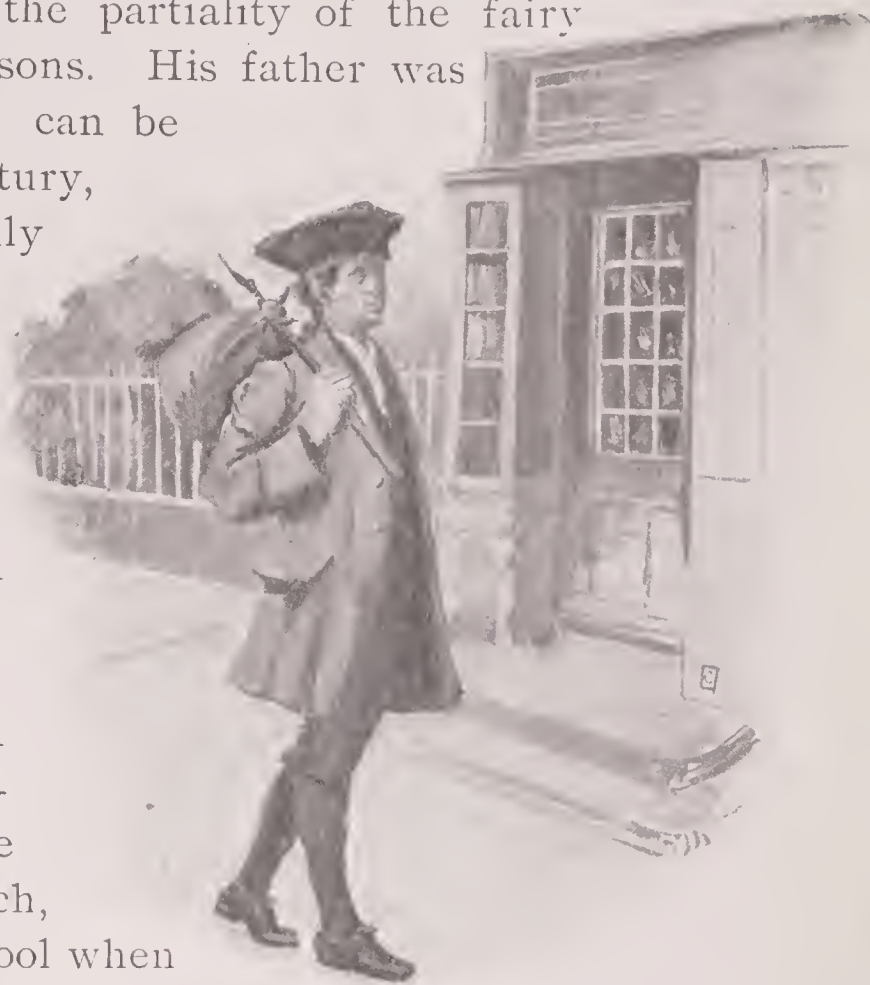


It is not exaggeration to say that Franklin is one of the most colossal figures which history has preserved to the knowledge of mankind. Conceding what is probably true, that Napoleon, of all men, individually most affected the world, it is not to be claimed that he left an influence so enduring, so penetrating and so active as that of Franklin. Except that the meteoric career of the wonderful Corsican enabled the liberating principles of the French Revolution to establish themselves on the ruins of absolutism and hereditary privilege, that he knocked to pieces in continental Europe, the work of Napoleon fell with himself; if we further except that code of civil and criminal jurisprudence created by his inspiration, and which, more honorably than aught else, preserves his name. As for the rest, much of his achievement was destructive of the elements of human happiness and progress, and much else mere transitory effect, passing from power with himself. Franklin did more than Napoleon for the well being and future of mankind, by the homely principles, maxims and examples of his “Poor Richard’s Almanack,” to carry no farther the citation of his service to humanity. But Americans will carry it farther, comparison or no comparison, for there is no surer fact in our national history than that to Franklin we owe our national independence—to him and to Washington, these two, in equal measure, and with no third member to the glorious association.

Franklin was born at Boston, January 17, 1706. It may interest those curious in folk-lore to know that he was a youngest son in a line of five unbroken generations of youngest sons. That this is not without some significance, is attested by the partiality of the fairy tales of all lands and ages, for youngest sons. His father was a Northamptonshire man, whose pedigree can be approximated back to the fifteenth century, when the family was already, as the family name denotes, one of "free men"—no small distinction in those days of feudalism and serfdom. From both father and mother the young Benjamin inherited a constitution of toughened steel, which, well kept, served him well to an old age, green beyond the ordinary suggestion of the term. This youngest and favored son of the Northampton dyer turned candlemaker, and thrived at the business. It had been intended to restore the family dignity in the new world by rearing Benjamin for the church, to which end he was carefully placed at school when eight years old, being already so well advanced in reading that he was unable to remember a time when he could not read. But his bent was so evidently not toward the ministry, that at ten he was taken into his father's factory to learn the mysteries of soap and candle making.

In these useful arts he learned the rudiments of industry, but they pursued him more than he pursued them, and, after a fair trial of two years, he was translated to the printing office of his elder brother. This proved to be his vocation, for if Franklin had no other claim to distinction, he would rank high simply as a printer. He remained with his brother five years, during the latter part of which term he had become the most valuable producer of the articles he put in type for the newspaper issued from the printing office. His style was a blend of the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Spectator," his literary mentors, and not only pleased the taste of that day, but remains engaging by its quaintness, raciness and point. A propensity to ballad writing may have been the dawn of a poetic tendency, for Franklin did not lack the faculty of imagination, as his literary and scientific achievements prove; but a suggestion from the anxious father that verse makers are usually beggars, sharply pulled up the budding poet.

His inability to get along amicably with his brother, deprived Boston of its otherwise most famous citizen, who transferred himself



and his future to Philadelphia. There he found employment in a badly conducted printing office and became at once, by force of ability, its practical manager. There, too, in no long time after he had entered the provincial capital, with all his belongings bundled at the end of a stick and swung over his shoulder, he came to be regarded by people of standing as a person of consequence, and their interest and confidence in him led to the conclusion that he ought to be at the head of a printing office worthy of the city. Falling in with the public conceit, the provincial governor, a vain and superficial man, undertook the office of patron, and, in the late autumn of 1724, Franklin paid his own passage to London, in reliance upon the promise of a remittance to follow, to pay for the outfit he was to purchase there. No remittance came, and Franklin was obliged to go to work as a journeyman. After nearly two years, an opportunity came to return to Philadelphia as a clerk to a merchant who was going there to engage in business. The death of his employer, in a few months, put an end to Franklin's career and expectations, and he went back to his old place. The next year, 1727, he founded the Junto, a society or club for mutual improvement, and this tiny shoot became the parent stem of the subsequent Library Company, 1731, and of the American Philosophical Society, 1743. These were both organized by Franklin, and thus he laid the foundation for that literary and scientific eminence so long monopolized by Philadelphia.

In 1729 Franklin was able to engage in business for himself, with a very small capital, and to take over the "Pennsylvania Gazette," which had been trying to live with less than a hundred subscribers. He soon wrote that weekly up into fame and profit, and carried it on for more than thirty-five years. In 1732 he began the publication of "Poor Richard's Almanack," and brought it out for twenty-five years. It reached a circulation of ten thousand copies, which yet stands unrivaled, on a comparison between conditions then and as they are now. Its mission was to teach men, by precept and example, how to be "healthy, wealthy and wise," and that was the sum of Franklin's philosophy, for he was the most direct and practical philosopher that ever attained rank among the world-wide sages. When, after the alliance, the French government fitted out a war ship for the American service, it was named "Bon Homme Richard," that is "Good Man Richard," in compliment to Franklin, and as the nearest approach that the difference in language would permit, to the name of the famous annual which translation had made as familiar in



France as in Britain and America. In 1736 Franklin became clerk to the General Assembly, and in 1738 a member of that body, in which he continued for ten years. In 1737 he was made deputy postmaster for the colonies, the beginning of a post-office experience of some forty years, marked by his usual practical sagacity and attended by the customary efficiency and profit of all his undertakings.

In addition to his business, literary, legislative and official occupations, Franklin was deep in philosophical and scientific studies and pursuits. Political economy, as related to daily welfare, engaged his interest. He discussed the theory of value, and deemed its true foundation to be labor cost. On the subject of population, he held the doctrine of its proper restriction to the means of subsistence. He was, in all things, a utilitarian to the backbone. For speculative philosophy he had no regard; he deemed essential an immediate and practically beneficial object for every inquiry and experiment. Industry and thrift were the motors, and the greatest earthly good of the greatest number was the end to be reached. The industry and the thrift enjoined were the homely industry and thrift of the individual, as "A penny saved is a penny earned," and the like, and he looked at the mass only to discover the results of individual vices and virtues, then to go back to the individual with incentive or admonition. It was his personal appeal that made his philosophy so effective, for by it he reached the dullest conscience, the most sluggish ambition and the plainest understanding. His own thought was never uncertain, his utterance never obscure. His familiarity with French, Spanish, Italian and Latin vastly enlarged his sources of inspiration and his powers of expression.

To Franklin were due the police and fire departments, the militia, the street paving and the public hospital, in all of which Philadelphia was the pioneer city of colonial America, and from his impulse grew the now flourishing University of Pennsylvania. From 1751 to 1754 he conducted those electrical experiments which, among other things, demonstrated the complete identity of lightning with electricity, and led to Franklin's own introduction of the lightning rod. The Royal Society, autocrat in the world of science, scornfully rejected his account of his electrical experiments, which, published then in popular form, ran through five editions. When convinced of its error, the great society made the most ample amends. The present being the era of electricity, it is



well to quote the words of an expert, Professor Chrystal, of the University of Edinburgh, who says:—

“A high place in the history of electricity must be allotted to the name of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia. His researches did much to extend our theoretical and practical knowledge of electricity, and the clearness and vigor of his style made his writings popular and spread the study of the subject.”

In 1754 Franklin, as Indian agent for Pennsylvania, went to the congress at Albany, intended chiefly to arrange terms with the Six Nations in view of an impending war with France. He there brought forward his project of a president-general and a grand council for the colonies, declaring his conviction that the colonies united could take care of the war in America without a redcoat or a shilling from England. This was persuasive, but the crown office shrank from colonial union, and the proposal, with real reluctance, was rejected. Its adoption at the congress would have insured its adoption at London, and in this twentieth century the British ensign would probably have been the flag of all English-speaking America. Its rejection caused the sending over of General Braddock, an excellent but arrogant commander, and two admirable regiments, trained to warfare in the Flemish lowlands, as a nucleus for the undisciplined colonial volunteers. Franklin, as postmaster for the colonies, was charged with the duty of providing the great wagon train needed for the expedition through the wilderness against Pittsburg, then known as Fort Duquesne.

What Franklin termed the “incredible meanness” of the sons of William Penn, in seeking to have their great holdings exempted from the tax laid for the war expenses of the colony, caused the General Assembly to send Franklin to London in 1757, to litigate the matter before the Privy Council. His fame as a scientist, philosopher and political economist met full recognition, and he became a social lion. During a call upon Lord Grenville, the prime minister, who received him cordially, they fell to discussing the relations of the mother country and the colonies. Grenville said that the royal instructions to the governors were the true laws for the colonies, being first drawn up by the learned judges, examined and debated by the council and then adopted by the king, and he denied the right exercised by the colonial legislatures of passing enactments contrary to the king’s laws. Franklin contended that the colonial legislatures were the rightful law-making powers, without which the king could not legislate for the colonies. He confessed himself disturbed by what he had heard from so eminent a source,

though the good feeling between Britain and the colonies made any serious trouble improbable.

Franklin was detained in London some five years, but he defeated the Penns before the Privy Council, and they had to pay the tax on all but wild and unsurveyed lands, which were intended to be exempt. In 1760, upon the accession of George the Third, there was a great pressure in England for peace with France, which Franklin opposed on the ground that a premature ending of the existing war would necessitate another in a few years for the protection of the colonies, which could now be made secure once for all. He particularly opposed a peace that would leave Canada a French possession, saying that the future grandeur and strength of the British empire lay in America; that British people would throng the country from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi within a century, making the mother country vastly more populous by the increase of commerce, and that she would dominate the world. He took to pamphleteering, then a great means of affecting public sentiment on current questions. The war went on till 1763; and when peace came, France was expelled from Canada and ceded her vast Mississippi territory to Spain, which gave up Florida to England. Franklin had been home a year, and could personally witness the joyous loyalty of the colonists, who had feared that the royal government might accept a tempting offer of West Indian islands instead of retaining Canada. Though the laxly enforced navigation acts, which restricted the trade of the colonies with some of their best and most natural markets, had become stringent again during the war, under the impulse of financial and commercial distress in England, little attention was paid to that practical hardship, in the gush of sentiment at the opening of a continent to colonial expansion. Already the Western fever was in the blood, and the hunger for Western lands was ravening.

At the end of 1764, Franklin was back in London to cite the Penns again before the Privy Council for oppressive exercise of their chartered rights as proprietors. His stay was destined to last for ten years, and in the course of it he became also agent for Massachusetts and others of the large colonies. The financial distress of the royal government, due to the expenses of the late war, compelled the ministry to look for assistance to the colonies, in whose behalf the war had been extended and prolonged, if not undertaken. The justice of the claim was generally admitted, but the colonial politicians in the legislatures were timid about taxing their constituents, who had already been at much expense for the war. Partly to relieve them from embarrassment and partly to get the needed money, the Stamp Act

was passed, against the remonstrance of Franklin, who contended that parliament had no constitutional right to tax the colonies, unrepresented in it. But he took a cheerful view of the act when passed, saying it involved only a hundred thousand pounds, easily to be made good by a few wholesome personal economies, and advised submission to it. This made him very unpopular at home, and a mob at Philadelphia threatened violence to his dwelling and family.

Colonial resistance to the act, a change of ministry, and commercial outcry at the disturbance of trade with America, brought the act under reconsideration by the House of Commons, and Franklin was cited to the bar of the House to testify on the question of repeal. His examination was the triumph of his life, and, accepted by popular feeling as a type of the trans-Atlantic Englishman, he

lifted the colonies to a height that made fervid statesmen like Burke enthusiastic over them. It was then that the great Chatham uttered his already-quoted eulogy. The

Stamp Act was repealed amid the joy of the British nation, and Franklin wrote to his wife that she could have a new gown; but the next year, through the folly of a rattle-brained minister, it was replaced by an import duty on tea, paper, glass and paint. This the colonists met by resolutions of non-importation, and a boycotting of any persons who violated the resolutions.

In 1773 all but the tea duty was repealed, and that was given up in the guise of a drawback, merely to save the principle of the parliamentary right to "bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." When, in a former reign, the great minister, Walpole, had been advised to lay duties upon imports of the colonies, he answered that, though it might be legally right, it was politically inexpedient. Now, under a severely technical king, technicality had become the test of statesmanship. The colonies were humming with discontent, but it was a loyal discontent, nourished by men who loved their allegiance, and who, by reason of their allegiance, contended the more stubbornly for their rights. In England, too, was the man, all powerful and all esteemed, who in this supreme moment was the sure bond of union and reconciliation; but at this supreme moment came the catastrophe of his life.

Some letters from crown officers in Massachusetts to the home authorities, which reported on affairs in that colony and advised firm measures, were stolen from the official files and handed over to Franklin. He possessed himself of their contents, with a view of counter-acting their suggestions, and then sent them confidentially to Boston,



where they were immediately published. This brought the matter before the Privy Council, where Franklin came to explain his surreptitious possession of public archives. For the government appeared Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, innately coarse and unscrupulous, but abounding in fire, eloquence and invective. Franklin could say but little in his unfortunate position, and Wedderburn, in his superior station, could say much, and he spared not. Master of the art of advocacy, he stripped the figure of the great philosopher, sage, scientist and patriot of its shining attributes, and exhibited it as a quivering and hideous skeleton. The genius that had snatched the lightning from heaven might wish, in that moment, that the lightning had snatched him from earth. The high society of that time, wherein Franklin moved, was drunken and dissolute, but its conventional rules of honor were as strictly regarded as were its debts of honor, and from that society he was thenceforth an outcast, except as his official station, and his position in the world of science and letters, compelled a formal recognition. He was dismissed from his office as deputy postmaster for the colonies.

This was the end of that imperialistic fervor which, thirteen years before, had prefigured a British nation crowding the North American continent, and a British power encircling the globe. Franklin's vast influence with the mother country was gone, and possibly, also, the desire to have and to use it. He resented the severity and brutality of Wedderburn's assault and the general acceptance of it, deeming that some consideration had been due to his past reputation and services, his innocent possession of the letters, and the entirely worthy purpose for which he had sent them to Boston, for confidential use only by those needing to be warned of the source of mischief. He remained in England nearly two years longer, in discharge of his duties as colonial agent, advancing from his former position that the Parliament could not tax America, to the new position that Parliament could not legislate for the colonies on any subject whatsoever. Then, seeing that he could be of no further use, affairs having reached the stage where one side or the other must give way or fight, he sailed for home, and landed to hear the news of Concord and Lexington, which irrevocably committed both sides to war.

Franklin was hardly ashore, before he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1775, where he was assigned to service on a multitude of committees, appointed colonial postmaster general, and sent as one of three commissioners to Quebec, to detach the French Canadians from their British allegiance. It was to Franklin that they chiefly owed their position as British subjects, and their character and religion not so many years back had been deeply aspersed by the

New England colonists; wherefore they made scant ceremony of showing Franklin and his fellow-commissioners the door. In 1776 he was again a delegate to the Congress and was a member of the committee on the Declaration of Independence, which document gave full expression to his later views that the British Parliament had no jurisdiction in America. The same year he was president of the convention to frame a state constitution for Pennsylvania, and in the last month of that year he was in France, to seek aid for the young republic. He was already better known to the French people than any other foreigner; his scientific and economic works had passed through repeated translations; he was already a member of the French Academy, as well as of every learned society in Europe; and immediately upon his arrival he became the fashion at court and in the salons, and the talk and spectacle of the populace. Portraits, busts and medallions of him were turned out by hundreds, cheap prints of him were hawked on the street, and high-class jewelers kept in stock little pastels, to meet the new fad of having his portrait on snuff boxes and in finger rings. Franklin streets and Franklin societies sprouted like mushrooms in the cities and towns, and John Adams, who did not over-estimate him, wrote that "if a collection could be made of all the gazettes of Europe for the latter half of the eighteenth century, a greater number of panegyrical paragraphs upon 'le grand Franklin' would appear, it is believed, than upon any other man that ever lived." His Quaker dress and Quaker manners, his humility, his epigrams, witticisms and conceits, rendered in French, applied to French life and habits, and expressed in the manner of "Poor Richard," created a universal enthusiasm over him; nor was it forgotten that he was the sworn enemy of "Perfidious Albion," and bent on dismembering that British empire so largely built up from the failure of France.

The French government was already bankrupt, and going headlong toward that crisis which brought on the Revolution and the Reign of Terror, a few years later; but, despite the prudent opposition of Necker, who was trying to restore the finances, Franklin engaged the government liberally in secret aid of money and supplies. He also won the powerfully connected young Marquis de Lafayette over to a crusade for freedom, by the irresistible prize of the rank of a general of division, which Congress ratified against the murmurs of the habitually ill-treated continental officers; and, after the surrender of Burgoyne, he persuaded the French government to come into the open and have it out with England by securing the independence of America. The independence of America was secured, but it was England that had it out with France, which paid smartly for the little excursion in the cause of liberty.

In 1781 Franklin reminded Congress that he was seventy-five years old and a martyr to the gout, and asked that a successor to him at Paris be appointed. But he was made a commissioner, with Adams and Jay, to conclude a preliminary treaty of peace, and in 1783 he was on the commission for the final treaty. There was still so much with France and continental Europe that only Franklin could do, by reason of his unique position, that it was the autumn of 1785 before he got home, having made a sojourn in England, where everything was again friendly and on the old footing.

A month after he landed, Franklin was chairman of the municipal council, and that winter he was president of the commonwealth, serving three years, and then escaped by a positive refusal to serve longer. While holding this highest office in his state, he was elected a delegate to the convention that framed the Federal Constitution, and got around the apparently irreconcilable breach between the large and the small states by the device of equal representation in the Senate, making it a permanent body, and giving it an important share in the executive power. Thus opening the way, he remained active and influential to the very end of the labors of the convention, and, with Washington, has the main credit of carrying the great work through to a finish. But for his advanced age and infirmity, it is probable that Franklin would have been the first President under the Constitution, his fame being of a kind which, more than that of Washington, would have commended him for that office. He lived thirty-two months after the adjournment of the convention, and died April 17, 1790, past his eighty-fifth year, leaving a handsome fortune, obtained entirely by his private industry and enterprise, as he always declined profit from his public employments. The three qualities of sagacity, industry and integrity, carried to a high development, account for his extraordinary, and, in some respects, unequaled, career.

No account of Franklin could be complete without mention of his famous jest, when the delegates in Congress were signing the Declaration of Independence, that they must all "hang together" or they would all "hang separately"; and of Jefferson's beautiful verbal correction of Count Vergennes, when he said that he had come to Paris "to succeed Dr. Franklin, for nobody could replace him."



FRANKLIN, WILLIAM.—Born at Philadelphia, 1729; died in England, 1813. A son of Benjamin Franklin. He was royal governor of N. J., 1762-76.

GADSDEN, CHRISTOPHER.—(1724-1805.) A distinguished officer in the Revolutionary War.

GATES, HORATIO.—(1728-1808.) An American general, prominent in the Revolutionary War, born in England. He came to America in 1755 and was a captain in Braddock's expedition. He entered the American army as adjutant-general and defeated the British at Saratoga in 1777 in what Creasy calls one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. He was detected in an ambitious design to usurp Washington's place as commander-in-chief and was relieved of his command. He was restored in 1780 and was defeated at Camden in the same year. He was retired and court-martialed. His exoneration was tardy and reluctantly given. He afterward settled in New York where he died.

GENERAL EXPENSE OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.—The report of 1790 shows the following expenditure by the United States:—

1775 and 1776	\$ 20,064,666
1777.....	24,986,646
1778.....	24,289,438
1779.....	10,794,625
1780.....	3,000,000
1781.....	1,942,465
1782.....	3,632,745
1783	3,226,583
1784.....	548,525
Total.....	\$ 92,485,693
France contributed about	60,000,000
Expended in Europe... ..	5,000,000
The states expended about.....	21,000,000
Grand total.....	\$178,485,693

GERMANTOWN (Pa.), BATTLE OF.—After the American defeat at Brandywine Creek and the British occupation of Philadelphia, Washington determined to attack the main body of Howe's army, which was quartered at Germantown. The American army numbered 10,000 men, and about two-thirds of this force, under Generals Wayne and Sullivan, started for Germantown, Oct. 3, 1777. The battle opened about 7 A. M. on the 4th. The Americans were repulsed with a loss of 673 killed and wounded and 400 prisoners.

GREENE, NATHANAEL.—Born at Warwick, R. I., 1742; died near Savannah, Ga., 1786. An American general, distinguished in the Revolutionary War. He fought at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, etc.; succeeded Gates in the command of the Southern army (1780), con-

ducted the retreat from Catawba to the Dan (1781), and commanded at Eutaw Springs (1781). His conduct of the southern campaign was so excellent that Congress gave him a medal and grants of land. He presided at the trial of Major André in 1780. He was second only to Washington as a military strategist.

GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS.—A sobriquet applied to soldiers from Vermont in the Revolutionary War, who were organized and commanded by Ethan Allen in 1775. They received their military training and a taste for war in the boundary dispute that arose between Vermont and New York prior to the War of Independence. The original grants of Massachusetts and Connecticut states that the southern boundary was the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. When Charles II. gave the grants to his brother, the Duke of York, he specified that the boundary should extend to the Connecticut River. When Benning Wentworth was made governor of New Hampshire he gave grants of unimproved lands to the farmers who developed them. In 1764 decision was given in favor of New York in the boundary matter. Then she went further and declared that the Wentworth patents were of no force, and claimed the improved holdings of the farmers. For seven years the Green Mountain Boys defended their rights in the New Hampshire Grants, as Vermont was then called. Among their most notable successes in the War of Independence was the bloodless surprise of Ticonderoga in 1775, when Ethan Allen obtained the surrender of Captain Delaplace, "In the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress, by God." He secured forty-four prisoners, 120 cannon, and a quantity of ammunition, without the loss of a man.

GRIDLEY, RICHARD.—Born in Massachusetts, 1711; died at Stoughton, Mass., 1796. A distinguished American general in the Revolutionary War, on the outbreak of which he became chief engineer and commander of artillery in the colonial army at Cambridge and planned the works at Bunker's Hill. He was appointed major-general by the provincial Congress in 1775 and had command of the Continental artillery.

GUILFORD COURT HOUSE (N. C.), BATTLE OF.—The American army, in the Revolutionary War, when ready for battle at Guilford Court House, N. C., Mar. 15, 1781, consisted of 4,404 men under command of Gen. Greene. More than half of the force consisted of raw militia. Cornwallis's army was about 2,200 strong. The conflict lasted two hours and the Americans were repulsed. The militia did not stand before the enemy's fire. The number of British killed and wounded was officially reported at 544. The total of the American casualties was 1,311.

HALE, NATHAN.—Born at Coventry, Conn., 1755; executed at New York, 1776. An American patriot. He graduated from Yale in 1773. He entered the American Army and rose to the rank of captain. He entered the British lines at New York and Long Island, disguised as a school teacher, to obtain information for Washington and was detected as a spy. His last words were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

HANCOCK, JOHN (1737-1793), was president of the Provincial Congress, 1774-75; president of Congress, 1775-77; the first signer of the Declaration of Independence, and first governor of Massachusetts (1780-85 and 1787-93). He was born at Quincy, Mass. During his early life he made a large fortune in business. He appears first upon the Declaration of Independence because he was the president of the Congress at that time.

HANCOCK HOUSE.—An ancient building which formerly stood in Boston, Mass., and was the residence of Governor John Hancock (1790-93). It was demolished in 1863.

HANGING ROCK (S. C.), BATTLE OF.—On the evening of Aug. 6, 1780, Col. Sumter, with a force of 150 Americans, attacked the British post at Hanging Rock, a large boulder jutting out from the high bank of the Catawba River, in South Carolina. A body of North Carolina Tory refugees under Col. Bryan fled upon the approach of Sumter, but the Prince of Wales regiment defended the post for four hours, but was defeated and almost annihilated, the British loss aggregating 269. The American loss was 12 killed and 41 wounded.

HARLEM HEIGHTS (N. Y.), BATTLE OF.—After Washington had successfully withdrawn the American troops from L. I., he proceeded to strengthen and fortify his lines at King's Bridge, on Harlem Heights. Sept. 15, 1776, the British ships in the East River landed a small force at Kip's Bay, and on the 16th Gen. Howe sent a regiment and two battalions of infantry to dislodge the Americans. The British were driven back with a loss of nearly 200 killed and wounded.

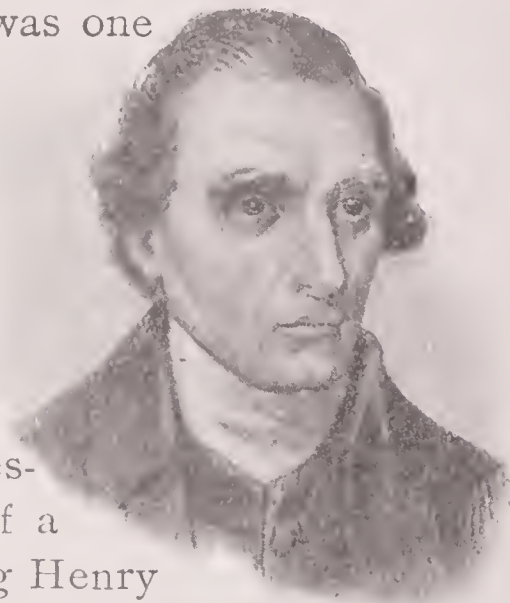
HART, JOHN.—(1708-1780.) He was a delegate to Congress from N. J., 1776, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

HEATH, WILLIAM.—Born at Roxbury, Mass., 1737; died there, 1814. A distinguished general in the Revolutionary War. He was a member of the provincial Congress (1774-75), and became brig.-gen. in the provincial army (1774). He organized the forces at Cambridge before the battle of Bunker Hill, and subsequently became maj.-gen. in the Continental army (1776). He was the author of "Memoirs of Maj.-gen. William Heath."

PATRICK HENRY

Whose career illustrates the power of eloquence.

THE life of this distinguished lawyer, statesman and orator of the Revolutionary period, affords a striking example of the sudden and wholly unexpected development of a masterful talent, after a beginning which gave little promise that even mediocrity would be attained. In 1736 Patrick Henry was born, in Studley, Hanover County, Virginia. He was a son of John Henry, a sturdy Scotchman, of strong intellect and liberal education. His mother was one of a family marked by "a gift for music and for eloquent speech." Patrick's youth was most disappointing to his parents, who were filled with an ambition that he might become a man of mark among his fellows. He was idle and lazy, and spent most of his time in hunting, fishing and playing the violin. He had little taste for books and could not be induced to apply himself to study. While but a mere boy, his father established him in mercantile business, but at the end of a year the experiment was abandoned. At eighteen, young Henry married the daughter of an innkeeper. For two years he tried farming, but this, too, resulted in failure, mainly because he would not apply himself to business. At twenty, he again engaged in merchandise, with capital supplied by his father. Three years later he was bankrupt, and his father was in despair.

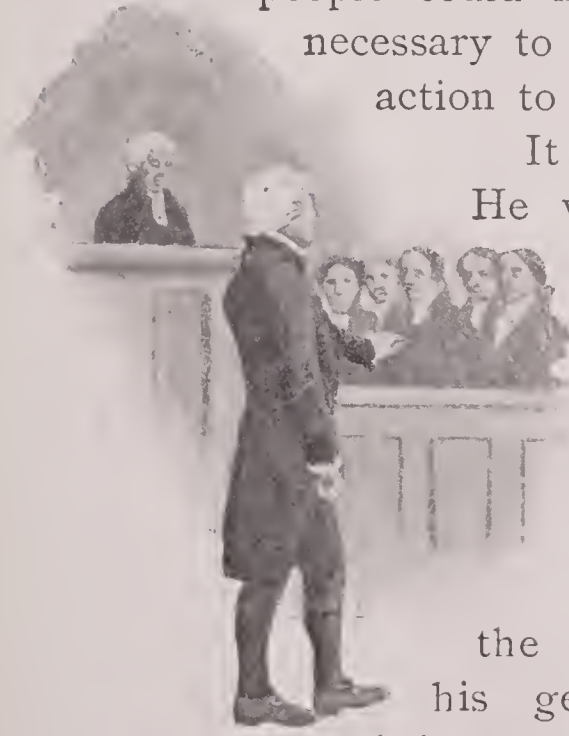


Now came the turning point of his life. While in business he had learned something of human nature, and there had gradually been developed in him a fondness for talking on political and other topics. His aptness in argument began to be noticed, and more and more impressed those with whom he was brought in contact. He even tried public speaking on occasion. He was quick to appreciate the advantage which he might gain in this way, and sought to acquire that clear and simple style of speech which is pleasing to the popular ear.

After consulting with a few friends, he determined to study law. He had studied but six weeks, when he offered himself a candidate for admission to the bar. Two of the four examiners at Richmond

signed his license with reluctance, one refused his consent, and the fourth signed only upon a promise of future reading. He opened an office, displayed his sign and waited for clients. People thought he would fail, and were not slow to say so. In fact, it was three or four years before he achieved any measure of success and showed these prophets that they might have been mistaken. During that time his clients were few and his practice was by no means lucrative.

In 1764, when he was twenty-eight years of age, Patrick Henry leaped into fame by an argument which he delivered against "the parsons," in one of several cases which had been long pending in the courts of Virginia. These suits grew out of a controversy between the clergy and the people in regard to the payment to the former of the stipend which, under an act passed as early as 1696, they claimed as compensation for their priestly services. At this time the Church of England was the established form of religion in Virginia. The act cited provided that each minister in charge of a parish should receive annually sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. It was his privilege, at his option, to demand either the tobacco or its value in money commuted at the market price. A failure of the tobacco crop in 1755 had caused great distress in the payment of "tobacco debts." That staple, which was the recognized standard of value, advanced in price fourfold. The clergy demanded their stipend in money, but the people could not pay. Legislation by the house of burgesses was necessary to enable the payment of obligations. The clergy brought action to collect their claims, under the old law.



It was in one of these cases that Henry won his first laurels. He was on the side of the people, against the clergy. When the time came for him to address the jury, he rose awkwardly and began his argument in feeble and faltering words. The people hung their heads, the clergy exchanged glances of encouragement and Henry's father showed much distress. But soon there came a change. As his thought developed and his mind began to grasp the subject, the attitude of the speaker became erect and impressive. The spirit of his genius shone in all his features. His countenance was bright with a nobleness and grandeur which it had never before exhibited. There was something like the lightning in his eye, which seemed to fascinate his hearers. His action became bold, graceful and commanding; and in the tones of his voice there was a peculiar charm of which no words can give an adequate description. In the language of one who heard him on this occasion, "He made their blood run cold and their hair rise on end."

The effect upon the listeners was magical. The speaker commanded their attention with intense fixedness. They might be seen in every part of the house, on every bench, in every window, stooping forward from their places, all with senses alert, and intent upon the speaker. The mockery of the clergy was soon turned into alarm; their fancied triumph into confusion and despair. At one of his outbursts of rapid and overwhelming invective, they fled from the room in precipitation and terror. As for his father, such was his surprise, such his amazement, such his rapture, that, forgetting the place and the occasion, forgetting even himself, he was overcome by his emotions. Tears of joy streamed down his cheeks, and he had neither power nor inclination to stop them. The jury found for the clergymen, under the law, but fixed the amount of the verdict as their damages at one penny. The erratic young barrister, who had so astonished, not only his friends and acquaintances, but himself as well, rose at a single bound to the height of local fame. His law practice increased beyond all precedent. His fee book shows that within three years he served as attorney in one thousand one hundred and eighty-five suits at law.

Patrick Henry in his youth was indifferent to dress. His appearance, however, was at all times wonderfully impressive. He was nearly six feet in height, spare and rawboned, with a slight stoop of the shoulders. His complexion was dark and sallow; his natural expression grave, thoughtful and penetrating. He was gifted with a strong and musical voice, often rendered doubly fascinating by the gaze of his attractive blue eyes. When animated, he spoke with a variety of manner and tone that added greatly to the effect of his delivery.

In May, 1765, Henry was chosen a member of the Virginia house of burgesses, from Louisa County. A new political leader had come. The British parliament had passed the odious Stamp Act, and Patrick Henry signalized his entry into public life by his memorable resolutions in opposition thereto. During the debate on these resolutions, Henry acquired a powerful influence over those who listened to his eloquence. He secured the adoption of the resolutions, and became the acknowledged leader of the friends of colonial liberty and independence in Virginia. Wirt, the biographer, says of Henry in the debate on the Stamp Act:—

“It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while Henry was decanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god: ‘Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First, his Cromwell, and George the Third’—‘Treason!’ cried the Speaker; ‘Treason!’ ‘Treason!’ echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which are so decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the Speaker

an eye of fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis — ‘and George the Third may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it!’”

Manuscript copies of Henry’s great effort on the Stamp Act were sent to other colonies and assisted greatly in provoking resistance to that tyrannical measure. General Gates wrote to the English government that “Virginia resolves had given the signal for a general outcry over the continent,” and an able loyalist singled them out as the cause of all the trouble. Henceforth Henry’s position was assured, and he was in the front of all the great political discussions of those stirring days.

The greatest effort of his life was yet to come. It was his immortal speech at Richmond, in 1775, before the Virginia convention, on his resolution to put the colonies in a state of defense. It began: “Mr. President, It is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope,” and closed with the well-known words: “I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!” For patriotic eloquence this speech of Mr. Henry has never been exceeded in American history. Indeed, it may be doubted if a more effective utterance ever fixed the attention and kindled the emotions of a public assemblage in any country. Henry’s appeal was irresistible, and its effect upon his direct listeners, and upon the people, not only of Virginia but throughout the colonies, was electrical. Nor was it a mere momentary excitement, as is sometimes the case when men are swept along by a flood of eloquence. The influence of that speech was far-reaching and abiding. Beyond question, it had much to do with shaping popular opinion and directing the course of events toward the birth of the American Republic.

It is little known to the world that the first overt act of war in Virginia was made almost as early as at Lexington and Concord — *viz.*, May 4, 1775. An independent company of militia, commanded by Patrick Henry, compelled the receiver-general of George III. to pay three hundred and thirty pounds as a compensation for gunpowder taken out of the public magazine by the governor’s order. The money was conveyed to the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress. Patrick Henry left Congress to become colonel of the First Virginia regiment, and then commander-in-chief of the provincial forces. In February, 1776, he resigned his military position. This rather gave satisfaction, for his abilities seemed better fitted for the forum than for the field. He was elected governor in 1776 and served three years. In 1781 he was again called to the governor’s chair, which he occupied until 1786. He held an estate of ten thousand acres, situated in a county named in his honor — Henry.

Governor Henry Lee appointed Mr. Henry United States Senator; President Washington offered him the high offices of Secretary of State and Chief-justice of the Supreme Court; President John Adams sent his name to the Senate as one of the three envoys to France, but all these honors he declined on account of age and bodily infirmity. At Washington's request, however, in 1799, he allowed his name to be used as a candidate for the legislature, because his presence was needed to defeat a resolution kindred to the later nullification act of South Carolina. He was elected, but his death, June 6, 1799, occurred before he could take his seat. In his will, after enumerating his real and personal estate, which he left to his family, he says:—

“This is all I can give to my dear family. The religion of Christ can give that which will make them rich indeed.”

Patrick Henry was a type of the eloquent men of the Revolutionary period, whose impassioned utterances exerted a powerful influence upon the people of the colonies. There were many of them, who rose to the full measure of their duty and their opportunity. Leaders of public opinion, in a revolution, are as necessary as leaders of armed battalions on the field of war. The popular mind must first be aroused and inspired, in order to give to the movement that direction and momentum without which there could be no hope of success. There were others who were, perhaps, more powerful in argument, more cogent in logic, than Mr. Henry, but certainly there were few indeed whose fervid eloquence so stirred the emotions and quickened the pulses of the people. Some of his speeches have become classics, in patriotism and oratory. They have come down to our time, and will be passed on to future generations, to be read by admiring millions, and declaimed from every school platform. Their influence will be enduring.

HERKIMER, NICHOLAS.—Died, 1777. A distinguished Revolutionary general of German extraction. In 1777 he, while in command of the Tryon Co. militia, relieved Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk River which was besieged by the British. In Aug. of the same year he defeated the British detachment in Oriskany where he was wounded in battle and died in consequence of an unskillful surgical operation.

HESSIANS.—The inhabitants of Hesse, a district in Germany. During the Revolutionary War Great Britain employed a number of Hessian troops to serve against the colonies. Twelve thousand of these men were hired from the Landgrave of Hesse and 5,000 more from the Duke of Brunswick, and paid thirty crowns apiece for subsidy; the Landgrave of Hesse getting a double subsidy of £450,000 a year. They were for the most part excellent troops and well equipped, but the disgraceful traffic in the blood of brave men needs no comment.

HICKEY PLOT.—A conspiracy headed by Thomas Hickey, one of George Washington's life guards, to assassinate the general at N. Y., in 1776. The plot was discovered, Hickey was hanged in June, 1776, and David Matthews, mayor of N. Y., was imprisoned for his connection with the affair.

HOBKIRK'S HILL (S. C.), BATTLE OF.—Apr. 25, 1781, Lord Rawdon with about 950 British made a sudden attack on the Americans under Gen. Greene at Hobkirk's Hill, two miles north of Camden, S. C. The American force consisted of 1,446 men. Greene was defeated, but both armies withdrew from the field. The British lost 258, in killed, wounded, and missing. The total casualties on the American side was 271.

HOOVER, WILLIAM.—(1742-1790.) He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

HOPKINS, STEPHEN.—(1707-1785.) Governor of R. I. (1755-68) and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

HOWE, WILLIAM (Viscount Howe).—(1729-1814.) A British general; successor of Gen. Gage as commander-in-chief in America.

HUBBARDTON (Vt.), BATTLE OF.—Upon Burgoyne's advance toward Albany, July 6, 1777, Gen. St. Clair, whom Schuyler had left in command at Ticonderoga, being hard pressed by the enemy under the Hessian general, Riedesel, began to retreat toward Rutland. The left wing of the British army under Gen. Frazer, pursued the Americans, and in the afternoon of the 7th, came upon Cols. Warner, Francis, and Hale, with about 900 men, at Hubbardton, Vt. The British force was officially reported at 858. The Americans stood their ground

bravely, but on the arrival of Riedesel, they were forced to retire. The American casualties were about 360; those of the British, 183.

HUGER, ISAAC.—(1742–1797.) As an American general he took an active part in the Revolutionary War. In 1779, he commanded the left wing at the battle of Stono. He also commanded the Virginians at Guilford Court House, but was defeated by Tarleton and Webster at Monk's Corner.

HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL.—(1732–1796.) He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and governor of Conn. (1786–1796).

INDEPENDENCE HALL.—In Philadelphia, the building in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted by Congress and read to the people July 4, 1776. It was here that Washington was chosen commander-in-chief, in 1775. At present it is used as a museum of historical relics.

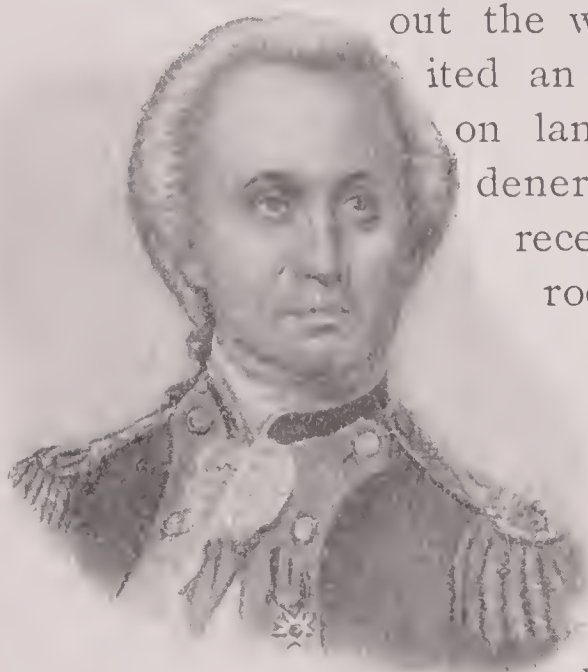
JAMESTOWN (Va.), BATTLE OF.—Early in 1781, Washington ordered La Fayette, with 1,200 light infantry, to undertake the capture of Benedict Arnold, who after his treason to his country had been sent by Clinton, with 1,600 men, to devastate the country along the James River and destroy the stores at Richmond. La Fayette reached Richmond Apr. 29, just as the tobacco warehouses at Manchester, across the river, were being destroyed by Gen. Phillips, who had meanwhile succeeded Arnold. Cornwallis about this time abandoned his unprofitable campaign in the Carolinas, and entered Va. with 8,000 men. La Fayette realized that it would be impossible to hold Richmond against this large force and turned northward to the Rappahannock, where he was joined by Gen. Wayne with 800 Continentals. Returning, La Fayette was further reinforced by Steuben. With his army thus augmented to 4,000 men, he pursued Cornwallis toward Richmond, which place the latter evacuated June 20, retiring toward Jamestown. La Fayette attacked Cornwallis July 6, near Green Springs, a few miles from Jamestown. A feature of the battle was the personal bravery displayed by Gen. La Fayette, but he was forced to retire to Malvern Hill. The American loss was 118, killed, wounded, and missing; the British lost 75.

JOHNSTON, SAMUEL.—(1733–1816.) With his father he came to America in 1736, and became a member of the Continental Congress in 1781; governor of N. C., 1788; U. S. senator (1789–93), and judge of the Supreme Court (1800–03).

JONATHAN, or BROTHER JONATHAN.—A name applied to the typical American, supposed to have originated from Washington's reference to his friend and adviser, Jonathan Trumbull, governor of Conn.

JOHN PAUL JONES

He first unfurled the Stars and Stripes on the sea.



AMONG the many distinguished naval officers in our history, it is but just to award a high place to John Paul Jones, who was the first to break out the American flag from the peak of a regular American man-of-war, and who gained the most brilliant victory won upon the ocean during the War of the Revolution. Throughout the whole of his splendid but erratic career, he exhibited an intrepid courage which has never been surpassed on land or sea. He was the son of John Paul, a gardener, and was born at Kirkbean, Scotland, in 1747. He received only the rudiments of an education, at a parochial school. His home was near Solway Firth, and he became inspired with a love of the sea. As a child, he hoisted his flag on his mimic ship and issued his commands to his imaginary officers and crew. Nor was he content to stop there. As his years increased, he ventured to criticize practical sailors. Paul had opportunities for conversing with mariners who were engaged in the tobacco trade with America, and from them he learned of the discontented colonies across the ocean. He was apprenticed to a merchant engaged in the American trade, and his first voyage was made in his thirteenth year to the Rappahannock, Virginia, where an elder brother then lived. This visit settled Paul in his determination to become an American.

In 1773 he returned to Virginia to settle the affairs of his brother, who had died without a family. There he assumed the surname of Jones. The colonies were then turbulent. Congress was looking for friends of its cause to fit out a naval force. Paul Jones was only twenty-eight, but he was appointed first lieutenant of the "Alfred," one of the only two ships belonging to the government. On board of that ship, at Philadelphia, he hoisted, with his own hands, the flag of independent America, the first time it was ever displayed upon a national vessel. Before many months, he received a captain's commission. In 1777 he sailed for France, in the "Ranger," bearing the news of the victory at Saratoga.

Eager to retaliate upon Great Britain for some acts of her sailors on the American coast, Captain Jones sailed into the Irish Channel, and approached his native shores, a determined enemy. On the night of April 22, he came to anchor in Solway Firth, almost in sight of the trees which sheltered the house where he was born. Early the next morning, with thirty-one volunteers, in two boats, he rowed for the English coast, in an attempt to destroy some two hundred sail in the harbor of Whitehaven. He dispatched one boat to set fire to the vessels, while he led the remainder to the more hazardous duty of securing the fort. Climbing over the shoulders of the tallest of his men, he crept silently through one of the embrasures, followed by the rest, and spiked thirty-six guns. Joining the other detachment, he set fire to the vessels within reach, when the inhabitants became aroused and the invaders retreated, leaving three vessels in flames. The next day he encountered the "Drake," a ship of twenty guns, and took her, after mortally wounding the English captain. With this and another prize, Captain Jones returned to Brest, after an absence of twenty-eight days of active service, in which, besides taking and destroying many valuable vessels, he had thrown into consternation the people on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and caused the English government to expend large sums in fortifying the harbors.

He next went to Paris, where the American legation aided him to secure a vessel of forty guns which was named "Le Bonhomme Richard." In this vessel, badly manned, Paul Jones sailed as commodore of a little squadron. After he had taken several prizes, part of his vessels deserted him. Off Scarborough Castle he came upon the British Baltic fleet, escorted by the frigate "Serapis," forty-four guns, and the "Countess of Scarborough," twenty guns. His flagship was a rotten old hulk which had sailed in the East India merchant service till its timbers were in a state of dry rot. It was better fitted to lie in port than to send out as a battleship.

Commodore Jones dashed away for the "Serapis" as fast as he could go. The British ship was much stronger, with ten 18-pound cannon in each battery, while the "Bonhomme Richard" had only three, two of which burst at the first discharge, killing and wounding many of the crew. Jones then did all of his fighting with 12-pound and 8-pound guns. It was night when the battle began. The 18-pounders of the "Serapis" were playing havoc with the hull of the "Richard." Many of the balls went entirely through her and plunged into the sea beyond. Some struck her below the water level, and soon the decayed craft was "leaking like a basket." It began to look gloomy for Jones and his ship. He could not half reply to the heavy fire of the English guns, and great chasms were made in the ship's

side, where 18-pound balls tore out the timbers between the portholes.

Captain Pearson, of the "Serapis," looked at his staggering and leaking antagonist, and thought it about time for the battle to end. "Have you surrendered?" he shouted across the water to the "Richard." "I have not yet begun to fight," was the famous answer of the brave Paul Jones. The ships now drifted together, and by Jones's order the jib-boom of the "Serapis" was lashed to his mizzenmast. This brought the ships so close side by side that the English gunners could not open their ports, and had to fire through them and blow them off. The gunners on each side had to thrust the handles of their rammers through the enemy's portholes, in order to load their guns. Affairs were now desperate. The "Richard" was on fire in several places; water was pouring into her through a dozen rents. It seemed as if she must sink or burn. In this crisis the "Alliance," one of Paul Jones's small fleet, came up and fired two broadsides into the wounded flagship, killing a number of her crew. Whether this was done purposely or by mistake is not known. There were two or three hundred English prisoners on board the "Richard," taken from her prizes. One of the American officers, thinking all was over, set these men free and they came swarming up and cried to the British for quarter. One tried to pull down the American flag, but Paul Jones, by throwing his pistol at him, knocked him down.

The tide now turned. Richard Dale, master's mate of the "Richard," told the English prisoners that the vessel was sinking, and set them to work pumping and fighting the fire to save their lives. Just then one of the mariners who were fighting on the yardarms dropped a hand grenade into an open hatch of the "Serapis." It set fire to a heap of gun cartridges that lay below, exploding them and killing twenty of the crew, while the ship was set on fire. This ended the fight. The fire of the marines from the maintop had cleared the deck of the "Serapis." Captain Pearson stood alone, and, when he heard the roar of the explosion, he could bear the strain no longer. He ran and pulled down the flag, which had been nailed to the mast. "Cease firing!" said Paul Jones; the "Serapis" was his.

Well and nobly had the battle been won. The "Richard" was fast settling into the sea, and to save her was impossible. Jones and his gallant crew boarded the "Serapis" and brought her safely into port. By nine o'clock the next morning, the "Bonhomme Richard" sank to an honorable ocean grave, with her victorious flag still waving. Captain Pearson had fought nobly, and he was knighted. Paul Jones said, "If I had a chance to fight him again, I would make him a lord." Paul Jones, with his sinking and burning ship, his bursting

guns, his liberated prisoners, and his treacherous consort, had won a victory illustrious in the annals of sea-fighting.

Toward the close of 1780, Jones sailed for America, in the "Ariel," with important dispatches, and having encountered the "Triumph," an English vessel of twenty guns, he forced her to strike. The King of France had testified his admiration for his conduct, by presenting him with a superb gold sword; and a letter reached the President of the United States requesting liberty "to decorate that brave officer with the cross of the order of military merit." Congress granted it and passed a vote of thanks to the Chevalier Paul Jones for the zeal, prudence and intrepidity with which he had sustained the honor of the American flag; for his bold but unsuccessful enterprise to redeem from captivity those citizens of America who had fallen under the power of the enemy; and, in general, for the good conduct and eminent services by which he had added luster to his character, and to the arms of America. After the war, Congress caused a gold medal to be struck, with appropriate devices and legends to commemorate his valor and services. Jones entered the naval service of France and subsequently served in the navy of Russia, rising to the rank of rear-admiral. He died in Paris, in 1792.



KETTLE CREEK (Ga.), BATTLE OF.—Feb. 14, 1779, Col. Andrew Pickens, of S. C., and Col. Dooley, of Ga., with 300 men, surprised Col. Boyd's provincials on the north side of Kettle Creek, in Wilkes Co., Ga. A short fight ensued, in which Boyd's Tories were routed, with inconsiderable loss on either side.

KING'S MOUNTAIN (S. C.), BATTLE OF.—Early in Oct., 1780, Cornwallis sent Colonels Tarleton and Ferguson from Charleston to invade N. C., enroll local militia, and compel the allegiance of the people. Ferguson was hotly pursued by the Americans, and took up a strong position on King's Mountain, near the boundary line between North and South Carolina. On the 7th, the British, 1,500 strong, were attacked by the same number of American militia, under command of Colonels Shelby, Campbell, Cleveland, McDowell, Sevier, and Williams. After a struggle lasting an hour, in which Ferguson was killed, the British force surrendered.

KOSCIUSZKO (*kos-i-us'kō*), TADEUSZ.—(1750–1817.) Polish general and patriot. He served in the American War of Independence from 1776 to 1786. He rose to the rank of brigadier-general and rendered great assistance to the colonists. And in Europe, in 1794, with 20,000 regular troops and 40,000 ill-armed peasants, he resisted for months

the united Russian and Prussian army of 150,000. He was overpowered and imprisoned until the accession of Emperor Paul. He returned to America after his release and was accorded distinguished honors. Congress gave him a pension and a tract of land. He figured in the Napoleonic wars. He lived during his later years in France and Switzerland. His death resulted from an injury received by being thrown from his horse. The Czar Alexander had his remains taken to Cracow, and there erected a monument to his memory.

LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE (Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier).—(1757-1834.) A celebrated French statesman and general. In 1777 he entered the Revolutionary army in America as a volunteer, with the rank of maj.-gen.; served at Brandywine, Monmouth, and Yorktown; in 1781, was present at the surrender of Cornwallis. He was one of the judges at the trial of Major André. He was a member of the Assembly of Notables and of the States-General in France; was commander-in-chief of the national guard, and served in the war between France and Austria (1792). He revisited America (1824-25), and was everywhere greeted with the greatest popular enthusiasm. Congress gave him a township of land and two hundred thousand dollars. In the French Revolution of 1830, he commanded the National Guard and was influential in placing Louis Philippe upon the throne. The name is also written La Fayette.

LANDS, CROWN.—By the treaty of Paris in 1763, England acquired Canada and all the country west to the Mississippi River. A royal proclamation was then issued setting aside all the lands west of the organized colonies to the western limits of the British possessions as Crown lands. These lands were reserved for the use of the Indians, and the colonists were forbidden to purchase them or to make settlements upon them without the royal permission. After the Revolution each state laid claim to a portion of the Crown lands.

LAURENS, JOHN.—(1756-1782.) Born in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1777 he was an aide to Washington and served with him in all of his battles. In 1781 he was sent to France for money and supplies, and returned in time to be present at the battle of Yorktown. He was mortally wounded in a battle on Combahee River, South Carolina, while serving under General Greene.

LEDYARD, WILLIAM.—(1750-1781.) A Revolutionary officer; distinguished for his defense of Fort Griswold, near New London, Conn., against a superior force of British under Lieut.-col. Eyre (Sept. 6, 1781).

LEE, ANN.—(1736-1784.) The founder of the American Society of Shakers. She was born in Manchester, England, and died at Water-

vliet, N. Y. She joined the Shakers in England and preached in the streets of Manchester. She emigrated to America with eight followers in 1774, and settled first in Albany and then in Watervliet. She made a number of converts and a great many societies were formed. Her followers were unwilling to take the oath of allegiance, but they finally did so with the expectation of preventing a war. The full name of this society is "The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing."

LEE, ARTHUR.—(1740-1792.) An American diplomat and statesman.

LEE, CHARLES.—(1731-1782.) An American soldier born in England. He came to America in 1751 and joined Braddock. He returned to Europe and served in several foreign wars, but came back to America in 1773. He was at the siege of Boston and defended Charleston against Sir Peter Parker in 1776. By disobedience of Washington's order he was captured by the British in New Jersey. They were about to punish him as a deserter from their own forces, but Congress rescued him by holding six British officers as hostages. In 1778 he was exchanged for General Prescott and was given command at Monmouth, and for disobedience and disrespect he was court-martialed and his commission was revoked. He died in obscurity.

LEE, FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT.—(1734-1797.) An American politician; one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

LEE, HENRY.—(1756-1818.) A general of the American Revolution, surnamed "Light-horse Harry." He was the commander of "Lee's Legion," was governor of Va. (1792-95); aided in suppressing the whiskey insurrection in 1794, and was a member of Congress (1799-1801). In 1799 he was chosen by Congress to deliver the eulogy on Washington and in the resolutions that he then offered he designated Washington as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." He was seriously injured in a riot in Baltimore in 1814 when the office of the "Federal Republican" was destroyed. Lee died from the effects of the injury four years later. He was the father of General Robert E. Lee.

LEE, RICHARD HENRY.—(1732-1794.) A statesman and orator; member of the Va. house of burgesses; member of the Continental Congress in 1774; member of Congress (1775), and introduced the resolutions for independence, June 7, 1776; U. S. senator from Va. (1789-92).

LEWIS, ANDREW.—(1720-1781.) A soldier in the French and Indian War, and in the Revolution. Served as brig.-gen. in the Continental army (1776-77).

LEXINGTON (Mass.), BATTLE OF.—On the night of Apr. 18, 1775, a detachment of 800 British soldiers, under Col. Smith, left Boston to capture or destroy some military stores which the Americans had collected and stored at Concord. Maj. Pitcairn, who led the advance, was opposed at daybreak at Lexington Green, eleven miles north of Boston, by about 50 minute men under Capt. Parker, who had been summoned by Paul Revere in his midnight ride. Pitcairn's men opened fire and seven Americans were killed and nine wounded. This was the first blood shed in the Revolutionary War. The Americans returned the fire and retreated, but rallied and pursued the British toward Concord, capturing seven prisoners, the first taken in the war. On their return from Concord, the British were reinforced at Lexington, by 1,200 men under Lord Percy. The Americans also had been reinforced and kept up a galling fire upon the British, who fled to Boston in disorder. The loss for the day was 93 Americans, and 273 British killed, wounded, and missing.

LIBERTY BELL.—The bell on the old Pennsylvania statehouse at Philadelphia, which, on July 4, 1776, was rung to announce the signing of the Declaration of Independence. It was cast in London and sent to Philadelphia in 1752. The bell was broken up and recast in April and again in June of the following year. It was cracked July 8, 1835, while being tolled in memory of Chief-Justice Marshall. It was exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, in 1876, and at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. It bears the motto "Proclaim Liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." It is now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

LIBERTY POLE.—Trees, green boughs, or poles set up as symbols of liberty came into vogue during the American Revolution. The custom of placing trees of liberty crowned with a "bonnet rouge" (red bonnet or cap) became common also during the French Revolution as a revolutionary symbol among the Jacobins. Every village in France then had its tree crowned with a cap of liberty, around which the people danced, singing revolutionary songs as the English people used to sing around the May Pole. During the Empire the custom was suppressed, but it revived again in 1830, and again in 1848. In Italy, during the uprising of 1848-49, trees of liberty were also erected. The Liberty Pole in use in our own Revolution was a tall mast, with a Phrygian cap of liberty at its top, set up by the "Sons of Liberty" and the patriots who supported the American cause. Upon these masts the people of that time unfurled banners upon them inscribed "The King, Pitt, and Liberty," and called it Liberty Pole. They became objects of contest between citizens and the British troops,

especially in Boston. After the repeal of the Stamp Act, which naturally caused great rejoicing, New York was illuminated in the evening and bonfires blazed, while the heavens were brilliant with fireworks.

LIBERTY TREE, THE.—An elm-tree formerly standing on Washington St., Boston, during the Stamp Act excitement. Those who gave offense were hung upon it in effigy.

LIGHT-HORSE HARRY.—A nickname of the cavalry commander Henry Lee, in the Revolutionary War. (See LEE, HENRY.)

LINCOLN, BENJAMIN.—(1733–1810.) A general of the Revolution; was Secretary of War (1781–84), and suppressed Shays's Rebellion in 1787. He was born in Hingham, Mass. In 1776 he drove the British vessels from Boston Harbor and a little later came to Washington's aid on Long Island, when he took part in the battle of White Plains. He was with Schuyler against Burgoyne and was severely wounded at Bemis Heights. Next year he was in command of the army of the south, where he was besieged at Charleston by Sir Henry Clinton, whose superior force compelled him to surrender and he was paroled to Massachusetts. In 1781 he was at the siege of Yorktown and when the British forces surrendered he received the sword from General Cornwallis. After quelling the Shays's Rebellion, he was lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, and collector of the port of Boston (1789–1808).

LIVINGSTON, PHILIP.—(1716–1778.) One of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, as a member of Congress from N. Y.

LONG ISLAND, BATTLE OF.—A battle fought at the western extremity of Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776, in which the Americans were defeated by the British under Howe.

LOTTERY.—The Continental Congress attempted to raise money by lotteries in 1777. As early as 1612, the Va. Company was authorized by its charter to hold lotteries for the benefit of its colonization schemes. In the 18th century, lotteries were very popular in America. Legislatures authorized them for building churches and schools, and for all sorts of public improvements. Faneuil Hall in Boston, having been destroyed by fire in 1761, was rebuilt with the proceeds of a lottery. The La. State Lottery was the last authorized institution of the kind in the U. S., and it was conducted on a very large scale until near the end of the 19th century. Popular opinion has undergone a change regarding lotteries. They are condemned as a form of gambling, and are forbidden by act of Congress to use the mails. This act resulted in putting an end to the great La. lottery.

LOYALISTS.—Those of the American colonists who opposed the Revolutionary War, and in some instances took up arms against their countrymen in the struggle for independence. They were also called Tories. During the progress of the war they were treated with much harshness. Their property was confiscated or destroyed; they suffered social ostracism, and some were tarred and feathered; legislative assemblies banished them from some of the colonies. When the British troops withdrew, at the close of the war, the Tories found life in the states unendurable, and thousands removed to Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the Bahamas, and other parts of the West Indies.

LYNCH, THOMAS.—(1749-1779.) A politician, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

LYNCH LAW.—Lynching is the punishment of alleged offenders, generally without trial, by unauthorized persons and without due process of law. The term "lynch law" is an ironical allusion to the absence of all law in such proceedings. The name is said to have been taken from Charles Lynch (1736-1796), a Va. planter and Quaker, who, with his associates, seized British sympathizers during the Revolution and hanged them by the thumbs till they shouted "Liberty forever."

MAD ANTHONY.—A popular name for Gen. Anthony Wayne, a celebrated American soldier during and after the Revolution. The epithet was applied to him for his reckless daring.

MADISON, JAMES.—Born in Rockingham Co., Va., 1749; died, 1812. A bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church; president of William and Mary College (1777-1812).

MARINE CORPS.—Established by an act of the Continental Congress, Nov. 10, 1775. An act of Congress, July 11, 1798, reestablished the corps and provided that the marines, while subject at all times to the laws and regulations of the navy, were liable at any time to do duty in the forts and garrisons of the U. S. There was no regimental organization contemplated, but the corps was to be formed into companies as the President might direct. The corps now numbers about 5,500 officers and men.

MARION, FRANCIS.—Born at Winyaw, near Georgetown, S. C., 1732; died near Eutaw, S. C., 1795. A Revolutionary general and partisan leader in S. C. (1780-82). He served at Eutaw Springs in 1781. He was born of Huguenot parents who had settled in America. He served against the Cherokee Indians (1759-1761); was a member of the provincial congress and at the outbreak of the Revolution served as lieutenant-colonel at Fort Moultrie in 1776 and the attack on Sa-

vannah, 1779. He organized Marion's brigade in 1780 and was of great assistance to General Gates. In his attacks and surprises upon the British, he became known as the "Swamp Fox." He devoted some years of his life after the war to farming and was state senator in South Carolina. He is regarded as one of the most sincere and the bravest of the Revolutionary patriots.

MARSHALL, JOHN.—Born in Fauquier Co., Va., 1755; died at Philadelphia, 1835. A celebrated jurist. He served in the Revolution; member of the Va. Convention to ratify the Constitution in 1788; U. S. envoy to France (1797-98); member of Congress from Va. (1799-1800); Secretary of State (1800-01); and chief-justice of the U. S. Supreme Court (1801-35). He published "A Life of Washington" (5 vols., 1804-07), the first volume of which was published separately under the title of "A History of the American Colonies."

MARTIN, ALEXANDER.—(1740-1807.) A politician and Revolutionary officer. He was elected governor of N. C. in 1782; reëlected in 1789; was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787; served in the U. S. Senate (1793-99).

MARTIN, LUTHER.—Born at New Brunswick, N. J., died at New York, 1826. A noted lawyer. He was attorney-general of Md. (1778-1805), and in 1787 was a member of the convention which framed the U. S. Constitution. He left the convention to avoid signing the Constitution. He was reappointed attorney-general in 1818, but two years later was disabled by paralysis. In 1822 the legislature of Md. passed an act requiring every lawyer in the state to pay annually a license fee of \$5.00 for the benefit of Luther Martin.

MASON, GEORGE.—Born in Fairfax Co., Va., 1725; died there, 1792. A politician. He drafted the Va. declaration of rights and constitution in 1776; was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, but refused to sign the Constitution. He led with Patrick Henry the opposition to its ratification in the Va. Convention of 1788.

MASSACHUSETTIENSIS.—The pseudonym of a Tory during a political newspaper controversy with John Adams (1774-75); the latter upholding the cause of the colonists against the king. (See ADAMS, JOHN, 5.)

MCCREA, JANE.—Born in N. J., 1754; killed near Fort Edward, N. Y., 1777, by the Indian allies of Burgoyne.

MCDUGALL, ALEXANDER.—Born on the island of Glay, Scotland, 1731; died at New York, 1786. A Revolutionary general. He was defeated at White Plains, 1776; was promoted to major-general in 1777; was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1780 and 1784.

MCGILLIVRAY, ALEXANDER.—Born in Ala., about 1740; died at Pensacola, Fla., 1793. A chief of the Creek Indians.

McKEAN, THOMAS.—Born at New London, Pa., 1734; died at Philadelphia, 1817. A politician and jurist. He was a member of Congress from Del. (1774–83); signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776; was chief-justice of Pa. (1777–99), and governor of Pa. (1799–1808).

MECKLENBURG DECLARATION.—A series of resolutions purporting to have been adopted by the citizens of Mecklenburg Co., N. C., May 20, 1775, declaring their independence of Great Britain, followed by a second series of resolutions adopted May 31, providing for a local government. The independence resolutions were first published in 1819 and created much discussion as to their genuineness. They contained several phrases almost or quite identical with portions of the Declaration of Independence, adopted at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776. Thomas Jefferson immediately declared them fraudulent. It was admitted that the original Mecklenburg resolutions were burned in 1800, and that those published in 1819, were reproduced from memory by a son of the secretary of the meeting. The N. C. legislature investigated the matter, and secured enough evidence to justify it in making May 20 a state holiday.

MEIGS, RETURN JONATHAN.—Born at Middletown, Conn., 1734; died at the Cherokee agency, 1823. A Revolutionary officer.

MIDDLETON, ARTHUR.—Born, 1742; died, 1787. A patriot. He was delegate from S. C. to the Continental Congress in 1776, and signed the Declaration of Independence. He sat again in Congress (1781–83).

MIFFLIN, THOMAS.—Born at Philadelphia, 1744; died at Lancaster, Pa., 1800. A Revolutionary general and politician, a member of the "Conway Cabal" in 1777. He was president of the executive council of Pa. (1788–90), and governor of Pa. (1790–99).

MINUTEMEN.—An organized militia in the early Revolutionary days, composed of farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, etc. They were pledged to perform military duty at a minute's notice. They were provided for by the Provincial Congress of Mass., which, in 1774, voted to enroll 12,000.

MONMOUTH (N. J.), BATTLE OF.—An important conflict of the Revolutionary War, fought during the afternoon of June 28, 1778, at Wenrock Creek, Monmouth, Co., N. J. Gen. Washington commanded the Americans and Sir Henry Clinton, the British. June 18, Clinton left Philadelphia for New York with 11,000 men and a large supply train. Washington pursued him with about 20,000 men, and after some skirmishing, a general battle occurred. The British were de-

feated and drew off under cover of night, leaving 300 dead on the field. The Americans lost 228, 70 of whom were killed.

MONTGOMERY, RICHARD.—(1736–1775.) An American general born in Ireland. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. He was with General Wolfe at the siege of Louisburg in 1758. He settled in New York City in 1773 and became a brigadier-general in the continental army in 1775. In the latter part of that year he joined the army of General Benedict Arnold and attacked the city of Quebec. In this expedition 400 Americans were captured, Arnold was wounded and Montgomery killed. His remains were buried at Quebec, Canada, but they were afterward removed by Congress and a monument erected to his memory in front of St. Paul's Church, New York City.

MONTREAL (Canada), CAPTURE AND LOSS OF.—After the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Ethan Allen, Philip Schuyler, Benedict Arnold, and other Americans were anxious to invade Canada and endeavor to secure the coöperation of the Canadians with the colonies. In June, 1775, the Continental Congress gave Gen. Schuyler discretionary power to proceed against Montreal. He sent Gen. Montgomery with 3,000 men down Lake Champlain. Gen. Carleton with 500 British was forced to surrender Nov. 13. Eleven vessels also fell into Montgomery's hands. Carleton escaped to Quebec. Benedict Arnold with 1,200 men had been ordered to proceed by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière rivers, and coöperate with Montgomery before Quebec. The expedition against the latter city proved disastrous. Three brigades of infantry besides artillery, stores, and ammunition having arrived from England, the Americans were forced to retire to Lake Champlain.

MOORE, Sir JOHN.—(1761–1809.) British general, active in the American Revolution; also at Corsica, 1793–94; and Portugal, 1808; killed at the battle of Corunna.

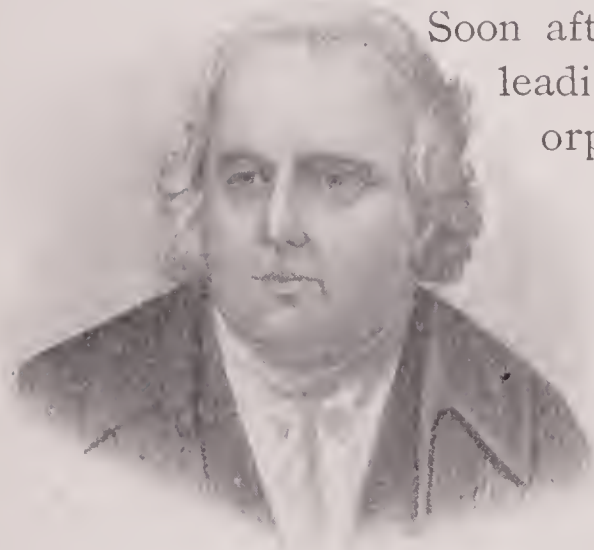
MORGAN, DANIEL.—Born in N. J., 1736; died at Winchester, Va., 1802. A Revolutionary general. He served with distinction in the expedition led by Arnold against Quebec (1775–76); commanded the riflemen at Saratoga in 1777; and defeated Tarleton at Cowpens in 1781. He rose to the rank of maj.-gen.

MORRIS, GOUVERNEUR.—Born at Morrisania, N. Y., 1752; died there, 1816. A statesman. He was a member of the Continental Congress; one of the committee on drafting the Constitution in 1787; U. S. minister to France (1792–94); and U. S. senator from N. Y. (1800–03).

MORRIS, LEWIS.—Born at Morrisania, N. Y., 1726; died there, 1798. A patriot, brother of Gouverneur Morris, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

ROBERT MORRIS

The financier of the Revolutionary War.



THE father of Robert Morris was a Liverpool merchant, who came to America and settled at Oxford, Maryland, leaving his son Robert, who was born in Lancashire, England, in 1734, in the care of his grandmother. When thirteen years old, Robert was sent for and was placed under the charge of a teacher in Philadelphia. Soon afterward, he entered the counting room of one of the leading merchants of that city. At fifteen, he was left an orphan. In 1754 he entered into partnership with Thomas Willing, son of his employer. At the time of the Revolution, his firm was one of the most extensive commercial houses of Philadelphia, but he signed the non-importation agreement of 1765, and was a vigorous and determined opponent of the Stamp Act.

As a delegate to the second Continental Congress, he was chairman of the secret committee to procure arms and ammunition, and served on the ways and means, naval and other committees. A shrewd and successful business man, he became conspicuous in the discussion of questions relating to the restriction and regulation of trade. At first he opposed the Declaration of Independence as premature, but he yielded his objection and became one of its signers. When Congress adjourned to Baltimore, Mr. Morris remained in Philadelphia, as one of the committee on finance, and sent to General Washington funds borrowed on his own security, by the assistance of which Washington was able to conduct the operations which resulted in the victory at Trenton. Morris was a member of the conference committee which visited Washington at his headquarters, in 1778, and was then placed at the head of the committee on finance.

In 1779 charges of fraudulent transactions were brought against the firm of Willing & Morris, of which Robert Morris was a member, and they were investigated by Congress. This inquiry disclosed the fact that the commercial business of the government, transacted by authority of the secret committee, under cover of the name of the firm,

had been characterized by the most scrupulous integrity, and that there was not the slightest foundation for the charges. In 1780 Morris, with a few others, organized the Bank of Philadelphia, the first extensive financial institution in the United States, heading the stock subscription list himself with £10,000. A year later he gave "the first vehement impulse toward the consolidation of the federal union" by the creation of the Bank of North America, which, in six months after it opened, had loaned to the United States government the sum of \$400,000, and had released it from its subscription of \$200,000.

In 1781, as superintendent of finance, he was at the helm during the most trying period of the war. In accepting the office, Mr. Morris spoke these patriotic words, that deserve immortality: "The United States may command everything I have, except my integrity." He became the indorser of the government, even at the risk of the paper being protested. He, himself, supplied to the starving troops thousands of barrels of flour and large quantities of lead for bullets. To General Greene, in the South, he sent funds by means of a secret agent, at a time when that general was penniless. When General Washington was about to start from the North to begin operations against Cornwallis, at Yorktown, Mr. Morris equipped and provisioned his army, by issuing his own notes to the amount of \$1,400,000. Not only was every shilling of his property at one time loaned to the government, but pledges of his personal credit and money borrowed from friends were also staked upon the issue. He threw into circulation at various times his obligations to the amount of \$580,000, and they were accepted at par as cash, when the money of the government was so depreciated as to be almost worthless.

While Morris kept the army alive, after 1781 he was also in charge of the finances of the navy. He was in favor of a continental army and a continental marine, and opposed the state armies, because the former was cheaper. In consequence of the tardiness of the states in meeting the requirements of Congress, there was no punctuality in honoring Mr. Morris's financial engagements, and after repeated entreaties, he tendered his resignation, which was ordered by Congress to be kept secret. At the urgent request of Congress, he continued in office until May, 1784, when he finally withdrew as superintendent of finance, assuring the people that he would be personally responsible for all liabilities which he had assumed for the government.

In 1786 Mr. Morris was elected to Congress, and secured the re-charter of the Bank of North America. He was also a member of the constitutional convention, and was the first United States Senator elected from Pennsylvania, in 1789. President Washington offered him the Cabinet position of Secretary of the Treasury, on account of his

knowledge, skill and experience as a financier. Morris declined the office, however, and urged the appointment of Alexander Hamilton.

Mr. Morris afterward engaged in trade with the East Indies and China and sent the first ships to the port of Canton. Heavy speculation in land subsequently destroyed his large fortune, and he was actually imprisoned four years for debt, in the old Walnut Street prison, Philadelphia. Every reader of American history would wish that this act of the law could have been blotted out, for to Robert Morris Americans owed and still owe, for his financial aid in the time of sorest need, as much as to the negotiations of Benjamin Franklin or even to the arms of Washington. Gouverneur Morris, his business partner, though not a relative, left a bequest to Mrs. Robert Morris, which supported her husband's declining days, until his death, in 1806. It was a pathetic ending of the life of one who had rendered such signal service to his country; and had given such abounding proof of his loyalty and devotion.

MOULTRIE, WILLIAM.—Born in S. C., 1731; died at Charleston, S. C., 1805. A Revolutionary general. He repulsed an attack on Sullivan's Island (where Fort Moultrie now stands) in 1776; defended Charleston in 1779; was governor of S. C., 1785-87 and 1794-96.

MUHLENBERG, JOHN PETER GABRIEL.—Born at Trappe, Pa., 1746; died near Philadelphia, 1807. A Revolutionary general and politician, son of H. M. Muhlenberg.

NELSON, THOMAS.—(1738-1789.) A patriot, signer of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 as delegate to Congress from Va. He served in the Revolutionary War, and became governor of Va. in 1781.

NEUTRAL GROUND.—In the Revolutionary War, that part of Westchester Co., N. Y., which lay between the British lines on the south and the American lines on the north.

NEWBURG ADDRESSES.—Two anonymous letters to the American army, written in 1783 from Newburg, N. Y., by John Armstrong, in which he set forth the grievances of the soldiers. The destitution of the soldiers, the oppression by debt and the suffering of their families had been reported to Congress, and no action had been taken upon the matter. The anonymous addresses circulated at Newburg called for a meeting of the officers of the soldiers in which action upon these matters should be taken. A copy fell into the hands of Washington and he promptly ordered that no assembly should be held upon an anonymous call, but instead, instructed that a meeting of all the officers be held to discuss the subject and that General Gates should preside. The next day a second address appeared in which the writer seemed to take it for granted that Washington gave his

sanction to the course that they were about to adopt. Washington saw that unless he was present at the meeting his action would be misconstrued by the leaders in the affair; so he presided in person, and the distresses of the soldiers were referred again to Congress and there is no doubt that by Washington's promptness in this matter, a civil war was averted.

NEW LONDON (Conn.), CAPTURE OF.—The town of New London was imperfectly defended by the unfinished Fort Trumbull, which was manned by about 30 soldiers of the state militia. On Sept. 6, 1781, Benedict Arnold, the traitor, arrived in the harbor before the town with a large British force, and overpowered the defense by his superior numbers.

NINETY SIX.—A village of South Carolina, the scene of an unsuccessful siege by the Americans under General Greene, 1781.

NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT.—An agreement, first made in 1765 by the merchants of Boston and New York, and in 1774 between the American colonies, in the Continental Congress, to import no merchandise from Great Britain. It was in retaliation for the Stamp Act.

NORFOLK (Va.), BURNING OF.—In November, 1775, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Va., after an unsuccessful attempt to drive out some militia that were encamped near the town, withdrew, sailing away in a British vessel that lay in the Elizabeth River. The militia of Va., Md., and N. C., under Col. Woodford and Col. Howe, thereupon occupied the town. On Jan. 1, 1776, Dunmore returned, bombarded and set fire to the town. The Americans completed its destruction in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the British.

NORTH, FREDERICK, Lord.—(1732–1792.) An English leader of the House of Commons. The American War was largely due to his folly. He became prime minister in 1770. The last five years of his life were passed in total blindness. He was prime minister of England but resigned after the defeat at Yorktown. He was first elected to the House of Commons in 1754; lord of the treasury in 1759. In 1765 he advocated the stamp act and maintained that the government had a right to impose taxes upon the colonies. In 1767 he was chancellor of the exchequer and leader in the House of Commons. His term of office as prime minister extended from 1770 to 1783. He became the Earl of Guilford in 1790 upon the death of his father.

ORISKANY (N. Y.), BATTLE OF.—A short but fierce battle of the Revolution, fought Aug. 6, 1777, near Fort Stanwix (now Schuyler), not far from the present site of Rome. The Americans under Herkimer were ambushed by a detachment of Burgoyne's army, consisting of British, Canadians, and Indians, under St. Leger. The army

of St. Leger was utterly routed and fled in confusion to Canada, deserted by their Indian allies.

OTIS, JAMES.—(1725–1783.) An American patriot and orator, born in West Barnstable, Mass. In 1743 he graduated from Harvard and was admitted to the bar in 1784. He practised his profession in Boston. When the Writs of Assistance were enforced in 1761 he was advocate-general and he resigned that position in opposition to them, and in order to better fight the cause of the people. It was at this time that he delivered the celebrated five hour speech against the coercion. He advocated the formation of the Stamp Act Congress and was a member of it. In 1769 he was assaulted by the friends of the British and so severely beaten that he lost his reason. His death was caused by a stroke of lightning. He is regarded as one of the ablest orators of the times immediately preceding the revolution.

PAINE, ROBERT TREAT.—(1731–1814.) One of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, as member of Congress, in 1776. He was born in Boston, Mass., and graduated at Harvard in 1749. He first studied theology and afterward law, and was admitted to the bar in 1759. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Assembly in 1773 and to the Continental Congress in 1774. He was attorney-general of Massachusetts from 1780 to 1790, and judge of the Supreme Court from 1790 to 1804. He was the founder of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

PAULUS HOOK.—The former name of the site of Jersey City. The British garrison was defeated here and the place taken by the Americans under Henry Lee, 1779.

PEABODY, NATHANIEL.—(1741–1823.) A Revolutionary soldier, delegate to the Continental Congress.

PEACE COMMISSION.—The Earl of Carlisle, George Johnson, and William Eden were sent by Lord North, in 1778, to negotiate peace with the colonists, but as they could not acknowledge the independence of the colonies, Congress refused to deal with them.

PENDLETON, EDMUND.—(1721–1803.) An American statesman; member of the Va. House of Burgesses; member of the Continental Congress in 1774.

PHILADELPHIA, OCCUPATION OF.—Gen. Howe in charge of the British forces entered Germantown (Pa.), Sept. 25, 1777, and on the following day sent Gen. Cornwallis to occupy Philadelphia. This was achieved without fighting.

PICKENS, ANDREW.—Born at Paxton. Bucks Co., Pa., 1739; died in Pendleton district, 1817. A Revolutionary general. He was a partisan

commander in S. C. (1779-81); served with distinction at Cowpens in 1781; and captured Augusta, Ga., in 1781.

PICKERING, TIMOTHY.—Born at Salem, Mass., 1745; died there, 1829. A statesman and soldier in the Revolutionary War. He was postmaster-general (1791-95); Secretary of War, 1795; Secretary of State (1795-1800); Federalist U. S. senator from Mass. (1803-1811); member of Congress from Mass. (1813-17).

PINCKNEY, CHARLES.—(1758-1824.) A politician. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787; gov. of S. C. (1789-92, 1796-98, and 1806-08); U. S. senator (1798-1801); U. S. minister to Spain (1802-05); member of Congress (1819-21).

PINCKNEY, CHARLES COTESWORTH.—Born at Charleston, S. C., 1746; died there, 1825. A statesman and soldier in the Revolutionary War. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787; special envoy to France (in the "X. Y. Z. Mission," 1796-97); and unsuccessful Federalist candidate for Vice-president in 1800, and for President (1804-08).

PINCKNEY, THOMAS.—Born at Charleston, S. C., 1750; died there, 1828. A statesman and soldier in the Revolutionary War; brother of C. C. Pinckney. He was governor of S. C. (1787-89); U. S. minister to Great Britain (1792-94), and to Spain (1794-96); Federalist candidate for the presidency, 1796; member of Congress from S. C. (1797-1801).

PITCHER, MOLLY.—The wife of a Revolutionary soldier. At the battle of Monmouth she took the place of her husband who was killed while discharging a cannon. Washington rewarded her with a commission as a sergeant.

PRESCOTT, WILLIAM.—(1726-1795.) A noted Revolutionary soldier; commander at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.

PRINCETON (N. J.), BATTLE OF.—Fought Jan. 3, 1777, Washington defeating the British, who lost 5,000 men. During the night Washington kept a small part of his force throwing up earthworks and digging trenches with as much noise as possible and with camp-fires brightly blazing, while under cover of the night he marched his army around that of Cornwallis and passed on to Trenton. On his way thither he met the British rear-guard and put it to flight with a loss of over 500. The British had planned to winter in Philadelphia, but were now obliged to give up all of that territory and retreat to New York. When Horace Walpole heard of this masterly effort on Washington's part he wrote "Washington has shown himself both a Fabius and a Camillus. His march through our lines is allowed to have been a prodigy of generalship. In one word, I look upon a great part of America as lost to this country."

ISRAEL PUTNAM

A type of the sturdy Revolutionary patriots.



“OLD PUT,” as he was popularly known in his time, was one of the rugged, lion-hearted characters of the Revolutionary period—a type of the colonial patriots who cast off the yoke of the mother country and laid their all upon the altar of liberty. Putnam was past fifty-seven years of age, when, in 1775, while plowing in his field, at Pomfret, Connecticut, news of the battle of Lexington reached him. He left his plow in the furrow, turned loose his oxen, mounted a horse and rode sixty-eight miles to Boston, to join the Continental army. He did not seek preferment, but offered to take a musket, or to do duty in any capacity in which he could best serve his country. But he had had a large military experience in the earlier wars and was made a general. He served four years and then paralysis compelled him to quit the field. He was one of the bravest among the brave, and a true patriot, never a self-seeker. Tarbox, his biographer, says of him:—

“General Putnam, with his high and patriotic impulses, and with his merit, ability, native originality and bold leadership, carved out a large domain for himself in American history. But he never stopped to fence it in and call it his own. He left it open and unprotected for others to forage upon and make out of it reputations for themselves as best they could.”

Putnam was born in January, 1718, in Salem, Massachusetts, in the days of the witchcraft delusion. He was eleventh in a family of twelve children. One of his sisters was accused of witchcraft and fled to the woods to escape her persecutors. After she had spent a night in a swamp, she was rescued by friends, who protected her from violence. It was amid such surroundings that Israel spent his boyhood days. At the age of twenty, he married Hannah Pope, who was seventeen. They were happily mated, and their long domestic life was an ideal one. Putnam was rough in his intercourse with men, but his heart was tender, warm and true, and, in the precincts of his home, he was gentle and affectionate. In his young days he had been afforded

little opportunity for education, and when he arrived at man's estate, his mental acquirements were below the average. Under a published portrait of the sturdy general is a facsimile of his autograph, in which his first name is written "Isreal." He seems to have followed the usual pronunciation rather than the proper orthography.

No sketch of Israel Putnam would be complete without the famous wolf story. The incident which it has preserved occurred while he was a young man, soon after he had removed, with his wife, to Pomfret, Connecticut. In the early days, wolves greatly annoyed the settlers by committing depredations upon their flocks and herds, and not infrequently attacking human beings. As the settlements grew, the people engaged in constant warfare with the wolves, and this resulted in gradual extermination. At the time in question, it was believed that there was but one wolf left in Pomfret. This was a particularly large and savage one, and by night it ranged and ravaged the neighborhood, killing sheep, pigs, and fowls. Children were so much afraid of the wolf that they feared to go to school or to drive home the cows, while lonely women lived in trembling and terror. Putnam had on his farm fine flocks of sheep and goats, and one morning he found that seventy of them had been killed or maimed during the previous night—without question the work of that terrible wolf. Putnam was exasperated almost beyond measure, and determined that the animal's forays should cease. A light snow had fallen, which made it easy to track the wolf to his hiding-place. Putnam at once organized a hunt, himself leading the party. The tracks were followed to a region of rocky hills, where they disappeared at the entrance to a cave. Probably this discovery would have ended the quest, so far as the others were concerned, but Putnam threw off his coat and waistcoat and declared his purpose to enter the cave and bring the matter to a conclusion. The interior of the cave showed a precipitous descent, and after a rope had been tied around Putnam's body, he seized a flaming torch and directed his companions to "lower away." Soon he discerned the glaring eyeballs of the savage beast, which was covering in a corner of the cavern. One well-directed shot was enough. The intrepid hunter seized a leg of the dead wolf, gave the signal, and man and wolf were drawn out together. This exploit gave to Putnam, throughout that region, a mighty fame for courage and prowess.

Putnam was actively engaged during the French and Indian wars, serving as a captain, with distinguished gallantry. In 1758 he was taken prisoner by the Indians, at whose hands he suffered severe tortures. These left upon his body scars which he carried to his grave. He barely escaped being put to death, and was finally exchanged. In

1764 the war ended and Putnam returned to his home, having reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

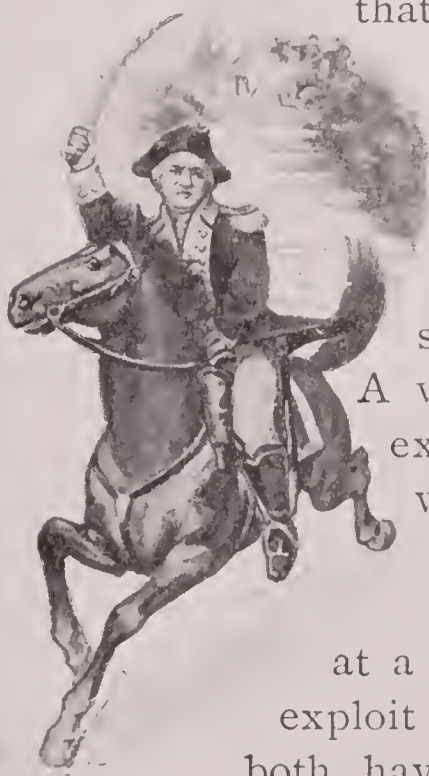
After eleven years of quiet life upon his farm, Putnam was aroused by the tocsin of the Revolutionary War. Of his quick response, mention has already been made. In the hasty organization of the colonial volunteers, he was made third brigadier-general of the Connecticut troops. In that capacity he at once took the field. His service in the Indian wars had given him a high reputation as a commander of courage and capacity, and a strong effort was made to induce him to enter the British army. He was offered a commission as major-general and a large sum of money if he would remain loyal to the crown, but he spurned the offer and threw his whole heart and soul into the patriot cause. He was one of the commanders at Bunker Hill, and his conduct there was just what might have been expected of him. He had been under fire before, and his personal bravery was an inspiration to the raw volunteers who faced the trained "red-coats" on that historic field. In the organization of the Continental army, Putnam was commissioned a major-general and placed fourth on the list in rank. He was in almost constant field service, always alert, active, prompt, vigorous and courageous.

In 1778 occurred the famous dash on horseback down the stone steps, an incident that will be forever linked with the name of Putnam. He had gone out with a small force on a reconnoitering expedition and had unexpectedly encountered a largely superior body of British soldiers, commanded by General Tryon. Putnam saw at a glance

that if he attempted to fight he would be overpowered, and cast about for means of instant escape. Just at hand was a deep ravine, and leading down the steep declivity was a succession of rude stone steps, which had been built for the use of persons on foot who might pass that way. Calling to his men to scatter and save themselves, "Old Put" plunged the spurs into the flanks of his horse and dashed down the steps.

A volley from the British muskets passed harmlessly above him, except one bullet which went through his cap. The chances would seem to have been ten to one that horse and rider would roll together to the bottom, but the sure-footed animal kept his feet, made the descent in safety, and dashed away at a furious gallop, quickly carrying his rider out of danger. This

exploit has been a favorite theme of poet and painter. No doubt both have taken advantage of the license which is permitted to pen and brush, and have embellished the scene, in verse and on the canvas; but the main facts are historically true. It is not difficult to believe the story, because it is in perfect harmony with the character



and habit of Putnam. It is needless to say that the British did not follow him in his mad flight. General Tryon made graceful acknowledgment of Putnam's gallantry by sending him a new cap, to replace the one which the bullet had spoiled.

In 1779, while yet on active duty in the field, General Putnam was smitten with paralysis and was entirely disabled for further service. It was with the keenest regret that he relinquished his command and sheathed his sword for the last time. From the first he had never, for a moment, doubted the final success of the patriot cause, and he had hoped, notwithstanding his advanced years, that it might be his privilege to ride at the head of his troops until independence had been achieved. He was removed to his home, where he clung to life, in a partially helpless condition, for eleven years. He lived long enough to rejoice in the triumph of liberty, and to see the new republic, with George Washington as its President, well started on its wondrous career. He died in 1790, at the age of seventy-two.

Putnam's life in the Revolutionary army was not free from sore trials. He suffered much at times from the jealousies and bickerings that unfortunately prevailed among the officers high in rank, and which, in no small degree, impaired the usefulness of many. But Putnam's patriotism was of the purest and loftiest kind. He ignored himself, and cared only for his country and her cause.

QUAKER HILL.—In Rhode Island, the scene of a battle, in 1778, between the Americans under Gen. Sullivan and the British under Gen. Pigot. The loss to each side was about 200 men.

QUARTERING ACTS.—Acts of the British Parliament distasteful to the American colonists. The first was passed in 1765 and compelled the colonists to provide the British garrisons in America with fire, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, cooking utensils, and liquors. This was the first act requiring the colonists to tax themselves for imperial objects. An act legalizing the quartering of imperial troops in Boston was passed in 1774. In 1768 two regiments were ordered from Halifax to Boston, and two from Ireland. Before they arrived the people of Boston summoned delegates from over a hundred towns to meet in that city. They selected Cushing for chairman, and petitioned Governor Bernard to summon a general court. He refused to receive their petition and proclaimed the meeting a treasonable one. The meeting lasted four days and it was decided to petition the King to annul the act. When the regiments moved from Halifax, Governor Gage sent orders from New York that the regiments be quartered upon the town. The citizens pointed out that there were accommodations for them in the barracks. The authorities maintained that this

was reserved for the troops from Ireland. A large building known as the "Manufactory House" was occupied by poor families. The authorities tried to remove them to make room for the soldiers, but the council advised them to resist expulsion. No force was used. When the Irish troops arrived, one regiment camped on the common, and the other was put up in Faneuil Hall. Gage came to Boston and attempted to force the soldiers upon the citizens, but was obliged to hire houses and to pay for their support himself. The council which resented the attempt was the first of the popular assemblies which exercised such power of resistance in later times.

QUEBEC (Canada), BATTLE OF.—After taking Montreal, Gen. Montgomery proceeded down the St. Lawrence River to Quebec where on Dec. 5, 1775, he joined the expedition which had been sent by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière rivers, under Benedict Arnold. They had about 3,000 men in their combined forces, with 12 light guns. For the defense of Quebec, Gen. Carleton had one company of regulars, a sloop of war, and a few marines, with as many citizens as could be induced to enlist, in all about 1,600 men. The city was attacked Dec. 31. Montgomery was killed, Arnold was wounded, and the American troops retired in confusion. Three thousand men were sent to reinforce Arnold and his troops and occupied Montreal, St. Johns, and Chambly. May 6, 1776, three brigades of infantry, besides artillery stores, ammunition, transports, and men-of-war, arrived from England and the Americans retired leaving Canada as it was before the invasion. (See MONTREAL.)

QUINCY, JOSIAH.—Born at Boston, 1744; died at sea, 1775. A lawyer and patriot, grandson of Edmund Quincy. He was sent on a political mission to England (1774-75); was the author of various political works, among them "Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill."

RAMSEY, DAVID.—(1749-1815.) An American physician and patriot, a delegate to the Continental Congress.

READ, GEORGE.—(1733-1798.) Statesman and jurist; a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

REED, JOSEPH.—(1741-1785.) A patriot and member of the Continental Congress. He served in the Revolutionary War.

REVERE, PAUL.—(1735-1818.) An American patriot; famous for his ride from Boston through Lexington to Concord in 1775, to arouse the minutemen. This was on the night of April 19. His companions were Dawes and Prescott. He waited on the opposite bank of the Charles River for the signal of the two lights from the church tower

which told him that a British force was about to march upon Concord to seize the supplies. He was taken by some British officers near Concord. Longfellow made this incident the subject of a poem in "The Tales of a Wayside Inn."

RODNEY, CÆSAR.—(1728–1784.) A patriot; and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was governor of Delaware (1778–1782).

ROSS, GEORGE.—(1730–1779.) A statesman; member of the first Continental Congress; one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

RUGGLES, TIMOTHY.—(1711–1795.) A lawyer, and a general in the French and Indian War; president of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765. He refused to sign the petitions which it drew up and received public censure from the general court. He emigrated in 1776 to Nova Scotia where he died.

RUSH, BENJAMIN.—(1745–1813.) A noted physician and patriot. He was a member of the Continental Congress and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

RUTGERS, HENRY.—(1745–1830.) An American philanthropist. Rutgers College was so-called in acknowledgment of a liberal gift made by him.

RUTHERFORD, GRIFFITH.—(1730–1794.) Brig.-gen. in the Revolutionary War.

RUTLEDGE, EDWARD.—(1749–1800.) A statesman and lawyer; member of the first Continental Congress; a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was governor of South Carolina (1798–1800).

RUTLEDGE, JOHN.—(1739–1800.) An American statesman. He was a member of the Stamp Act Congress (1765), of the Continental Congress (1774–75); president of South Carolina (1776–78); governor of South Carolina (1779–82); member of Congress (1782–83); delegate to Constitutional Congress (1787); associate justice of U. S. Supreme Court (1789–91); and in 1795 was appointed Chief Justice of the United States, but his appointment was not confirmed.

ST. CLAIR, ARTHUR.—(1734–1818.) A distinguished general of the Revolution. He was born in Scotland. He was at Louisburg (1758); at Quebec (1759); and at Trenton and Princeton. He was in command at Ticonderoga in 1777, and was present at Yorktown. He was president of Congress (1787); and governor of the Northwest Territory (1789–1802). Little Turtle defeated him near Miami village in 1791 and he resigned his command in 1792.

SANDERS CREEK (S. C.), BATTLE OF.—Fought in the summer of 1780 between General Gates with a force of 4,000 Americans and Cornwallis with a British force of 2,000. The Americans were routed with a loss of 2,000 men.

SARATOGA, BATTLES OF.—Two battles of the American Revolution fought twelve miles east of Saratoga Springs. The first took place Sept. 19, 1777; was indecisive. The second, fought Oct. 7, 1777, resulted in a decisive victory for the Americans.

SAVANNAH (Ga.), SIEGE OF.—Gen. Provost, in 1779, with 3,000 men defended Savannah while 850 Americans with 3,500 French soldiers under Count d'Estains made an attack. After an hour's fight the assailants fell back with a loss of nearly 1,000 men.

SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.—A committee, consisting of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, was appointed immediately after the Declaration of Independence to prepare a device for the great seal of the United States. Various designs were reported and in 1782 the Congress of the Confederation adopted a combination of two of these devices as the seal. This seal has never been changed and is always in charge of the Secretary of State.

SHAYS, DANIEL.—(1747–1825.) A soldier in the Revolution and one of the leaders in the insurrection known as Shays's Rebellion.

SHAYS'S REBELLION.—An insurrection in Massachusetts against the state government (1786–87), led by Daniel Shays and others; caused by the unsettled conditions following the War of Independence.

SPRINGFIELD (N. J.), BATTLE OF.—A battle fought June 23, 1780, between British troops advancing from Staten Island against Washington and some Americans at Morristown. The latter were driven back. The British burned the town, but retreated to Staten Island.

STAMP ACT.—An act of the British Parliament of fifty-five sections, nearly all of which begin with the words "For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment or sheet or piece of paper on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, etc., etc." The printed or written matter included legal documents such as pleas, writs, bail-bonds, university degrees, executions, affidavits, capias, subpœna, bills of lading, grants, deeds, appointment to office, commissions in army or navy, license for selling liquors, probate of wills, bond, survey, contract, insurance policy, mortgage. Also packs of cards, dice, newspapers, pamphlet, almanac or calendar. Each and all of these bore stamps varying in value from one penny to six pounds. The preamble of the bill specifies that these duties were to go

toward "defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British Colonies and plantations in America." It was provided that it should be in force "from and after the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five." It first appeared in the House of Commons in February, 1765, and was sharply debated upon introduction. It was three or four weeks in passing the Commons, and at no vote were there more than fifty against it. It passed the House of Lords without opposition and received the royal assent on March 22.

The stamp act congress met in N. Y., Oct. 7, of the same year to protest against the tax. The next year, 1766, Benjamin Franklin presented the petition of the colonists to Parliament, and the act was repealed. The agitation brought about by this act was one of the causes of the Revolution. (See FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN.)

STONY POINT (N. Y.), STORMING OF.—On the night of July 16, 1779, by Gen. Wayne with 800 men. The attack resulted in a British defeat. Gen. Wayne was among those killed on the American side.

TICONDEROGA, CAPTURE OF.—The fort, in charge of Col. Delaplace, with a garrison of 44 men, was taken on May 10, 1775, by Col. Ethan Allen, his officers, and 270 Green Mountain boys.

TRENTON, BATTLE OF.—Fought at Trenton, Dec. 26, 1776. 2,400 men under Washington defeated about 1,500 Hessians under Rahl.

VALLEY FORGE.—A village of Pennsylvania; it was in this locality that Washington and his army passed the terrible winter of 1777-78.

VAN RENSSELAER, SOLOMON.—(1774-1852.) An American officer in the Revolution; member of Congress from New York, 1819-22.

VAN RENSSELAER, STEPHEN.—(1765-1839.) A noted American general.

WAR AND ORDNANCE, BOARD OF.—A board established June 12, 1776, by the Continental Congress. It consisted of five members of Congress, with John Adams as chairman. The board had charge of all matters pertaining to war. The original Board of War and Ordnance was continued until 1781, when its business was placed in charge of a secretary, and the War Department was organized in 1787.

WARD, ARTEMAS.—(1727-1800.) An American general and politician.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Always "first in the hearts of his countrymen."

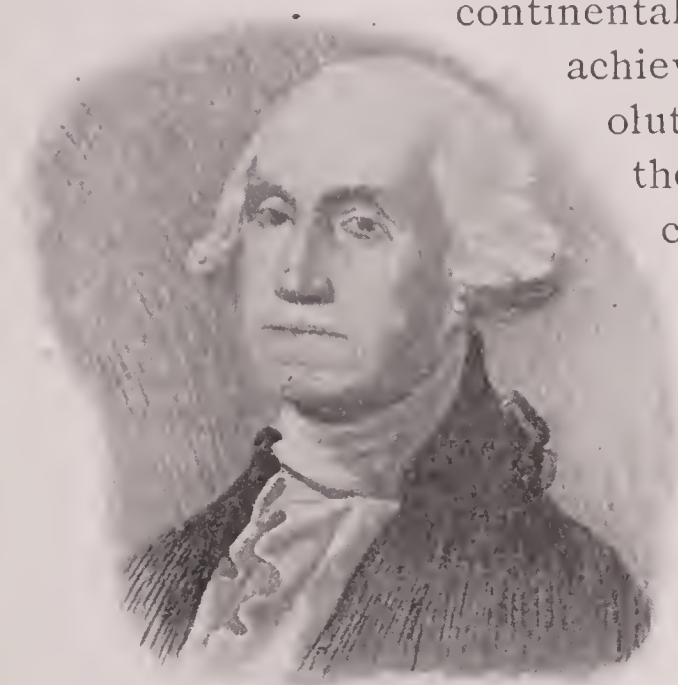
TO SPEAK of Washington as the "Father of his Country" is rather to express the affection and veneration in which his memory is held than to denote the qualities and services that have raised him to the first place among the great ones of the nation. The first thought of him is always as the commander of that little army of continentals by which American independence was mainly achieved. But Washington as the general of the Revolution is not the only Washington we know, nor the greatest, if we are to consider him only in that character.

"Thou more than soldier!"

wrote the poet Moore in his apostrophe to Washington after the latter's death, and in that same apostrophe is a confession of the difficulty of dealing adequately with the whole man in the interrogative line:—

"How shall we rank thee on glory's page?"

The same eulogy that pronounced him "first in war" pronounced him also "first in peace," and if that denotes the soldier it also denotes the statesman. Great soldiers and statesmen there have been, some of them combining the two characters in one person, on whom no such eulogy could be pronounced as that upon Washington—"first in the hearts of his countrymen." Nothing less than a distinguishing love of country could evoke for a man such a love of his countrymen for him, and here we know the fact to confirm the proposition; for if ever one man above others stood by his country and for his country, without regarding his own interest or feeling, that one man was surely Washington. From the time that his life begins to come into the public view till its close, there is no incident nor inference that tends otherwise than toward a loyal and constant adherence to the general interest, despite obstacles or contrary influences. His public life was appropriately summarized by John Adams, as consisting in "a long course of great



actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude." This suggests, at least, the quality of his public services, and the personal traits that made their performance possible and successful. We can now see that in calling Washington the "Father of his Country" we mean the Washington whose "long course of great actions" embrace alike the characters of soldier, statesman and patriot.

Though much in war, Washington was not a man of war—many times rather a man of peace. He was born in 1732, at a time when war had scarcely ceased to be the sport of kings; when the profession of arms was still esteemed the highest within the range of man's ambition. His family circumstances pointed to it as a fit career for himself, and his family connections were such as to open the career to him, should he think fit to pursue it. But we see him, a young man, at the very time when a martial life should have had attraction for him, turning away to the peaceful vocation of a land surveyor. That he might have entered the royal navy when still a boy, except for his mother's tears, proves nothing of his own disposition, since it was his loving and elder brother Lawrence who had sought to engage him in his own profession, and Lawrence too, was his guardian. The guardian behaved handsomely, for he obtained for George, who was but sixteen years old, the surveyorship of the vast tracts of land granted to Lord Fairfax, whose daughter Lawrence had wedded.

Washington had been some three years surveying, with intervals spent at Mount Vernon and the colonial capital, Williamsburg, when trouble arose between Virginia and the French. The latter, who claimed all the back country, from Quebec to New Orleans, were gradually hemming in the English colonies between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies. Virginia had originally claimed a westward extension to the Pacific, but had receded to the east bank of the Mississippi, leaving all westward of that river to the undisputed sovereignty of France. Sparse as the population was, the passion for land on both sides was fervid beyond present-day conception, and Virginia set about raising a military corps to drive the French away from the Ohio River. Of this corps, Washington, at the age of nineteen, was made adjutant. There were no active operations at the time, but such military power as the colony had was gradually organized. In 1752 a great speculative company, which had obtained a grant of half a million acres of land in what is now western Pennsylvania, began a fort as a preliminary to sale and settlement. The French advanced eastward and took position at Erie. The following year Washington, just past his majority, was made commander of the northern district, which included the disturbed territory. Under commission from the governor, he went to the French post, where

he was hospitably received, and stayed long enough to assure himself of the French purpose to make the Alleghanies the limit of English settlement and influence. He then conducted four hundred Virginia troops toward the unfinished fort, on the present site of Pittsburg, but the French got there first. Washington then built Fort Necessity, which he gallantly defended as long as possible and then surrendered on honorable terms. This was the beginning, in 1754, of the long war in which France lost its American empire.

England and France had paramount reasons for not openly going to war at that time, but across the ocean each helped its own side in the colonial war. England sent Braddock, a general of distinguished reputation, with a body of royal troops of the highest quality, judged by European standards. The first object was the reduction of the fort at Pittsburg, and to that end Washington went with Braddock, as commander of the Virginia troops. Braddock committed the characteristic mistake of despising his enemy and paid the price, so often paid since, of disastrous defeat and death. But to disregard the odds and "pitch in" is American as well as British practice, a racial quality in fact, and the popular obloquy that has fallen upon Braddock's memory in America is due to his supposed snubbing of Washington rather than to his rashness. His royal troops were accused of behaving badly, upon the authority of Washington himself; but Washington was a young general then and did not know, what he afterward learned, that while the effect of drill and discipline is to make a mass strike with the power of a unit, to disorganize the mass is to deprive it of all power. To this day, the one object of battle tactics is to disorganize the enemy, because that means victory.

On Braddock's field Washington was, for the first time in his life, a veritable "war god." Not our own Sheridan, not Skobelev, the

Russian, surpassed him in that outburst of flaming passion. Like them, too, he seemed to bear a charmed life, and though most exposed of any officer of rank, he escaped unhurt. That the disastrous end of the hopeful expedition wounded him deeply, is certain. The fortunes of Virginia were in the balance, and he felt that he and his Virginians could have ordered things differently. On that day, he was a disaffected

subject of the popular king across the ocean. He probably never again reached his former pitch of loyalty, not even when, three years afterward, he led the advance of the forces that reduced the great fort and so relieved Virginia. That accomplished, his part in the great war was ended, for Washington as yet had no feeling



or interest beyond his own colony. But he had seven years of military experience and service to carry forward to a future account.

As the owner of the fine Mount Vernon estate—willed by his brother Lawrence—and of much other property, it needed only the marriage with a rich widow to make Colonel Washington one of the most notable men in the colony. He was, of course, elected to the legislature, but spent his time as a country gentleman, and a very forehanded one. Washington was nowhere stronger than on the business side of his character. This was the side that his contemporaries and neighbors most plainly saw, and, reasonably enough, they saw nothing grand or heroic.



Under the commercial statute known as the Navigation Act, direct trade between the colonies and the West Indies was unlawful, but because it was mutually profitable and convenient it flourished, and the law fell into disuse. The expensive war with France, into which the colonies had ultimately drawn England, was a heavy financial burden upon the British nation, whose trade and revenue were also depleted by the growing American and West Indian commerce. So, toward the close of the war, the home government revived the enforcement of the Navigation Act. Thereafter the trade was carried on by smuggling. To enable them to deal effectively with smuggling, the crown officers applied to the courts for "writs of assistance," under an old English statute, by which authority was given to search any suspected house and seize any suspected goods. Before the royal court at Boston, in 1762, an argument was made by James Otis, a very distinguished lawyer, against the constitutionality of writs of assistance, as transcending the ancient rights and liberties of Englishmen. He enforced and reënforced his argument by points and illustrations which made a complete exposition of the legal situation, as he saw it, of the colonies and their inhabitants. His speech has been called the dawn of independence; properly so, since to give effect to it would have required the statesmen of that day to be born again and a century ahead of their time, in order to conceive how the King's government could possibly be carried on under the limitations asserted by Otis.

In 1763 the home government showed a disposition to treat as crown property the western lands lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. As the charter limits of Virginia ran to the great river, and the prohibition of land sales beyond the Alleghanies was an interference with a favorite and profitable traffic, the Virginians were touched both in their feelings and in their pockets.

From this time forward there was endless contention between the royal government and the colonies, north and south. In 1769 we have the first sight of Washington's deliberate opinion. He was for keeping up a peaceable resistance as long as possible, but doubted a peaceful end. He was enough of an Englishman to see that the home government could not accept the colonists' position, and enough of an American to see that the colonists would not yield without a fight. So he foresaw war as the end, and, foreseeing it as something that must come, he looked forward to it with a resignation born of inevitable necessity.

Four years later, the shadow of war had come so much nearer that Virginia people began to think and talk of Colonel Washington, their foremost military man,—a little out of date now, but still the foremost. Those who consulted him found him on the radical side of pushing matters to an issue, and so ending a state of peace that was almost as bad as war without war's advantage of helping things to a termination.

In 1774 Washington went to Philadelphia as one of the delegates from Virginia to the Continental Congress. He went expecting war and resolved to prepare for it. He evidently had no idea of wasting his own time, or of consenting to further colonial waste of it, by additions to the stream of verbal controversy that had flowed without interruption since Otis's speech on the writs of assistance, twelve years before. War was so evidently and imminently the destined outcome, that Congress soon began to pay serious attention to the business of uniting and developing the colonial power. At the details of this business Washington was so apt that he virtually became the committee of one on military affairs. From Philadelphia by correspondence, and personally when at home, Washington was busy with the organization of the Virginia forces, of which he was the destined commander. But the fights at Lexington and Concord, and the consequent rushing of the New England minutemen toward Boston, the royal stronghold, altered the expected time and manner of hostilities. The forces assembling at will around Cambridge were adopted by Congress as the Continental army, and the delegation from Massachusetts, the seat of war, was to name the commander. Further, to buckle the southern colonies to the common cause, it was decided by Massachusetts to take the national commander from the South, wherefore, as being both available and able, the choice easily fell on Washington. He took formal command at Cambridge, on the second of July, 1775. The first continental battle had already been fought at Breed's Hill,—commonly known as Bunker Hill,—the

technical victory being with the British and the moral victory with the Americans.

It is not intended here to deal at large with the War of the Revolution, but simply to pass in review Washington's connection with it. His military policy he clearly conceived at the outset. He knew the royal power and the deductions to be made from it for the circumstances in which it was to be used. He knew the colonial resources and the very serious deductions to be made from them for individual jealousy and selfishness. An intensely practical man, he neither overestimated nor underestimated his own task. He had no idea of risking battle in the open. He meant to fight in a way that would give him the advantage that was rightfully his from the character of the country and the habits of his men.

Careful as his forecasts were, Washington found, long before the war was over,—indeed, almost as soon as it was begun,—that neither Congress nor the colonies would come up to his minimum estimate of their service. Congress was comfortably placed at Philadelphia, its members were select and representative men, and the social enjoyments and allurements of their lives were large. To them war was showing its pleasant side. The colonial governments, which had superseded the royal authority, were inexperienced and jealous, and very grudging toward the general cause, lest some one of them should do more than its comparative share.



Army organization and discipline being everywhere aristocratic in those days, Washington wanted gentlemen, at least according to the local standards and patterns, for his officers. For the rank and file he did not wish minutemen or militia, to come and go as they pleased, but men willing for long-time enlistment, to be fairly and regularly paid, well clothed and fed—and well flogged, according to current military practice, when criminal or insubordinate.

Washington won no great battles, nor had he expected to win any, but though things turned out from the beginning to be feebler than he could reasonably have expected, and remained so to the end, his military policy was successful. His sagacious and unselfish support of Gates enabled the latter to overcome Burgoyne, and so to reap the one great glory of the war, till good fortune, long shy, enabled Washington, with the aid of the French allies that the victory of Gates had brought, to end the war brilliantly by the capture of Cornwallis.

So far as we can see from looking backward, Washington was the one man of his time who could have kept the military power of the

colonies even feebly on foot, and Franklin the one man of his time who could have brought the reluctant court at Paris over to the American cause. With either Washington or Franklin taken away, the Revolution would have failed, as it was on the point of doing many times. These two men, in their respective spheres, carried independence through, and there is no third man to be put within sight of them.

Washington's patriotism was of the purest and loftiest kind. It was not stained by a thought of personal advantage or preferment. At the close of the war, there was a movement, originating among the officers of the army, to give to the new government a monarchical form and to make Washington absolute ruler, with all the powers of a king. Washington was amazed and indignant when the matter was laid before him. The fact that he had been considered capable of accepting such a position gave him the keenest pain. His high and noble character was never more conspicuous than in his written answer to a communication from a committee representing the army officers, asking his acceptance of the proposition. He said:—

“With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with care the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and which I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. . . . Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or for posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or anyone else, a sentiment of the like nature.”

Washington's all-absorbing desire was to lead his countrymen into the paths of peaceful and orderly government. He might have founded a dynasty, but he never faltered in his course, or permitted himself to be even for an instant swayed by personal ambition. He owed much to the undisguised admiration and respect of the French officers for him. Such an estimate, from a highly qualified and appreciative source, reacted upon his own countrymen, who began to think that they might not have taken their well-known fellow-citizen at his true measure. This increase of popular esteem

had a great public advantage in the troubled and almost fatal times that followed the Revolution. People turned to Washington as they had never turned to him before—as they could not have turned to him before. He became the greatest citizen of the United States, at the very time they threatened to become disunited states, and by becoming such he was able to lead them at last to that “more perfect union” embodied in the Federal Constitution. By becoming such, he advanced to the presidency amid those popular demonstrations of affection and confidence which gave assurance that if anything enduring could be won from the new and reluctant experiment in government, his would be the opportunity.

This first of our Presidents held the office for eight years. The Federal Union and French Revolution came on the stage together, and the latter was destined to affect the former in a manner that none could have foreseen. The revolution across the water began so gently as to put the late American revolutionists almost to the blush for the violence of their own beginning. How soon the gentleness ceased and what the succeeding violence too soon became, all the world knows. What Washington, too, soon knew was that by positive treaty his country was bound to France in the war that her unstable rulers had declared upon England, though a war with England meant seeming ruin to the budding fortunes of the young republic. Any one might well pray to be spared the agony to the conscientious soul of a man in Washington's situation.

Now, more than ever, Washington displayed that prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude which Adams named as the sum of his qualities as a statesman. Compelled by the interests of his own country to an attitude of moderation, he excited the distrust and resentment of the passionate men in temporary control of the destinies of France, without winning the confidence of Great Britain in his sincere and upright intention. His own countrymen were torn apart by violent partisanship for one or the other of the contending nations across the Atlantic, that found childish expression in the wearing of cockades, and which threatened national destruction in the recklessness with which the factional game was played. Amid all was the new Constitution, a still tender plant, needing the kindly dews, but exposed, instead, to a tempest. If Washington had faltered, all would have been lost that had been so painfully gained. He did not falter; the prudence that his habitually calm demeanor bespoke was fortified by the determined energy that always lived in his breast. The reproaches of the Federalists and the insults of the Republicans stung him personally, but did not change his public action. As in the War of the Revolution, the circumstances called

imperatively for a waiting game. He was again the American Fabius and he won. His twice-rescued country turned with horror from the excesses of the French Revolution—excesses which might have been equaled in America if its now repentant partisans had forced Washington from his citadel of right, as he saw the right.

A treaty with England, which had subjected him to the accusation of selling his country for British gold, brought peace with honor, and besides honor, prosperity. Once more, as in the Revolutionary days, the path of duty had become the path of glory, and from out that renewed halo formed about him by the revived affections of a grateful people, came the "Farewell Address," to take its place with

the Constitution and Declaration of Independence as a chart of right government. In this address the author poured out his heart, however measured his language. In preparing it, he lived again in the dark and stormy days of the past, but it utters no word of reproach or despair; only words of warning and counsel—words of warning against those tendencies in young and growing and therefore exultant and reckless democracies that had wrecked the democracies of the older world, and in the writer's own day had more than once brought

the new democracy close to the wrecking point; words of counsel drawn from dangers escaped and benefits realized. The primal dangers, as Washington saw them, were sectionalism and factionalism at home, and partisanship and entanglement abroad. Against the first two he set up the standard of the Federal Constitution, the one ensign beneath which the American citizen, attentive in his own place to his local affairs, can muster on the broad field of nationality. Against the last two he pronounced the decree of friendship with all nations and alliance with none.

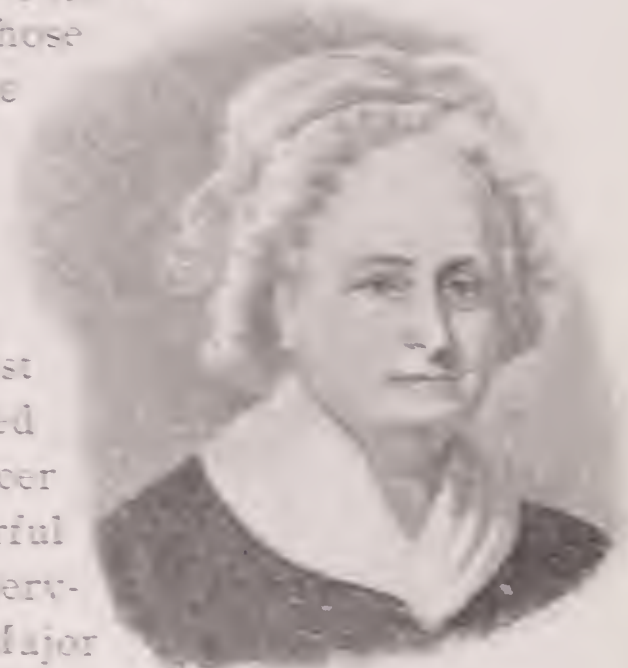
Finally, the Washington we have laid up in memory is the Washington of the Farewell Address. It is that which adds the name of sage to those of warrior, statesman and patriot, and gives us that majestic impression of the man which, though it may be exaggerated, can never be changed.



MARTHA WASHINGTON

How the hand of the "Widow Custis" was won.

A LITTLE below medium height, elegant in figure, with dark eyes, fair complexion, rich brown hair, features regular and beautiful, Martha Dandridge, eldest daughter of Colonel John Dandridge, a Virginia planter, was a sprightly, modest young woman, whose engaging personality attracted many admirers. At seventeen years of age, a reigning belle, she became, in 1749, the wife of Daniel Parke Custis, a rich planter, whose residence was the famous "White House," on the Pamunkey River. As his bride, she rode to her home in a coach drawn by four white horses, flanked by six outriders dressed in white. Upon the death of her husband, after eight years of happy wedded life, she became one of the wealthiest young widows in Virginia. A year later she visited the family of Major Chamberlayne. A young officer of stately figure, in military undress, riding a powerful chestnut-brown horse, accompanied by an elderly servant, almost as tall as himself, crossed the ferry. Major Chamberlayne met him and invited him to be his guest. The soldier had urgent business with the governor at Williamsburg and politely declined.



"I have with me the most charming young widow in Virginia," said Major Chamberlayne. Thus beguiled, the soldier conditionally surrendered, upon the express terms that he should only dine with the major. The young officer was Colonel George Washington, and his colored boy-servant was Thomas Bishop, who had held a similar position with General Braddock, whose dying request was that Colonel Washington would take his servant and his horse—the same he was riding that day. The fame of this young officer had already extended through Virginia, and when he entered the drawing-room of Major Chamberlayne, his stately figure and courtly bearing created a profound sensation among the guests there assembled. Tradition says that when he met the charming Mrs. Custis, that day, it was a case of love at first sight. The guests lingered long at the table, quite beyond the time appointed for the departure of the colonel.

Bishop was at the gate with his master's steed, greatly puzzled in mind, for his master never before had been tardy. It was after sunset when he rose to depart, and Major Chamberlayne said: "No guest ever leaves my house after sunset."

The fascinated young colonel did not desire to break the rule, and was easily persuaded to pass the night. Next morning, when the sun had risen high, Colonel Washington left for Williamsburg, under an agreement that as soon as his business was settled he would return by way of White House. He did so, and wooed, with ardor and success, the pretty widow to whose charms he had already yielded himself a willing captive. They seemed preëminently fitted for each other, and without further delay they plighted their troth. On the occasion of the nuptials, in 1759, a multitude assembled at the little church of St. Peter. It was a gathering most brilliant in character and costume. The rich apparel of the governor, English generals and members of the House of Burgesses added much to the fine display of the distinguished ladies present. It was a notable gathering of "fair women and brave men." The bridegroom was dressed in a suit of blue, his coat lined with red silk and silver trimmings, with an embroidered waistcoat of white satin. His shoe and knee buckles were gold; his hair was powdered, and pendent at his side was his straight dress sword. The bride was attired in a white satin quilted petticoat, heavy corded white silk overskirt, high heeled shoes of white satin, with diamond buckles, rich point lace ruffles, pearl necklace, ear-rings, bracelets, and pearl ornaments in her hair. She was attended by three bridesmaids. Washington's body-servant, Bishop, tall and stately, dressed in the scarlet uniform of a soldier of the royal army of George II., booted and spurred, held the bridle rein of his master's favorite charger. The bride and her attendants rode back to White House in a coach drawn by six horses, guarded by liveried postilions, while Colonel Washington on his magnificent horse, richly caparisoned, attended by a brilliant cortège of gay, cultured gentlemen, rode beside the coach which bore his beautiful wife. The entertainment at White House was sumptuous. For three months the bride and groom remained upon the estate of Mrs. Washington, while Colonel Washington was attending the sessions of the House of Burgesses and directing the affairs of his wife's large property before they should remove to Mt. Vernon, their future home. Mrs. Washington accompanied her husband during the session of the Burgesses and was a leading member of the vice-regal court at the old Virginia capital.

Mrs. Washington was a brilliant performer on the spinet or small harpsichord, and a fine instrument was installed in the household at

Mt. Vernon, where they took up their abode late in the year of their marriage. It was left at Arlington House when Mrs. Robert E. Lee, great-granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, left for Richmond in 1861, and was broken up and carried off by relic seekers.

The domestic life at Mt. Vernon up to the War of Independence was typical of colonial Virginia, largely made up of English aristocracy. It was not an extravagant household, for the master was ever watchful and the mistress a thorough housekeeper. Her bunch of keys was always hanging at her side, while she directed her servants in their work. Yet Mt. Vernon was seldom without guests. It was the age of dinner parties, when Mt. Vernon, Gunston Hall, Belvoir and Alexandria were meeting places of congenial friends. So extensive were these entertainments during the hunting season that the hundred cows of Mt. Vernon did not afford sufficient butter for the family table. Mr. and Mrs. Washington sometimes attended balls at Alexandria and Annapolis, when they traveled in their coach and four, with black postilions in white livery trimmed with scarlet, in harmony with the white and red bars of the family escutcheon. In the midst of this seeming display, Mrs. Washington's charity for the needy and her motherly care of her servants, though often concealed, became known and won her great popularity.

By her first husband Mrs. Washington had four children, two of whom died in infancy. The others, a son and a daughter, were adopted into the family of Washington. The daughter, "the dark lady," upon her riding pony, was frequently seen, with basket on her arm, seeking out some needy neighbor. Her death in early womanhood, cast a deep shadow at Mt. Vernon. The early marriage of George Parke Custis to Eleanor Calvert, of Mt. Airy, was touchingly recorded in a letter of Mrs. Washington, as follows:—

"God took from me a daughter when June roses were blooming; he has now given me another daughter, about her age, when winter winds are blowing, to warm my heart again. I am as happy as one so afflicted and so blessed can be. Pray receive my benediction and a wish that you may live the loving wife of my only son, and a loving daughter."

The letter was signed:—

"Your affectionate mother, M. WASHINGTON."

But war times were now at hand, and another class of visitors appeared at Mt. Vernon. Washington had already declared, "I will raise a thousand men, subsist them at my own expense and march at their head to the relief of Boston." Mrs. Washington wrote to a friend:—

"Yes, I foresee dark days and darker nights, domestic happiness suspended, social enjoyments abandoned, property of every kind put in jeopardy by war, perhaps neighbors and friends at variance and eternal separations on earth possible, but what are all these evils when compared with the fate of which the Port bill may be only a threat? My mind is made up—my heart is in the cause. George is right; he is always right. God has promised to protect the righteous, and I will trust him."

Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton, who visited at Mt. Vernon, spoke eloquently of Mrs. Washington as a "Spartan mother." To them she said, "I hope, gentlemen, you will stand firm; I know George will." When they started away she said, as she bade them good-by, "God be with you, gentlemen." When Washington had been elevated to be the commander-in-chief of the Continental army, he wrote her a touching letter, inclosing his will, with these words:—

"The provision made for you in case of my death will, I hope, be agreeable."

Mrs. Washington's life was now entirely changed. The society of Virginia was broken into fragments. Some of her most intimate



and cherished friends, among them the Fairfaxes, adhered to the Crown. She was burdened with cares. Her husband had left the management of his estate with his brother, Lawrence Washington, who made his home at Mt. Vernon during the general's absence. When there appeared no prospect of approaching peace, Mrs. Washington was called to join her husband at Cambridge. His headquarters were in the handsome old residence which later was the home of Longfellow. She was summoned there in consequence of rumors that the British would visit Mt. Vernon and carry her off a prisoner. About the middle of November, with her son, George Parke Custis, his young wife and a maid servant, in a chariot drawn by four horses, with an expert postilion and driver, she started northward. Her arrival at Philadelphia, where society was much divided, and Tories were about equal in number to the patriots, created a social commotion, though but few ladies called on her. It was resolved to give a ball in her honor, but the feeling was so antagonistic and the threats of the Tories so pronounced, that it was deemed necessary to send a committee to urge her not to attend the ball, and she readily acquiesced.

In New York the Tory element was still stronger, and Washington sent her a special message to avoid that city in her journey. She was safely conducted by friends, and upon reaching headquarters was pronounced a heroine, a model of conjugal affection and loyalty, to accept the dangers and vicissitudes of camp life, before a beleaguered city filled with British troops. The wives of the officers called on her and were charmed with her matronly beauty, grace and demeanor. It was a gloomy time when she entered the camp at Cambridge, for the soldiers showed but little desire to reenlist. She remained at Cambridge until after its evacuation, when she went to New York, and thence to Philadelphia. In 1776 General Washington was again called to New York and his wife returned to Mt. Vernon. She did not see him again for seventeen months.

This was a period of momentous events. Disaster after disaster followed in quick succession, retrieved at last by victories at Trenton and Princeton. Mrs. Washington was at Mt. Vernon, dispensing hospitality and doing all in her power to aid the cause of independence. She could hear the distant mutterings of the storm, but she was secure from its fury. Messengers came at intervals, and when General Washington was comfortably established in headquarters at White Marsh, he sent for her. When she arrived, the British had just sent out a body of troops to surprise the camp, but through the loyalty of a faithful woman, who gave the alarm, the detachment itself was surprised and routed. Mrs. Washington reached headquarters in a rough sleigh procured at Brandywine Creek, for her carriage could not pass through the snow drifts. She was most cordially received by the soldiers, to whom it was the winter of desolation. Writing to her friends at home, Mrs. Washington told of the general's anxiety because of the lack of sufficient food and clothing for his troops, many of whom were barefooted. "Oh, how my heart pains for them," she said.

Soon this comparatively comfortable abode had to be abandoned for the forbidding ground at Valley Forge, the march to which might have been traced by the bloody footprints on the snow. On that cold, wintry day she rode behind her husband, on his bay charger, accompanied by a single aid, following the last remnant of the army that left the encampment at White Marsh. In the small house of Isaac Potts, a Quaker preacher, she was made comfortable, but General Washington had promised his soldiers that he would share their hardships and he refused to leave them until he could do something to provide for their comfort. An old lady, who was a girl when Mrs. Washington arrived at Valley Forge, said of her:—

"I never in my life knew a woman as busy from early morning until late at night as was Lady Washington, providing comforts for the sick soldiers. The wives of the soldiers met her at Mr. Potts's to knit socks, patch garments, make shirts, etc. On fair days, with basket in hand, she might be seen with a single attendant going among the huts seeking the most needy sufferers. I sometimes went with her. Once she went to the house of a dying sergeant, whose young wife was with him. After giving him something to comfort him, she knelt by his side and prayed earnestly in her sweet voice. I shall never forget the scene."

Later, when reviewing the New Jersey soldiers, General and Mrs. Washington were saluted—"Long live General Washington and long live Lady Washington." Mrs. Washington's life at Morristown was after the manner of that at Mt. Vernon, where she kept sixteen spinning wheels in constant operation. With pardonable pride and satisfaction she exhibited her dresses which were made at Mt. Vernon. The silk stripes were from ravelings of silk stockings and old crimson damask chair covers. Her coachman, footman and waiting-

maid were all dressed in domestic cloth. The winter at Morristown was severe and the soldiers were sometimes five or six days without bread, often without meat, and now and then without either. When women dressed in elegant attire, with jewels and ornaments, called at camp, they were astonished to find Mrs. Washington in a gown of homespun, a white kerchief covering her neck, and with no ornaments save a plain gold wedding-ring. She gave her right hand with a cordial greeting, while in her left she held a half-knitted stocking and a ball of yarn. When seated she conversed upon questions of interest, but ceased not her work during these visits.

One woman left a record which reads:—

"Her graceful and cheerful manners delighted us all, but we felt rebuked by the plainness of her dress and her example of persistent industry, while we were in extravagant idleness. She talked much of the sufferings of the poor soldiers, and especially of sickness. Her example was contagious, and all joined her in doing what they could to help the encampment."

On arriving in Philadelphia to join her husband, Mrs. Washington found women at work relieving distress. They formed an association, to which Mrs. Washington contributed \$20,000 in continental money. Its equivalent then in specie was \$340. Returning again to Mt. Vernon, Mrs. Washington carried on her good work. In 1781 an event of interest occurred. General Washington, on his southern



tour, which was soon to end in victory, had suddenly appeared at the homestead. At early dawn the servants came from every cabin to greet him, and during that brief stay there was not a moment of repose. On leaving, he took with him the son of Mrs. Washington. Soon after their departure, the shout of victory touched all hearts, but with it came the news that young Custis was ill with camp fever. The mother hastened to his bedside, only to see him die. Nor was her husband yet free to be with her in her loneliness, for his headquarters were in New York. Even after peace had come, and he had returned crowned with honors, a grateful nation still demanded his services. It was nearly a month after his inauguration as President when she started to join him as the first lady of the land.

Clad in American cloth, and accompanied by a small escort, her four-in-hand chaise again turned northward. At Baltimore an escort conducted her into the city, amid demonstrations of the most profound respect. At Philadelphia two troops of dragoons rode out of the city to await her coming. She was met by a delegation of women in carriages, who accompanied her to Gray's Ferry. From the ferry to the city, she was accorded a grand ovation, in marked contrast to her reception upon her first visit to that city.

It was necessary to make the executive mansion at New York a place of stately and continuous reception, and all bore testimony to the dignity, grace and splendor of her social reign. In the magnificent English coach of state, when the government had been removed to Philadelphia, she again entered that city, the type of true, patriotic womanhood, the noble wife of a noble husband. It was a happy day for her when, after eight years in the field and eight years at the head of the infant nation, President Washington declined to yield to the demand for four years more. But the longed-for repose at Mt. Vernon was to be of short duration. During his fatal illness, she was again a comforter, a good physician, and when the end had come, declared "I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through." Before her death she destroyed her entire correspondence with her husband, as it was her desire that it should not be seen by other eyes. She died, May 22, 1802, two and a half years after the heart of her husband had ceased to beat.

At the foot of the hill which leads up to the mansion, they sleep side by side, husband and wife, hero and heroine. For ages, Mt. Vernon, under the care of the loving women of America, will continue to be the shrine at which millions will pay homage to the memory of those exemplars of loyal devotion to country, whose sacred remains are there entombed.

WAYNE, ANTHONY.—(1745-1796.) A noted American Revolutionary general.

WOOSTER, DAVID.—(1710-1777.) An American Revolutionary general.

YORKTOWN.—A village of Virginia, the scene of the surrender of Cornwallis, Oct. 19, 1781; and of the siege under General McClellan, April 5 to May 6, 1862. The Confederates under Magruder, and later under Johnston, were besieged by the Federals under McClellan. The siege lasted one month, when Yorktown was evacuated by the Confederates.

When England gave up the fight, the confederation did fall apart. It was with the greatest difficulty that enough delegates to Congress were brought together to pass a formal ratification of the treaty of peace. The presumptive nation owed national debts at home and abroad, and had foreign treaty obligations to perform; but there was no national authority to enforce the national rights or to redeem the national obligations. The government and people of each state pursued their own selfish way, treating the governments and the people of other states as aliens; often quarreling, and sometimes nearly coming to blows, with them, and negotiating and intriguing with foreign powers for their own advantage, regardless of the general interest. The long war had left its brutalizing influences upon the people, and the ten years of political agitation that preceded it had been the opportunity of the demagogue, as well as that of the statesman. Never before or since has the national character stood so low.

Out from the disgrace and danger of the situation, silently emerged a nationalist party, without name or formal organization, animated by the common purpose of creating some sort of central government that would be able to assure safety abroad and to secure peace at home. Once fairly started, the feeling spread, until in May, 1787, a convention of delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, met at Philadelphia, under the presidency of General Washington, to draw up a plan of national government for submission to the states. After four months of deliberation and compromise, a Federal Constitution was adopted, to take effect among the ratifying states as soon as nine should ratify it.

The legislative power was given to a congress, consisting of a Senate, having two members from each state, and a House of Representatives, with a membership from each state in proportion to the population of the state. The executive power was vested in a President chosen by electors appointed in each state, in number equal to the senators and representatives of the state. The judicial power

was conferred upon a supreme court, and such inferior courts as Congress might establish.

The Federal Constitution chiefly differed from the Articles of Confederation, in securing to the three branches of the proposed Federal government the power to act directly, of their own authority and force, as to all matters committed to their jurisdiction, without dependence upon any state for anything. To that end, the Constitution, and the statutes and treaties made pursuant to it, were declared to be the supreme law of the land.

As a whole, the new constitution pleased nobody; no part of it pleased everybody; and anybody could give reasons enough for trying again, except for the persuasion that it had to be this or nothing. On the sharp issue of this or nothing, the lines were drawn, those favoring ratification becoming known as Federalists, and those against ratification as Anti-Federalists. Then followed a campaign of education, for which the people were well prepared by the old-time debating, and pamphleteering, over the navigation acts, the stamp tax, the tea duty, the inalienable rights of an Englishman, and the principles of no taxation or legislation without representation. Indeed, the Americans were at that time the most litigious people in the world. That they were well versed in constitutional law, had been admitted by the English attorney-general, in 1768, when he doubted that they had committed an overt act of treason, but was sure that they had come within an hairbreadth of it. It was a country in which everybody studied law, as a British commander of the period complained, on finding himself continually in legal meshes in the performance of his duties among a disaffected people.

The Anti-Federalists opposed the new Constitution on two grounds: They feared that the proposed central government would grow into a despotism, and destroy their liberties; and they were wedded to the principle of state sovereignty. Both feelings were strong; but the stronger, because it was the more immediate, was the feeling for preserving independence. They were willing to trim up the existing Congress a bit and to enlarge its authority, but without giving to it any direct power over the states or the people. The Federalists declined absolutely to go back to this old illusion, and so a battle royal was joined on the new Constitution, as Washington, and his fellow delegates from the twelve participating states, had framed it.

The battle went in favor of the Constitution; but by disheartening majorities, and upon the tacit understanding that amendments should be at once added to it, more explicitly safeguarding the personal liberties of the people and the rights of the states. Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut, ratified the Constitution

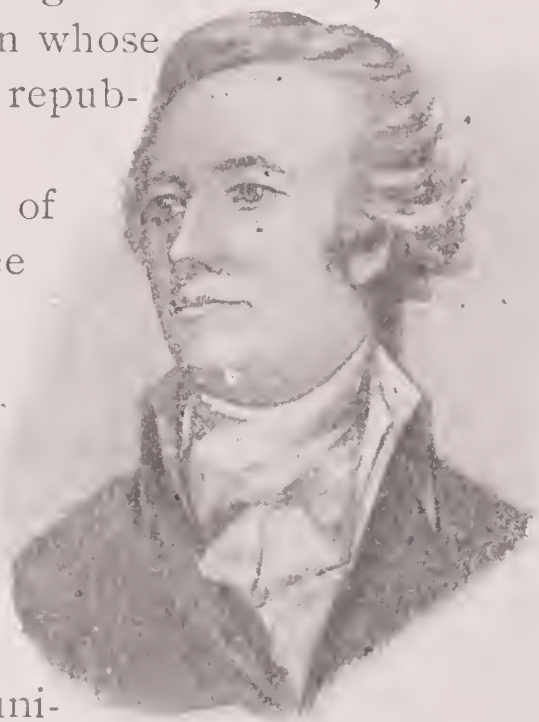
without much of a contest. Massachusetts followed next, after a struggle in which no means, high or low, for reaching and influencing public opinion, were left untouched. Here the party lines were drawn so sharply that men were almost ready to fly at each other's throats, singly or in battalions. According to the point of view, the Constitution was represented as a charter from Heaven or a compact with Hell. But it carried, and Maryland, and South Carolina, followed. While the battle was still raging doubtfully in New York and in Virginia, the ninth state, New Hampshire ratified, and according to its terms, the Constitution became an accomplished fact. This stiffened the Federalists in the remaining states, and casting all offers of compromise to the winds, they forced the ratification through by a vote of 31 to 29, in the New York Convention, and of 88 to 80 in that of Virginia. By the convention of North Carolina, the Constitution was rejected; and Rhode Island, which had refused to send delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, declined to create a convention to consider it. These two states took no part in the organization or institution of the Federal government, but soon after it was formed, North Carolina repented and sent in her ratification. This left Rhode Island in the legal position of a foreign nation, inclosed within the territory of another power, and coercive measures, both official and unofficial, were at once applied to her. The little state tried to avert the coming storm, but was as stubborn as ever against the Constitution. Her ultimate fate would probably have been the division of her tiny territory between Massachusetts and Connecticut, but this she averted by surrender, within fifteen months after the institution of the new government.

Delaware ratified the Constitution on December 7, 1787; Pennsylvania on December 12, 1787, by a vote of 46 to 23; New Jersey accepted it unanimously on December 8, 1787, and Georgia also unanimously on January 2, 1788. Connecticut followed on January 9, 1788, by a vote of 128 to 40. Massachusetts ratified it on February 6 by a vote of 186 to 168 on conditions that certain amendments would be made. In Maryland, in spite of the opposition of Luther Martin, it was ratified on April 28, 1788. In South Carolina on May 23 with a majority of 76. Then Virginia fought through the opposition made by Patrick Henry and ratified it on June 25 by a majority of 11 out of 167 votes. New Hampshire had ratified it on June 21. In New York it was carried on the 26th of July by a vote of 30 to 27. North Carolina came in in November, 1789, and Rhode Island in June, 1790.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

A great statesman who met a duelist's death.

HAMILTON has a fixed place in the first rank of American statesmen; indeed, in the judgment of many, he stands at the head, without a rival for preëminence. Some of his compeers had a larger stage than was his, on which to display their powers, and in others some aptitude or faculty has been more emphasized. But in the aggregate of qualities which go to the making of a great statesman, Hamilton is the peer of any in the long line of men whose influence has been felt in the establishment of our republican form of government.



Hamilton's living monument is the Government of the United States, devised from the necessities of three millions of people and serving the wants of seventy five millions, after subjection to almost every conceivable strain. That the form of government varies from his detailed proposals is nothing; the spirit remains his, and by the spirit it lives and works. Under the Constitution, peace has been kept among the states, despite conflicting feelings or interests; the national power has compelled states and communities to obedience, and the government itself has endured and promises to endure. That the Constitution has been able to insure domestic tranquillity, establish justice, protect the common interest, promote the general welfare and make national independence and personal liberty secure, we owe to Hamilton in such a degree that there is no other to place beside him. As Guizot, the French statesman and political philosopher, has said: "It was Hamilton who introduced and made predominant those elements that have made the national government orderly, forceful and lasting."

We take our first view of Hamilton in the little island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, where, though not yet fourteen years old, he is managing an important export business to England and the mainland of America, for its absent proprietor. Born in 1757, of a Scotch father and a Huguenot mother, he could claim good descent on both sides, though reared in poverty and prepared for life by a few years' schooling of the most elementary and meager kind. But his mother

had been an independent, self-reliant, energetic woman, with a keen and speculative intellect, and the boy, who was Scottish enough in look to have come fresh from the ancestral hills of Ayr, took after the mother. During his three years as clerk and manager, besides carrying on the extensive business successfully, he read the leading works on political economy in English and French—one language being as native to him as the other—testing their statements by his own experience of trade and finance. The current of his life was changed by his intimacy with a scholarly Scotch clergyman who had come to St. Croix, and under whose affectionate guidance he became acquainted with philosophy, history and literature. The honors his revered preceptor had won from his university at home seemed more to Hamilton than all the prizes of commerce, and he longed to become a scholar. As soon as the various difficulties could be smoothed, he went to New York, and after a short preparatory course entered King's College in the spring of 1774, just after passing his seventeenth year.

Hamilton had hardly more than entered college, when the acts of Parliament closing the port of Boston, altering the charter of Massachusetts, and annexing all territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi to the province of Quebec, set everybody fermenting, from Massachusetts down to Georgia.

Hamilton went over the whole controversy about colonial rights and took the colonial side. Deeming his own rights as a British subject imperiled, he threw himself heartily into the discussion, and by the time he had reached his eighteenth birthday, his renown as an orator and writer had become very wide. Step by step the young West Indian was drawn into a complete identification with the colonial cause, so that when New York troops appeared in the Continental army, he was among them as a captain of artillery. For this post he had somehow found time to prepare by much military drill, study and private instruction.

It was at the battle of New Brunswick, during the masterly retreat through New Jersey, that the personal attention of Washington became, for the second time in action, fixed upon Hamilton. The young artillerist was using his guns to check the British advance, in a manner to command Washington's outspoken admiration. Admiration grew by acquaintance, and as soon as winter quarters were established at Morristown, Hamilton became secretary to the commander-in-chief, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Thus, at twenty years of age, Hamilton began his career as a statesman, for to that class his duties



assigned him, by reason of the nature of Washington's relations to Congress and the new state governments, and the extent to which his chief relied upon his abilities. The connection lasted four years, and was then broken by a display of hot temper on both sides that each regretted, but neither could repair. Meantime, Hamilton had married the daughter of the wealthy and distinguished General Schuyler, and retired to private life. He resumed the briefly interrupted friendship with Washington, and began, by writing pamphlets, to expose the feebleness and mischief of the Articles of Confederation. But pressure for his return to the army was irresistible, and he reappeared as a field officer of the New York line. As the leader of a brilliant assault and as an active participant in the siege of Cornwallis at Yorktown, his military life ended well.

Hamilton had already adopted the profession of law, and at the age of twenty-seven, the war over and himself well and happily married, with influential connections, a shining reputation and even more shining abilities, Hamilton fixed his residence at New York, to become the head of its bar and its most prominent citizen. Family ties and professional interests made him eager for a national government—"a hoop to the barrel," as the army toast had run—and his personal and political ascendancy, combined with his disposition toward public affairs, put him in the forefront of the movement for a reconstruction of the worthless confederation. At the commercial convention at Annapolis, in 1786, he fell into intimate relations with Madison, and their joint efforts paved the way for the constitutional convention at Philadelphia the next year. The object was to revise and strengthen the Articles of Confederation, but when the convention had met, it soon got around to the idea of framing the articles anew. What resulted, and could only result, was a bundle of compromises, and even that more than once nearly wrecked the convention.

What made the bundle of compromises vital, was Hamilton's principle of energetic government. The President's powers were beyond those of the British king, the Senate became an improved and strengthened House of Lords, the domains of national legislation and taxation went much beyond the original intention of the majority, and the Federal judiciary proved in the end to be not only the preserver but the great expansionist of the Constitution. If the work of the convention had not been done in secret, it could not have been done at all, and when its results were made public, the popular indignation was barely less than during the sittings, when many absurd and disquieting rumors had been set afloat. Washington's name alone gave the new instrument of government a chance for a hearing; but Washington did not expect the convention to carry with nine states,

so as to set it in operation among themselves. As he told the convention, all they could do was to set up a standard to which honest men could rally, but he privately doubted that they would rally to it in such numbers as to make it a standard of victory.

With the coöperation of Madison and Jay, Hamilton brought out a series of papers known as "The Federalist," to explain and commend the new Constitution to the people of the several states. Nine months were spent in obtaining the ratification of nine states, and then only on the tacit condition of extensive amendments in behalf of personal liberty and the security of state government. Hamilton faced the New York convention with scarcely more than a corporal's guard for the ratification, but he neither halted nor rested, and by adroit management, eloquence and tact within the convention, and a constant stirring of public feeling without, he daily and hourly added to the number of his followers. Nevertheless, appearances were against him to almost the last moment. The leader of the opposition came over to Hamilton's side, but that only increased the bitterness of those whom he had deserted. When eight states had ratified, Hamilton appealed to his colleagues to give New York the honor of putting the Constitution into effect, but the honor went to New Hampshire. Massachusetts, one of the leading opponents, had already given way, and close after New Hampshire came Virginia, the second of the three great original opposers. A month later, in a speech that surpassed all that had gone before, Hamilton, believing that he had reached his highest strength, made a fervid but conciliatory appeal to the convention, and ratification was carried by a majority of two votes.

Washington was a little afraid of Hamilton's daring genius, and on the organization of the government, offered the management of the finances to Robert Morris, who had been the magician of the Revolutionary war-chest. Morris declined, saying that Hamilton was "the one man" fit to take the office. The offer was passed on to Hamilton, and he, frankly ambitious as well as confident and public-spirited, accepted. To mollify the opponents of the Constitution, Washington induced Jefferson, though sorely against his will, to take the other great post in the Cabinet. The two leaders of opposing ideas of government were now, to use Jefferson's own simile, "matched like game cocks in a pit." Like game cocks they behaved, to the grief of Washington, who did not see in their eager controversies the germs of those two political parties by which the government has been carried on and by which alone it has been preserved. His last words to his countrymen were words of warning against party spirit, yet party itself had become the very safeguard of political liberty. It pervades a town election in America; and in Great Britain, a pure democracy,

veiled by aristocratic names and forms, "Her Majesty's Opposition," has become as essential to the public interest as "Her Majesty's Government."

It was not that either Hamilton or Jefferson foresaw the full result of their contentions that so often drove the great chief to impatience and despair. Each believed that he knew the other to be an inspiring and dangerous man, and in the presence of the only man that the whole nation trusted, they tried to clip each other's wings. Both succeeded, for Jefferson brought in his democracy that needed no government but its own exalted and virtuous impulses, and Hamilton imposed upon it a government that absolved it from being too exalted or too virtuous. Jefferson's political principles were drawn from a contemplation of ideal conditions, Hamilton's from actual experience, and between them they produced a very practicable system of government, sometimes inefficient and corrupt at the time of action, but usually looking respectable when passed on to the historian.

As minister of the national finances, Hamilton's first task was to provide a revenue, which he did by a duty on imports, so adjusted as to bring in the most money, while incidentally affording an equalizing protection to such manufactures as seemed particularly adapted or important to the country. The preamble of the tariff act stated one of its objects to be "the encouragement and protection of manufactures." Hamilton, who knew more about business than the great majority of men in public life, was very desirous that manufacturing should be added to agriculture, commerce and navigation, as important industries of the people. To this day his so-called report on manufactures, which embraces almost the whole field of civilized industry, remains a monument of learning and ingenuity. But he was not a high protectionist. A tariff act imposing prohibitory duties would have been to him a monstrosity, and such duties an acknowledgment that the public was to be taxed to pay men for keeping out of productive employment in order to engage in unsuitable ones. This extreme he avoided. Every duty with him was to induce importation and produce revenue, and whatever home-made commodity could not flourish upon the removal of the duty paid by the foreign-made article, he deemed an unprofitable product, or at least a premature one. Like Colbert, the great finance minister of Louis the Fourteenth, he believed that a strong government, wisely administered, was capable of enriching both government and people by attention to the national industries. Colbert's system fell to pieces as soon as he lost absolute control of the government, and nobody has yet attained autocratic power in the United States, so as to give the Colbertian system a fair trial. There is no reason to believe that Hamilton thought anybody but himself fit for

an industrial autocracy. His revenue tariff, with incidental protection, was highly successful at both ends, which proves his capability.

A political motive that weighed heavily with Hamilton has long ceased to have any significance. He thought that by encouraging manufactures dependent upon equalizing duties in the tariff, a class of influential nationalists would be created, to resist the Jeffersonian tendency to put the neck of the general government under the heel of the states. The same motive influenced his recommendation for an assumption of the state war debts by the general government, a project which he carried at last by giving votes for a national capital on the banks of the Potomac in exchange for votes for his debt-assumption bill. He knew that government bondholders would be strong nationalists, and to enlarge the class of government bondholders, he made a vote-trading bargain. Up to that time he was regarded by most of the Federalists as the natural successor of Washington to the presidency. But he was so pilloried by opponents of debt assumption and a Southern capital, that his friends never afterward ventured to put him up for any elective office.

Hamilton also carried his project for funding the continental scrip and "shinplasters" at full face value. The most worthless stuff had been bought up as a speculation and held for redemption on the best terms attainable. It was largely held by his political and personal friends, upon many of whom his financial measures bestowed fortunes, though Hamilton did not profit a penny by any of his public acts. His defense of full redemption of the "shinplasters" was the necessity of establishing the faith and credit of the United States on the first occasion that arose for showing the policy of the government. His motive succeeded, for then and ever thereafter the government obligations were fully paid, and it had excellent credit, on reasonable terms, in the money markets of the world.

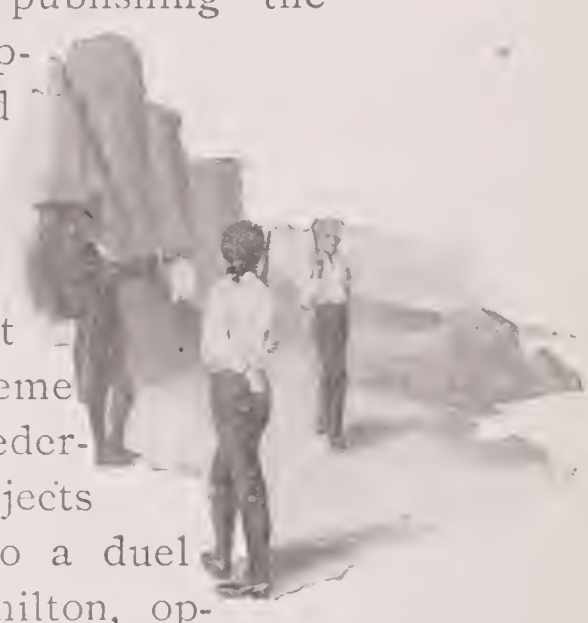
Lastly, Hamilton carried a bill for a national bank. In the eyes of the Jeffersonians, this was not merely strengthening the Constitution, as in the state debt assumption, but an actual violation of its express limitations. Washington, though friendly, was doubtful, and not until he had carefully weighed the exhaustive arguments of Hamilton and Jefferson for and against the bill did he approve it.

Whether constitutionally or not, Hamilton made the Constitution march, and to such effect that when his protective tariff, his refunding of the continental and state debts, and his national bank all got to work, the lately distressed country became the scene of abounding prosperity. Abroad and at home, people came to believe in the United States of America, a name which recently had been only a despised epithet. The barrel had been hooped, and hooped with gold.

The first two Congresses had many able men, all Federalists, who looked to Hamilton as their leader, and he and they organized the branches and departments of government on the energetic plan. When others came into the direction of affairs, years later, they felt that they could trust themselves with the dangerous powers against which they fought, and so the original plan of government has remained unaltered.

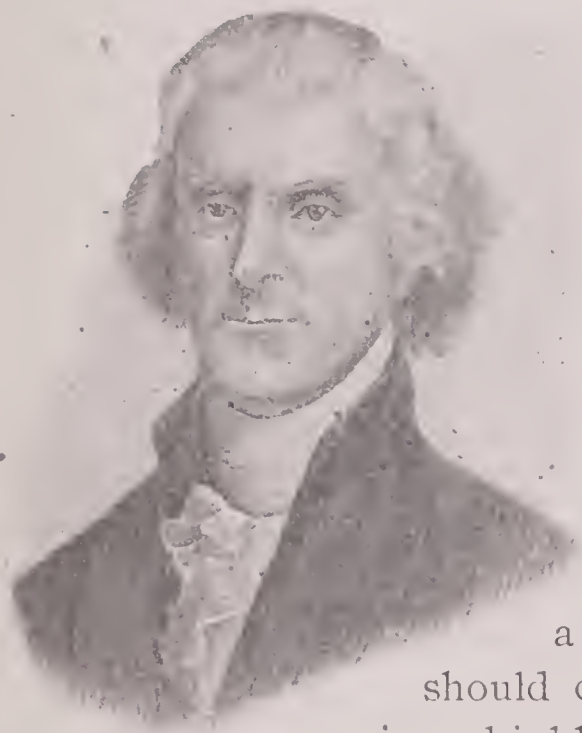
Hamilton left public life in the middle of Washington's second term. He had a large family and had become poor in public service. He had also been ensnared by an adventuress, whose compliant husband demanded a lucrative quartering on the Treasury as the price of silence. This demand the victim met by publishing the whole story, without extenuation or malice. Its reception, even by his political enemies, proved that he had taken the right course. From his home in New York, and in the midst of a busy law practice, Hamilton continued to lead the Federalist party. As a politician he "played the game," but openly and fairly. His last service to his adopted country was to balk the scheme to elect Burr to the presidency over Jefferson, by Federalist votes. Burr, feeling his still large political projects unsafe while Hamilton lived, provoked the latter to a duel and shot him at the word, as he had intended. Hamilton, opposed to dueling, meant not to fire, and his hair-trigger pistol was discharged into the ground by accident, as he fell, mortally wounded. Thus died, July 12, 1804, in his forty-eighth year, one of the greatest and best of American public men.

It would appear from the letters which Hamilton left behind him that his entrance into a duel with Burr while entertaining the views he did upon that subject was nothing short of rash suicide. It was evidently his determination to enter the field and not to fire. Whether or not he entertained any wild hope that his opponent would miss him and that after a single shot Burr might consider his honor vindicated is unknown. The correspondence between the two men would seem to indicate that Hamilton felt that he had made use of language derogatory to Burr in the presence of so many people that he could not retract it without being openly accused of cowardice, and that he preferred to face the chances of death in the duel than humiliation before his friends and acquaintances by a retraction of his opinions. There is no doubt that Hamilton was prompted to express his opinion of Burr's political and private character very openly amongst his acquaintances. His letters to Burr show that he tried to maintain his dignity and to avoid a quarrel without giving the satisfaction which was demanded of him.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Author of the immortal Declaration of Independence.



WHEN Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, the assertion that "All men are created equal and receive from their Creator the rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness," he was, and he continued, the voluntary owner of many slaves, in violation of their rights and of the divine law, judged by his own words. Too much ought not to be made of the discrepancy between preaching and practice, which is not uncommon, even among good men. But as Jefferson's writings have become the gospel of a school of latter-day politicians, it is important, in taking them as a guide, to be on one's guard against mistaking rhetorical embellishment for actual rules of conduct. That Jefferson regarded slavery as hurtful and dangerous to the community wherein it existed, we know, and a passage in his "Notes on Virginia" reads as though he feared the danger to consist in a nursing of the divine vengeance till a day of wrath should come. Yet, as the whole of the Declaration is framed in a highly decorative style of expression, the better to make it take hold of the people of the thirteen colonies, it is probable that the "free and equal" clause was expressed in the same fashion, for the like effect, rather than as a practical doctrine in human government. The Declaration, as Jefferson drew it, specified the fastening of the slave trade upon the reluctant colonies as one of the tyrannies of the British king, but the Southern delegates in Congress thought this was carrying indignant protest too far, as did others the classing of the Scottish troops of the British army among foreign mercenaries; and these two jewels were dropped out in the final setting.

Despite its exaggerated phrasing, which has made it so useful as a popular declamation on patriotic occasions, Jefferson thought highly of the Declaration in advanced life, and spoke of it as his "preferred epitaph." In this his foresight was true, for Jefferson without the Declaration could hardly have been so high in popular estimation, or have kept his ascendancy so long. The Declaration remains the literature of the masses, while the "Farewell Address" of Washington remains a closet study for statesmen and political essayists.

Thomas Jefferson was born at Shadwell, Virginia, in 1743. Bereft of his parents when a child, he records his early dependence upon himself in the following words, written when he was fourteen years of age:—

“Without a friend or relative to guide me, I am astonished that I did not become as worthless as some of my companions. I had the good fortune to become acquainted with some characters of very high standing, and to feel the incessant wish that I could sometime become what they were. Under temptations and difficulties, I would ask myself, what would Dr. Small, Mr. Wythe or Mr. Peyton Randolph do in that situation? I am certain that this mode of deciding my conduct tended more to correctness than any reasoning powers I possessed.”

Thomas wrote to his guardian in 1760, pointing out the temptations surrounding him at home. To be relieved from the loss of time in entertaining company, he asked to be allowed to go to college. His request was granted, and William and Mary College was selected. Dr. William Small, a man of profound knowledge, and of correct and gentlemanly manners, held the chair of mathematics. Jefferson became his daily companion. Dr. Small persuaded young Jefferson to study law under George Wythe, who became the young man's faithful, beloved mentor in youth and his most affectionate friend through life. While at Williamsburg, Jefferson studied from twelve to fifteen hours a day, and when he left college, he had laid the foundation of an education that placed him far above his contemporaries. When he was sent to Congress, in 1775, he was reputed a scholar, and in after years people called him a “walking encyclopedia.”

He had graduated at nineteen, a fair classical scholar, a good reader of French, and proficient in mathematics and natural science. He studied law with diligence for five years, and in 1767 was admitted to the bar. His father had left him a good and productive estate, which he increased from the gains of his law practice in the abundant litigation of that day. Not all his spare time was spent in his study, for he was an active, athletic man, who liked to be much out of doors and much on the back of a spirited horse.

During the years immediately preceding the Revolution, the tall, thin figure of Thomas Jefferson was often seen in the gallery of the House of Representatives at Washington, bent eagerly forward to witness the proceedings, and his pale face and flashing eyes showed his patriotic enthusiasm. He was much impressed by what he termed “the splendid display of Patrick Henry's talents as a popular orator, who,” he said, “appeared to me to speak as Homer wrote.” Jefferson spent a fortnight with Mr. Henry, which was the beginning of a

friendship that lasted until the death of the latter; and he afterward assisted William Wirt in collecting and revising data for a book outlining his friend's life and public career.

Mr. Jefferson's house and all his books at Shadwell were destroyed by fire in 1770. He then began to build a beautiful home, to which he gave the name "Monticello," upon a mountain top overlooking Charlottesville. Before he had completed it, he married, in 1772, Martha Skelton, the widow of Bathurst Skelton, and a daughter of John Wayles, a lawyer of note. She was an intelligent and attractive woman, well fitted to grace the home of her distinguished husband. She lived but ten years. Her patrimony was about equal to Jefferson's fine estate. With an income of three thousand dollars from his law practice and two thousand dollars from his farms, Jefferson and his accomplished wife began a happy life at Monticello. He prosecuted his studies with the same ardent spirit which he had shown at Williamsburg. He took an interest in gardening and farming operations. He kept his personal, household and farm accounts with the most careful precision. Noted for his bold and graceful horsemanship, he kept the best blood of the old Virginia stock. His horses were well groomed. He would brush his white handkerchief across the shoulders of his riding steed, and would send him back to the stable if any dust appeared on the handkerchief.

Two years after his marriage, Jefferson issued a pamphlet entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of America." This brought him fame, but hardly popularity, throughout the colonies. It was the future Declaration of Independence, but what the colonists then wanted was not independence but liberty. In England, the pamphlet was reprinted and had a wide circulation, there being a great deal of interest in the American question; some of it unfriendly, on commercial or political grounds, but most of it friendly, though uninformed. As the extreme sentiments fitted the home purposes of the English radicals, they made use of it in sustaining their own agitation. This brought the pamphlet under the notice of authority, and, it being unquestionably seditious, as the law of sedition had been construed by the courts, there was a probability that the Virginia lawyer, whose name was on the title-page, would for some years live in England at the king's expense. But by this time events were moving so fast that instead of going to an English prison, Jefferson went as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Here, when the hour for independence struck, Jefferson was the man of the hour, and to him was intrusted the drawing up of the Declaration.

As soon as independence had been declared by Congress, Jefferson undertook to organize Virginia as a republican state. In the

rearrangement of things, he strongly favored a scheme of general emancipation of the slaves, but the Virginians would not listen to such a proposition, and he was forced to yield. He rendered valuable service to his state in shaping legislation and directing public policy under the new and radically changed conditions.

The British prisoners who were surrendered by Burgoyne at the battle of Saratoga, in 1777, were sent to Virginia and quartered at Albemarle, a few miles from Monticello. Governor Patrick Henry had been importuned to have them moved, on the plea that the provisions consumed by them were necessary for our own forces. The governor was about to issue an order for their removal, when an earnest entreaty from Mr. Jefferson induced him to withhold it. In the petition, Jefferson said concerning the prisoners:—

“Their health is also of importance. It is for the benefit of mankind to mitigate the horrors of war as much as possible. The practice of treating captive enemies with politeness and generosity is not only delightful in contemplation, but really interesting to all the world—friends, foes and neutrals.”

This successful effort in their behalf was duly appreciated by the British and German officers among the prisoners. Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson threw open to them their library, to divert them from the monotony of their captivity. Phillips, a British officer, “the proudest man of the proudest nation on earth,” wrote his thanks to Mr. Jefferson, who replied:—

“The great cause which divides our countries is not to be decided by individual animosity. To contribute by neighborly intercourse and attention to make others happy, is the shortest and surest way of being happy ourselves.”

When Tarleton, the British partisan leader, in 1781, was at Charlottesville in pursuit of “the boy” Lafayette, it was expected that Monticello would be destroyed. But when Tarleton sent a detachment of soldiers to Monticello to seize Jefferson, who was then governor, he gave strict orders that no property belonging to him should be harmed.

In 1779 Jefferson was elected governor, and governed well in his habitually frugal way; but he was totally unprepared for defense against the British invasion of 1781, and became a scapegoat upon which the mortification and resentment of his harried and plundered people were vented. He pleaded in his defense that all the



military resources of the state had been sent North to help General Washington. This was true enough of the active resources, but there was a great amount of latent military resource which might have been organized into a home militia, and which had not been because the governor disliked to incur expense, and lacked vigor in the military direction. The truth is that until the British had transferred the war from the North to the South, Jefferson and his people had been more interested in the concerns of peace, and only when too late awoke to the contingency of their own state becoming the scene of war. However, after it was all over, the legislature gave "Mr. Jefferson" a certificate of exoneration, and in 1783 he went again as a delegate to Congress, where he employed his mathematical tastes in systems of coinage and divisions of the public land which remain in force to the present day.

In the spring of 1784, Mr. Jefferson was commissioned to negotiate commercial treaties with the powers of Europe. Foreign commerce had been so fettered in those days that the right of one nation to carry it on with another was only to be acquired by treaty, on the "give and take" principle. He sailed in July, taking with him his young daughter, Martha. He was a close friend of Lafayette, and in France met congenial associates. Mrs. John Adams, who was in Paris with her husband, in a letter spoke of Jefferson as "one of the choice ones of earth." Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams both held intimate intercourse with him. When Franklin returned home, in 1785, loaded with honors, Jefferson was appointed to the vacancy, as American Minister at Paris. The French Premier remarked to him: "You replace Dr. Franklin." "I succeed him," was the reply, "no one can replace him."

Though pleased with the culture of the French people, Jefferson longed for his Virginia home, and four years later he asked for a leave of absence. It was granted and he returned to America. As he approached his mountain home, a remarkable reception was tendered him by his plantation servants. It was near Christmas and a holiday had been granted. The carriage containing Mr. Jefferson and his daughter was hourly expected. The negroes had assembled on the lawn at Monticello, and, tired of waiting, they started to meet him. He came by way of Shadwell, the old homestead, about four miles from Monticello. The servants collected in crowds around the carriage. Unhitching the horses from the vehicle, with their own strong arms, they drew it up the mountain. When the door of the carriage was opened they received Mr. Jefferson in their arms and bore him to the house, thronging about him and even kissing his hands and feet.

President Washington, who was forming the first administration, prevailed on Mr. Jefferson to give up his cherished purpose of returning to Paris, in order to become Secretary of State. By yielding to Washington's importunity, Jefferson escaped personal contact with the French revolution, but under his auspices its extravagances, though not the actual crimes into which it soon plunged, were reproduced at home. He had been thoroughly taken with the New French political ideas, which he had aided to form, and disliked the British government and social systems, which, with republican modifications, Washington, Adams and Hamilton believed were the true models for the United States. The earlier and gentler stages of the French revolution offered counter models, upon which "Citizen Jefferson" could found a popular democratic opposition to those imitators of British royalty and aristocracy who carried matters so far as habitually to speak of the President as "His Excellency" and of his wife as "Lady Washington." Setting the French revolution as a model, Jefferson was carried along from approbation of its extravagant affectations of simplicity—beneath which raged the old human passions for wealth, distinction and power—into tolerance of its eventually shameful excesses. He was willing that France should make the United States a base for carrying on a privateering war against British commerce, so long as it was not pushed to the point where it would provoke England to war. But his policy of levying war under the guise of peace was too deep and not straightforward enough for Washington, who declared for neutrality, and publicly warned American citizens to let the belligerents alone. This, and the troubles into which he was brought by the rash and unscrupulous minister from the French Republic, whom he had induced Washington to receive, caused his retirement from the Cabinet at the end of the year 1793.

Private life had become his best station for a season, since American sentiment had turned, and Jefferson's interests were safer from the coming storm at Monticello than at Philadelphia. That he weathered the storm is proved by the fact that he received sixty-eight electoral votes for the presidency in 1797, against seventy-one for John Adams, and under the existing constitutional provision, he became Vice-president. The arrangement was a dangerous one, for the death of Adams would have given control of the government to the defeated party. It was changed during Jefferson's own presidency, after it had nearly defeated him for the office to which the popular vote had chosen him, and if he had been defeated, the minority party would have obtained control. As Vice-president, Jefferson had little to do, and had no influence with the hostile Senate over which he presided. This gave him the more time and opportunity for managing his own

party, by incessant correspondence with its leaders throughout the sixteen states which then composed the Union.

The Federalists, apparently having things their own way, and confident of their ability to continue so as to have them, made such ill use of their advantage that when the electoral votes were counted in 1801, Jefferson had seventy-three against sixty-five for Adams. Any future that the Federalists might have had, was lost by a shameful intrigue into which they entered to substitute Aaron Burr, the vice-presidential candidate, for Jefferson. It failed because Hamilton, leader of the Federalists and personally hostile to Jefferson, declared that Burr was as unworthy as the plot was dishonest. Yet it nearly succeeded, even after Hamilton's manly remonstrance. That Jefferson was "an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics" was the excuse of some Federalists of character for engaging in a proceeding that they admitted to be otherwise without excuse.

Much has been written of the simple ceremonies of Jefferson's inauguration. His biographers have repeated the version of an English traveler, who thus describes it:—



"His dress was of plain cloth, and he rode on horseback to the Capitol, without a single guard or even a soldier in his train; dismounted without assistance, and hitched the bridle of his horse to the palisades."

As President, however, he bought four magnificent bays for his coach of state, which he rarely used. He preferred his saddle horse, the blooded "Wildair," the same that he had ridden to the Capitol on the day of his inauguration and "hitched to the palisades." When James Madison, his successor, was inaugurated, Mr. Jefferson again repeated his horseback riding, though a troop of cavalry was trying to overtake him as an escort. It was then that he recorded the following sentiments:—

"Within a few days I retire to my family, my books and farms; and having gained the harbor myself, I shall look on my friend, still buffeting the storm, with anxiety indeed, but not with envy. Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power."

Jefferson's first trouble as President was about the offices, which were monopolized by Federalists. He faced this difficulty wisely and temperately, so as to gain the approval of the best men of both parties. Having a small majority in each house of Congress, he was able to make reductions in the army and navy, and to abolish twenty-four new federal courts, created at the close of the last administration

to make places for Federalists. His second difficulty arose from the filching by France from Spain of the Louisiana territory, which had been ceded to Spain in the treaties that had closed the European intervention in the American Revolution. With Great Britain on the North and France on the South, Jefferson feared that his still small and weak country would be ground between an upper and a nether millstone, when the two giants should become engaged in the renewed war already seen to be approaching. Bonaparte, then at the head of the French government, fearing that between American resentment and British power he might lose the territory, offered it to the United States for fifteen million dollars cash, and Jefferson accepted the offer, intending afterward to get the Constitution amended to cover his breach of it. But as he was the only one who was troubled about the matter, the amendment was never proposed. With the country peaceful and prosperous, taxes and duties and the public debt reduced, the government honestly and economically managed, and the administration conducted with severe republican simplicity, Jefferson's first term ended handsomely, if not in showy fashion.

His second term did not end handsomely. France and England were striving to throttle each other, and in their deadly struggle they trampled all over the neutral rights of American commerce, then a very important industry. By coming to terms with Great Britain, Jefferson could have put American commerce into a fairly good state, but all he could get was a renewal of the expired Jay treaty, and if he had been willing to accept that, he had not the courage of Washington in facing public criticism. An efficient cruising navy could readily have been created, and the imperiled commerce measurably protected, but Jefferson had a passion for economy and peace, and would hear of nothing but an absurd system of little gunboats for harbor defense. He irritated both France and Great Britain without impressing or influencing either, and at last hit upon the plan of bringing both to terms by an embargo upon all trade between the United States and other nations. Logically, this was telling his own people to go back to the farm and let the world alone. Practically, it was ruinous to New England, the seat of commerce, and hurtful to the South, which, though agricultural, had a deep interest in the export trade.

The embargo, after sowing distress and discontent, brought on the very war it was intended to avert, and which an adequate naval policy could have averted. Just as Jackson afterward left Van Buren to face the storm that he had brewed, so Jefferson left Madison to reap the harvest that he had sown. Not until returning prosperity had softened the memories of the distressful war, did Jefferson's reputation emerge

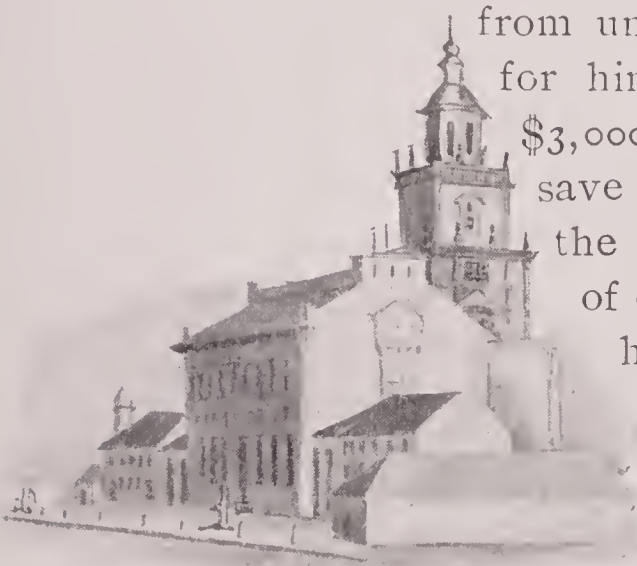
from the clouds. Meantime, he was busy with the improvement of his neglected estate with his favorite scientific and philosophical recreations, and with his long nourished project of founding the University of Virginia. He became reconciled with his former friend and later enemy, John Adams, and the two veterans found a keen pleasure in their renewed correspondence. By one of those coincidences that sometimes give a pathetic tinge to the pages of history, they both passed away on Independence Day of 1825, thus forever linking their names with the great instrument that had first brought them intimately together.

The story of the financial misfortunes that befell Mr. Jefferson in the last years of his life is a sad one. During his long absence from home, engrossed with the duties and cares of public life, his fine estate was neglected and fell into decay. It became unproductive and debts accumulated rapidly. Except during the eight years when he was President, his official salary was at no time sufficient for his personal and domestic expenses. When he retired to Monticello, at the age of sixty-six, his business affairs were hopelessly involved, for he was too old to accomplish the work of restoration. The destruction of the Congressional library at Washington by the British invasion, in 1814, gave an opportunity to Mr. Jefferson to turn his own magnificent collection of valuable books into a fund to assist in meeting his obligations. Congress voted \$23,500 for its purchase, but this was not enough to save him. The financial panic of 1819 and 1820 followed, and all values went down before it. Mr. Jefferson exerted himself to the utmost to avert disaster, but was powerless. Generous aid came to him

from unexpected quarters. The mayor of New York raised for him \$8,500, Philadelphia sent \$5,000 and Baltimore \$3,000. Yet even these grateful tributes were not able to save Monticello. Happily, Jefferson died unconscious that the sale of his property would fail to satisfy the claims of creditors, that his beautiful home would pass into the hands of strangers, and that his beloved daughter would go forth penniless, as the doors were closed to her forever.

Six months had not elapsed when Jefferson's furniture was sold at auction to pay his debts.

When Monticello and Poplar Forest were advertised for sale at the street corners, the daughter of him whom Americans had called "The Father of Democracy" had no longer a place to rest her head. This brought from the legislature of South Carolina and Louisiana gifts of \$10,000 each "to Martha Jefferson Randolph, the last survivor of the great American statesman."



THE CONSTITUTION ON TRIAL — STRICT CONSTRUCTIONISTS AND LIBERAL CONSTRUCTIONISTS — HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON IN WASHINGTON'S CABINET — EACH FOUNDED A GREAT PARTY — WASHINGTON, HAMILTON, JEFFERSON, AND LINCOLN CONTRASTED — PEN PICTURES OF HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON — JEFFERSON THEORY OF GOVERNMENT — HAMILTON'S POLITICAL CONCEPTIONS — THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN POLITICS — THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF OUR NATIONAL POLITICS.

A SCHEME of government needing much apology from its friends, and held to be beyond the scope of apology by its enemies, was destined to an uncertain fate, and to a troubled existence, whether on its way to an early death, or to a safe passage through the perils of infancy. Yet, from the moment of its acceptance by the states, the Constitution had several circumstances in its favor. In happily deciding not to undertake too much, its framers had expressed it in terms so general that, when strictly construed, as it readily might be from the adaptability of its language, it would be hard to maintain that any power beyond necessity had been conferred upon the general government. As the government of the confederation had utterly failed, and had actually gone to pieces, to refuse the new government a trial was to elect for the anarchy, civil war, and foreign aggression, already impending over the disunited states. The amendments tacitly agreed upon, to be immediately added to the Constitution, respecting personal rights and the reserved powers of the states and the people, had removed the really practical objections to it, and those that remained, being speculative and theoretical, could not prevail against the hard facts of the situation. Lastly, everybody knew that Washington was destined to be the first constitutional President, and that he might be trusted to give the new order of things such direction as would tend to realize the best hopes and to dissipate the worst fears concerning the new experiment in government. So closely, indeed, had the Constitution been cut to his measure, that had he died during the period of the convention, it is certain that the Constitution, in the form in which it emerged, would never have seen the light, and that his death pending, ratification would have insured its defeat.

The Constitution having gone into operation, parties of strict construction and liberal construction, of its provisions, were at once arrayed against each other. The first, soon to take the name of Republicans, was led by Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, author of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, an extreme state-rights man, who had abandoned the feeble Continental Congress, in the midst of the War of the Revolution, to devote himself to the public concerns of his own state. His absence as minister to France, while the Federal

constitution was under popular discussion, prevented him from directing his influence against it, with the deadly effect that he would almost surely have exercised had he been at home. The party of liberal construction was headed by Alexander Hamilton, of New York, principal author of the constitutional treatise known as "The Federalist," a young British West Indian, who had served in the Revolution, as military secretary to General Washington, and with the troops of the New York line; a man of marked ability both in civil and military affairs; frankly ambitious, but of scrupulous fidelity; ardently patriotic toward his adopted country, but full of moderation and generosity. His party brought over the name of Federalists from those who had advocated the Constitution before its adoption.

Washington was never a party man, and had not been a party nominee for the presidency. But his sympathies lay with the Federalists, and when, before the formal election, he was privately consulted as to any views he might have respecting the vice-presidency, he answered that he took it for granted that whoever might be elected would be "a true Federalist." In the hope of making the Constitution work, he induced Jefferson to take the first place in his administration, though he liked neither the man, his manners, nor his principles. Jefferson accepted the place from the same high motive of public service that had led Washington to urge it upon him; but he had a smaller opinion of Washington than that generally entertained by the public, and he was careful that official relations should not impair his full liberty of political action. The second place in the administration, but the first in importance for the time being, was given to Hamilton, who was acceptable to Washington in every way. Thus, and then, began that contest of parties that has lasted to the present day, and that will probably last as long as government by discussion—which means free government—shall endure. That either Jefferson or Hamilton dreamed that he was the fountain head of a stream of politics that should flow for centuries, is unlikely; for a dream of that sort would be apt to dry the fountain at its source, from neglect of present circumstances. Nevertheless, they were such fountain heads, however unconsciously. Of the future, we are no more at liberty to indulge in boundless speculation than were Hamilton and Jefferson in their day. But in our day, making allowances for temporary and local diversions of the currents, the streams of divided politics flow on, unbroken, from their original sources. It is not without right that present day Democrats and Republicans respectively claim Jefferson and Hamilton as their apostles. The unchanging and unchangeable basic principles of the two great parties truly claim descent from our first leaders in constitutional politics. Since their day there have

been false prophets and deluding evangelists, but every now and then, the one party or the other goes back to its first source, and returns refreshed for renewed conflict. This recognition of continuity in political life gives dignity to our party struggles, and reconciles us to the perpetual contests of party. By those contests we live in freedom, and when they cease, the best hope left will be that our despots may prove benevolent after the accepted manner of despots, and leave to us the conventional animal comforts, as a solace for our departed liberties. The party of Jefferson, abandoning successively its earlier names of Anti-Federalist, Republican, and Democratic-Republican, is now the Democratic party. The party of Hamilton, successively known as Federalist, and Whig, now stalks as the Republican party. Occasionally, a third party arises, either to protest against a departure of one of the two permanent parties from fundamental principles, or against its failure to extend them to current issues, and sometimes to elevate some passing fad or fancy to the rank of a principle of government. Having accomplished its mission, or run its course, the new party dies, in honor or contempt, according to the intrinsic merit of its origin. It does not always die without inflicting grievous wounds upon the reputations or the fortunes of contemporary statesmen, but these are oftener sheltered, than exposed by the ingrained habit of the average man to stand by his party in good or evil report.

Viewing American politics in its entirety, it is evident, from what has been said, that Jefferson and Hamilton are the greatest and most enduring figures in our political annals. Washington is great as a patriot, and Lincoln as a statesman, and in those characters they have made immortal contributions to our national history. But neither founded a party, nor made original additions to American political principles, and therefore they differ from Jefferson and Hamilton as one star differs from another in glory.

Because the contest of ideas between Jefferson and Hamilton is still going on, it is hard to draw a picture of either that could find universal acceptance. The difficulty does not exist in the cases of Washington and Lincoln, whose characters are uniformly fixed in the popular mind, undisturbed by any misgivings as to their political principles. That evil things were said and thought of both Hamilton and Jefferson, in their day, goes for nothing, because the like fortune happened to Lincoln and to Washington in their respective days, and has happened to every public man distinguished enough by position or talent to arouse rivalry, envy, or resentment. Little people alone escape detraction—one of the compensations to the great army of the useful but obscure.

Of the two men, Hamilton had the most attractive personal qualities. This was partly due to his youthfulness, for he was but thirty-two years old when he became the founder of his party, and retained much of the frankness, enthusiasm, and generosity, that belong by nature to men still young. Jefferson, his rival, was fourteen years older, and had not reached and passed middle life without showing the searing effects of years of controversy, and of his keener insight of the motives and characters of men.

Hamilton's most remarkable trait was precocity. At the age of fourteen, he was the successful manager of a large mercantile house at St. Croix, engaged in foreign trade, and at eighteen, his fame was spread throughout the colonies as one of the most masterly advocates of their cause. Commerce and finance were topics that he had at his finger ends; and a style, and taste, nourished on the richest stores of poetry, history, and philosophy, enabled him to present such subjects in a manner to stir the dullest imagination. During his college years, his studies were directed especially toward political philosophy, and he had hardly more than taken them up when he was plunged into the constitutional controversy over the repressive measures of king and parliament against the colonies. At nineteen, he was a captain of field artillery in the Revolutionary army, and, having previously prepared himself for the post with customary thoroughness, he took rank at once as a distinguished officer. At twenty he became secretary to the general-in-chief, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was not yet a man in years, but in volume, and importance, had already done the work of a lifetime, and though his active life had begun at the age of thirteen years, his intellect and manner had always been so staid and mature, that people habitually forgot they were dealing with a boy. There was never occasion for tears over his lost joys of youth. He had his joys of youth in employments appropriate to manhood, and his boy's life passed happily, in the way that his nature fitted it to pass. From his earliest years, his intelligence was both searching and profound, and it was united to an imagination always lively, but always under control. Though wonderfully industrious, often wishing the day twenty-five hours long, he was never a plodder; his intellect, lighted up by fancy, enabling him to reach by intuition what other men could only reach by long processes of thought or experiment. His native genius, his well-balanced enthusiasm, his unflagging capacity for work, his cheerful interest in his employments, his quick apprehension of all the issues and of all the consequences of a matter, his habit of ardent preparation for whatever lay before him; his early, and unique, experience of actual life and affairs; his liberal, if quickly compassed, education, compre-

hending grace and beauty, as well as knowledge and wisdom — these qualities and attainments, aided by what Talleyrand called his faculty of divination, readily explain why, before his thirty-fifth year, Hamilton had won a reputation that, lasting down to our own time, ranks him, thus far as the greatest of American statesmen.

Hamilton was a small, slender, and delicately-built man, upright and quick in carriage, full of animation and energy, of charming manner and address, and in complexion and countenance an unmistakably refined, and transplanted, Scotchman.

Jefferson was forty-six years of age when he became the head of the Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, as they soon called themselves. His father was a rude pioneer planter, who became prosperous through the rise in the value of land and its products, and from his fifth to his nineteenth year, the son received the education of a gentleman of Virginia, and was a diligent, earnest, intelligent student. When nineteen, he left college, a good classical and modern scholar, and with a knowledge of mathematics and the natural sciences that marked him out, reasonably, for the career of a tutor or professor in one of those departments of learning. But he became, instead, a pupil in the office of the leader of the Virginia bar, where he spent five industrious and fruitful years, and was then admitted to the practice of the law. By the death of his father, he had already come into possession of a fine estate and a generous income.

For eight years, Jefferson followed the law with extraordinary success and distinction, living handsomely, and as handsomely adding to his estate, until he became an opulent and influential country gentleman. From 1769 to the outbreak of the Revolution, he sat in the Colonial Legislature for his county of Albemarle, but he failed in the beginning as a political orator, and abandoned public speaking forever. What his tongue lacked, however, his pen supplied, and of him, more than of any statesman of the modern world, it can most truthfully be said that "the pen is mightier than the sword." He was throughout his life a ready, fluent, and untiring writer. His first legislative act was an attempt to amend the law that impeded the voluntary freeing of slaves. The attempt was repelled, with much popular indignation against the author of it. Jefferson always had a gloomy foreboding about the consequences of slavery to the country; but he was not an abolitionist, either in his own case, or upon the moral principle of the question.

In 1772, Jefferson, having married a rich young widow, who brought him a great accession of lands and negroes, set up his new home upon the estate of Monticello. The marriage was childless, but one of lifelong happiness; the wife being beautiful, accomplished, fond of music like himself, and devoted to her husband.

From his entry into public life until the coming on of the Revolution, Jefferson was active on the patriot side, his ability and zeal as a correspondent turning his personal and official services in that direction. His position was extremely radical for the earlier days; for he denied any political connection of America with Great Britain, except the incident of their both having, in the British King, the same executive head. As the quarrel deepened, his original radicalism won for him a leading place, and as a member of the Continental Congress, he gained immortality by drafting the famous Declaration of Independence. Shortly after the passage of the Declaration, he returned to Virginia to help in the work of making the aristocratic colony into a "truly republican" state. He succeeded in abolishing the entail of land, the preference of the oldest son in inheritance, and the support of an established religion by taxation, and he carried through a scheme of general education. He also carried a bill forbidding the further importation of slaves, but failed in his favorite measure for gradual emancipation. He declined to return to Congress, or to join Franklin in the mission to France.

In 1781, while Jefferson was serving as governor of Virginia, the state was badly overrun by royal troops and partisans. The defense was feeble and inglorious, and Jefferson, as the executive head, became the mark of popular indignation. He defended himself upon the ground that the military resources of the state had been exhausted in sustaining Washington's policy of carrying on the war in the north; and having declined to stand for reelection, the resolutions of the legislature, vindicating his conduct, came to him in his character of a private citizen.

In the winter of 1782, Jefferson resumed his place in the Continental Congress, carried through the final treaty of peace with Great Britain, and the system of decimal coinage still in use, and framed a system of government for the vast territory of 430,000 square miles that New York and Virginia had ceded to Congress, on the contention of other states that it belonged to the nation. Jefferson provided for seventeen states, with fanciful, classical names, and for a perpetual prohibition of slavery. Congress drew back from the number and names of the new states, and from the prohibition of slavery south of the Ohio River. But in the territory north of that river, in which slavery was prohibited, but fugitive slaves were to be surrendered, and from the newly organized territory, the free states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were eventually formed. By this time, Jefferson had grown to look upon slavery from other standpoints than that of expediency, for soon afterward he published the following sentiments: "I tremble for my country when I

think that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a contest."

From 1784 to 1789, Jefferson was in Paris, engaged in negotiating commercial treaties with European powers. Coming home on leave, immediately after the institution of the new government, and anxious to return to Paris, where things social and political were beginning to conform to his ideas, he accepted, on the urgency of President Washington, the office of Secretary of State, and so escaped the approaching horrors of the French Revolution. The principles of that Revolution he always warmly supported.

Personally, Jefferson was very tall, slender, and erect, of sandy hair and complexion, fond of music and dancing, a fearless horseman, and an athlete. He was hospitable, companionable, and cheerful.

The principles of Jefferson, and Hamilton, are the most important political contributions we have, because they only have been the creators of parties that, under various changes of name, but with substantial continuity of fundamental doctrines, have acted, or seemed to act, in conformity with the teachings of their respective founders.

The controlling idea of Jefferson was that of the fullest liberty to the individual, compatible with the indispensable claims of the community. He put man first, and government afterward, in the belief that a fair field and no favor would insure enough of individual virtue to promote the safety, well-being, and happiness, of society, with the least amount of collective interference. His theory involved the conception of a pure democracy, freed from artificial distinction, and from class privilege, in which the ultimate function of government would be that of a constable against persistent evil doers, and of a guardian to the hopelessly incapable, and unfortunate. Nonsectarian morality, universal education, and civil equality, were his contemplated agencies for building up individual character, and upon that to rest the state. He never had seen, and possibly never expected that anybody would see, just such a commonwealth as was pictured to his mind, but he felt sure that by always working toward the model, instead of away from it, both society and government would be in a constantly improving state. As the best means of serving and conserving the whole community, the activities of government, instead of being spent upon society in masses or classes, should be used in making, and keeping, the way clear for individual growth in virtue.

However difficult it may be to apply or identify these principles of Jefferson in the actual workings of political parties and popular

governments, it is certain that as long as political freedom lasts they will never lack a large and enthusiastic following, anxious to assert them, and confident in its own ability to give them practical effect.

How Jefferson came to develop this theory of government, amid scenes and experiences so different from the ideal as to make him, in his own words, "tremble for his country," is to be explained by the circumstances that his mind was always that of a philosopher, and his disposition naturally sanguine, so that he neither doubted the veracity of his conceptions, nor was discouraged from moving along the lines that his reflection on man and society indicated. During his long residence in France, too, he was immersed in the wave of sentimental humanity that swept over the cultivated classes of that country, and which became so strange a prelude to the excesses of the ensuing revolution. Jefferson, the philosopher, was almost as great a figure at Paris as was his predecessor, Franklin, the sage, and his ideas were more in fashion than were Franklin's at the time of his accession.

Hamilton's political conceptions began at the end opposite to those of Jefferson. He believed that men were, by nature, so diverse in quality and tendency that, for the purposes of society, an equality of condition and opportunity could be affected only by government. Instead of resting the state upon individual virtue, he rested the security of individual virtue upon the collective power of the community. Like Jefferson, he favored individual liberty to the largest possible extent, but he measured the individual possibility, not by the smallest needs upon which society could hold together, but by all the claims of society that tended to the greatest good of all. He put the government above the man, because he believed that man could enjoy the blessings of civilization and association only under the protecting arm of the state. Though as sincere a republican as was his great rival, he saw in pure democracy, dependent upon the individual virtue of its members, backed only by a slender government, adapted to exceptional cases and times of emergency, the prospect of ultimate anarchy, with society taking at last to despotism as a means of salvation. He wished government to be always strong, in order that it might be always free. He was anxious for personal freedom and welfare, as was Jefferson, but as government alone could assure those advantages to the individual, the latter must submit to enough government to assure them.

Jefferson's personal experiences had been those of a holder and cultivator of land, and of a lawyer practising among holders and cultivators of land. His ideal commonwealth would be, in the main, a rural community, engaged in agriculture. Hamilton's experiences had been in the fields of trade, commerce, and manufacture, and of

commercial law. His ideal commonwealth would be a blend of agriculture, commerce, and manufacture, each in its due proportion for the general good. Such a mixed community could not be governed as the comparatively simpler community might be governed. Both leaders must have been in some degree influenced by the circumstance that Hamilton was a man of the town and Jefferson a man of the country.

A government on the Jefferson plan would, in the nature of things, be less exposed to corruption, and more economical, and one on the Hamilton plan abler and more effective. Such, in a broad and general way, has been the result of the Jeffersonian type of government under the original Republican, the Democratic-Republican, and the Democratic, parties, and of the Hamiltonian type under the Federalists, Whigs, and later Republicans.

That the principles of Hamilton have equal qualities of endurance with those of Jefferson is apparent. If the principles of the latter appeal to the feelings, those of the former appeal to the judgment. As both judgment and feeling play great parts in human action, the contrast of ideas is likely to last as long as the republic lasts, with ascendancy sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other. To this day, our forms of government retain the impress of democratic simplicity imposed upon them by Jefferson, but the activities of government have been in the direction of Hamilton. The government is plain, but strong. Strong and plain it is likely to remain. When it becomes too strong we shall have an era of strength.

For more than half a century, the slavery question, which the makers of the Constitution consciously left to posterity because they could not settle it themselves, interfered very much with the direct flow of our political principles drawn from their original sources. Jeffersonian democrats became pro-slavery men, and Hamiltonian whigs became Abolitionists. But the streams of political tendency are back in their proper channels. Socialism, when it becomes the paramount issue, will again mix the fundamental parties; for it must draw on Jefferson for its sentiments, and on Hamilton for its powers. But when it shall have passed away as a subject of political agitation, however much or little of it may remain imbedded in our social or industrial life, the old party lines will straighten out once more, to be again curved and crossed by the next succeeding great issue. In this continuity and flexibility of party action, this co-operation of rival systems to carry us safely and prosperously through crisis or emergency, we may see the true grandeur of our national politics. They began with characters as upright and eminent as Jefferson and Hamilton, they are founded on principles as lofty as ever came from

a human source; these principles have largely affected the national life and always in a wholesome way, and they remain at the service of the nation, in ways as wholesome yet to come. That ignoble men, methods, and measures make their way into politics is no cause of despair. They pass, after their brief day, and that which is sound and permanent endures.

WASHINGTON'S TWO TERMS OF THE PRESIDENCY — HAMILTON'S EFFORTS TO POPULARIZE THE CONSTITUTION — NATIONAL BANK, ASSUMPTION AND PROTECTIVE TARIFF OPPOSED BY JEFFERSON — THE WHISKY REBELLION — INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN AMERICA — THE RECALL OF GENET — AMERICAN GRIEVANCE AGAINST FRANCE AND ENGLAND — THE JAY TREATY WITH ENGLAND — WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS — PRESIDENCY OF ADAMS — ON THE EVE OF WAR WITH FRANCE — THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS — BURR KILLS HAMILTON IN A DUEL.

PRESIDENCY OF WASHINGTON, 1789-1797

WHEN Washington began his first administration, there were no constitutional parties. To him there had been no opposition. The mission of the Anti-Federalists had ended with the adoption of the Constitution. But their leaders in the several states held on to the late party name, and declared themselves the guardians of the reserved rights of the states and the people. Naturally, many of them made their way into the Senate and House of Representatives constituting the first Congress. Naturally, also, Jefferson came to be recognized as their leader. It was in that character that he had been brought by Washington into the administration, for there was no regular cabinet as yet. Looking upon Robert Morris, the financier of the revolution, as the leading political economist among the Federalists, Washington invited him to become Secretary of the Treasury. But he declared that Hamilton was the man for the place, and so Hamilton and Jefferson were brought face to face as members of the administration.

Though personally a Federalist, Washington dealt fairly between his two subordinates, moderated their rivalries so far as he could, and sought, but in vain, to get them to pull together.

Jefferson was a reflective rather than a constructive statesman, and the business of organizing the new government fell to Hamilton, whose genius particularly fitted him to the work. What Hamilton feared was that the infant constitution might be done to death in its early days by the power of the states, popular prejudice and neglect, and the hostility of the large majority that had lately fought it to the uttermost. He therefore sought to create throughout the Union

a national interest—a class of people having a direct stake in the existence and vigor of the central government. His means were not abundant, but he used them skillfully. A national bank, handling the finances of the government and doing business throughout the country by federal charter, was to yoke the money power, always and everywhere potent, to the fortunes of the Constitution. The assumption of the war debts of the states, and their addition to the already large war debt created by the continental and federal congresses, meant an increase both of holders and holdings of government securities. A tariff having substantial protective features would be likely to build up a domestic manufacture, looking to the Federal Government for its future existence. All these measures were hateful to Jefferson upon principle and motive alike, but Hamilton and the Federalists carried them. By the time anybody was afterward able to strike an effective blow at them, the Constitution was secure.

The French Revolution began soon after Washington's accession to the presidency. Being an attempt to put sentimental humanity into practice, and looking to the American Revolution as its exemplar, the new order of things in France was received with enthusiasm in the United States. Hamilton detested it and Washington distrusted it, but Jefferson was naturally its American oracle. In its liberty, fraternity, and equality stages it gave no trouble.

Hamilton's tariff for revenue, with incidental protection, failing in the incident of revenue enough to meet the expenses of an Indian war in the northwest and the charges of debt conversion, resort was had to internal taxation. This brought on a rebellion in Western Pennsylvania, where the now taxed whisky had always been free as water, except for the small expense of distillation. The rebellion shook the young Federal government; but Washington, with equal patience and firmness, holding out the olive branch, but not hiding the sword, and using in a manly way his known popularity, and appealing to the patriotism of the misguided mountaineers, ended the rebellion peacefully but triumphantly. Thus the Constitution came safely out from its first shock.

In 1792 Washington was the unanimous choice of the people for the second term. He would have preferred retirement, but retirement would have been too great a public injury in the unsettled state of the public mind, and with the new government still in an experimental stage.

By the time Washington was reinaugurated the French revolutionists had put their king to death, were following suit with the aristocrats, had proclaimed a republic, and declared war on England. Citizen Monroe, the American minister at Paris, had been received

and embraced in the national convention in token of the union of the sister republics. Citizen Genet was appointed French envoy to the United States and departed for Philadelphia. Except the bloodshed, he found, as it seemed, a second French republic in the new world and began to act as its administrator. Jefferson, who saw France advancing, though turbulently advancing, toward his ideal of a pure democracy, was in full sympathy with what was going on in France, but not with the extravagances of Genet in America. Despite that envoy's glaring breaches of diplomatic propriety, he procured his official reception by the President, but he also supported Washington's proclamation of neutrality, which appeared under his counter-signature as Secretary of State. His just influence with Genet could not restrain that madcap from treating the United States as a French dependency, using their territory and resources for levying war upon Great Britain, and setting up French courts in American ports, to condemn British vessels captured by American privateers under his commission, as prizes of war. Jefferson's sympathies were heartily with France in her war with England; but he shrank from launching his own country into a conflict wherein it would have to follow a reckless lead, which would perhaps embroil it with nearly the whole of Europe, and possibly leave it materially exhausted and politically ruined. A benevolent neutrality toward France was as far as he was prepared to go. Like some other philosophical revolutionists, his practice drew back from his principles.

Genet's crowning act of folly was to assume that the American Government was his enemy, but that the American people were his friends, and he proposed to appeal to his friends against his enemy. This was too much for a people that had waged a ten years' war of legality against their late king before taking up arms against him, and had lately waged a war of intellect among themselves, before establishing a government by means that they regarded as binding as the arbitrament of the sword. This government Genet now proposed that they should overturn; for no grievance of their own, but in the supposed interest of a distant people whose idea of the uses of liberty was a license for bloodshed and anarchy already revolting to the innate soberness of Americans. The saturnalia was over and the people turned to Washington, the serious, formal, unimaginative man, who had no philosophy as to the rights of man and no very clear notion what was meant by equality; but who knew and practised the golden rule of life, while never forgetting what was due to himself. Jefferson's long dispatch to Minister Monroe, who, in Washington's opinion, had been a little too spectacular at Paris, bore at least the note of sincerity. It vindicated the rights of the United States, de-

fended the conduct of the government, set out the indictment against Citizen Genet, and demanded his immediate recall. This was granted with alacrity, but as the progress of the revolutionary idea had already destined him to the guillotine as a moderate, he kept his head on his shoulders by invoking as an exile, the further hospitality of a country whose hospitality he had grossly abused.

Jefferson's position had become irksome. He was the recognized leader of the Republicans, as they now called themselves, in compliment to their French brothers, and who had tried to engage the country in a war wherein it had nothing to gain and everything to lose. He had permitted persons and newspapers under his known influence to lampoon his official chief, and he had, unfortunately for his own future fame, entered in his diary his cold, cynical observations on the writhings of that sensitive and dignified man under the unaccustomed torture. He was patriot enough to love his whole country, though he preferred the virtuous agriculture of the South and West to the sordid trade and commerce of the East. That commerce was now imperiled by the resentments of France and the counter-measures of England. It was a time when belligerent rights were pushed to an extreme, and the rights of neutrals had but a small standing in the law of nations. Jefferson drew up a project for laying before the belligerent powers a declaration of the neutral rights of commerce claimed by the United States and of declaring war upon the first belligerent that disregarded them. As the naval supremacy of England over France was almost sure to bring her first into conflict with the declaration, it was virtually a proposal for war with her. Jefferson then resigned and went home to Monticello, free to indulge his talent for guiding his followers by the pen.

The country was drifting toward war with England, with whom then, as now, its most profitable commerce existed. The British grievances against the United States were many, some of them coming over as legacies from the time between the treaty of independence and peace and the formation of a national government, and some as late as the brief hostilities carried on from American soil by Citizen Genet. Whether early or late, they remained unredressed, and aggravated by delay. Though not proceeding to actual war, the British Government showed its opinion of the real situation by refusing for a long time to appoint a minister to the United States, or to execute the unfulfilled parts of the treaty on its part, till the new government should give some proof of its ability and disposition to perform the national obligations.

After parting company with Jefferson, Washington took the most important step of his political career. He sent Chief-justice Jay, of

the Supreme Court, to London, as a special envoy to negotiate a treaty of settlement and commerce. His act was well received at home, thus showing he had rightly judged the real sentiments of the late outburst for the French Revolution, including imitations of the Jacobin clubs of Paris and even of the costumes of the revolutionary epoch. Jay met in England what he had expected to meet—coldness, indifference, resentment, and distrust. His country was held in neither dread nor esteem. It was paying tribute to the Algerine pirates, rather than fight for the safety of its commerce in the Mediterranean. Washington was personally respected, but Jefferson was regarded as the type and leader of his countrymen—a French partisan, anxious to atone for his British descent by aiding to desolate the hearthstones of his ancestors. Jay, however, was no common man; in fact, he was a very uncommon man. It was of him that Webster said that when the judicial ermine fell upon Jay, it touched nothing less pure than itself. British statesmen in those days were often rakes, gamblers, and drunkards; but their codes of honor and of manners were very high. Jay had not the vices of a gentleman of that time, but he lacked nothing in points of honor or manners. Though Franklin and Adams had preceded him, he was the first of American diplomats to win both the personal confidence and esteem of those to whom he was accredited. With much tact and patience he extorted a treaty; for the disposition of his counter negotiators was to put off everything till they should have had it out with France, especially as British trade was flourishing as a consequence of the war, and of the distress of other belligerents and of neutrals.

In three points he failed: the freedom of neutral commerce, the privilege of West Indian Trade, and the abandonment of the right of search of American vessels for British born seamen. For what he obtained, he had to make important concessions. Washington was bitterly disappointed, and felt at first as though he had been stabbed at the table of friends. But the maimed treaty was a great gain, and as such he submitted it to the Senate, which sagaciously recognized it as a good treaty in face of the adverse circumstances, and ratified it by the necessary two-thirds majority. But its publication caused a whirlwind of passion. Jay narrowly escaped impeachment by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors; meaning treason and corruption. He and the treaty were burnt in effigy all over the country, and a designation of Washington that had become popular was changed into the insulting epithet of "stepfather of his country." Washington declared that he would rather be in his grave than be President. But he stood firm, though firmness in presence of popular agitation has been rare with our Presidents. The

treaty went into effect; it ensured peace and brought considerable prosperity, and in 1796 Washington only was thought of seriously, even by many of his late step-children, as his own successor. But he had grown deaf, the strain of the last three years had aged him beyond his time, and, believing that he would not survive another term, he resolved that the presidency should not, by his example, become a life tenure. So, in September, he issued a farewell address to his "friends and fellow citizens." It is less popularly known and read than the Declaration of Independence, being much longer, more serious, and lacking in the rhetorical attractions of Jefferson's famous production. Naturally enough, it draws on the writer's experience for topics of discussion, and refers to questions then living, but now dead, as matters of primary importance. But it pointedly assails none, and its arguments on then current matters are founded on lasting considerations. Its publication was received by the leading Republican organs with renewed outbursts of political abuse and personal calumny. Washington had singled out party spirit and foreign partisanship for especial reprobation, and his assailants believed, perhaps rightly, that he was particularly aiming at them.

The Farewell Address closed as follows:—

"After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness. The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all. The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations. The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes. Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think

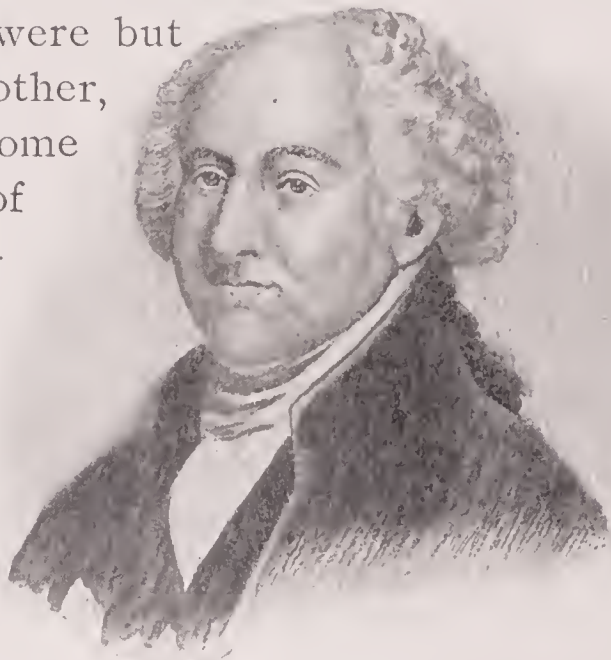
it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be in the mansions of rest. Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers."

In these first eight years of the Constitution, Hamilton, who had left the administration in 1795, had organized the national government on strong lines, and Washington, though narrowly escaping defeat, had kept the country from disastrous entanglement in the European war. But, on the whole, Jefferson had gained. Republican France had become the popular American model. Washington had been driven from stateliness to simplicity in his official and social life, and every federalist statesman with a possible future conformed outwardly to the proposition that one man was as good as another, and something better. Andrew Jackson, representative in Congress from Tennessee, in backwoods dress; rude, violent, and quarrelsome; trampling on the amenities of political, and the conventions of social life, was the admired type of a tribune of the people.

JOHN ADAMS

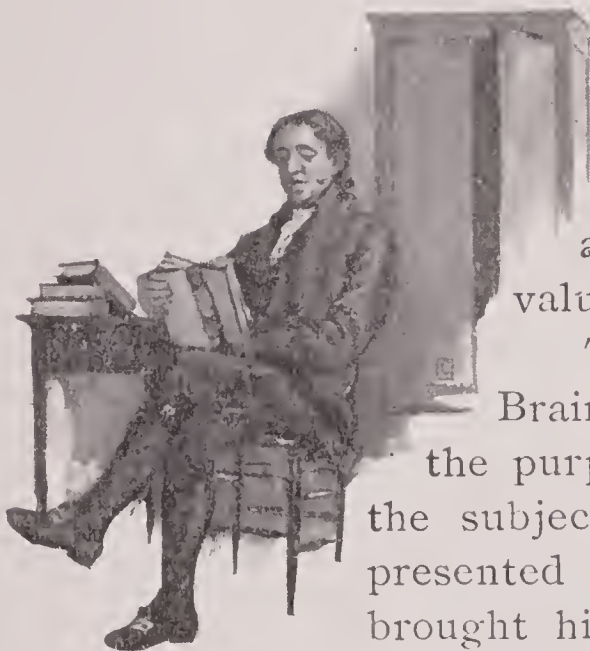
A sturdy patriot of the Revolutionary era.

ALTHOUGH the life of John Adams, second President of the United States, lacks the heroic element which pervades the life of Washington, his service to the Republic was scarcely less vital. In a historical survey of the American Revolution, and of the critical period of national organization which followed, it is sometimes forgotten that battles and patriotic declarations were but one side of the great movement. There was another, a business side, which occupied the genius of some of the greatest of the patriots. The service of John Adams to his country was distinctly a business service, involving an immense amount of detail work. He ran her errands; he procured loans for her; he wrote and legislated for her; he served her ten years abroad, at a time when her existence was scarcely recognized, and was, more than anyone else, her useful man during her period of formation.



The ancestors of John Adams were English. They settled in America in 1636, and obtained grants of land in what was afterward the township of Braintree, situated within ten miles of Boston. Here John Adams was born, on the nineteenth of October, 1735. His father was also named John Adams, and his mother was Susanna Boylston, of the neighboring town of Brookline. The family, while not wealthy, was well-to-do, according to the standard of those days. A college education was, therefore, within the reach of John Adams. In 1755 he was graduated from Harvard College, being one of a class which "in proportion to its numbers contained as many men afterward eminent in the civil and ecclesiastical departments as any class that ever was graduated from that institution." After his graduation, the question of his vocation was for a time undecided. Like other noted New Englanders, his thoughts turned toward the ministry; but, fortunately for the world, he mistrusted his temperament. His genius was intensely secular, as he was soon to discover. School-teaching was scarcely more congenial than the ministry would have been. He soon gave up his "school of affliction," as he called

it, and put himself under the tuition of a lawyer in Worcester, Massachusetts. This was in August, 1756. For two years he studied, with an occasional pipe and Ovid's "Art of Love" for relaxation. On Monday, November 6, 1758, he took the oath. After this ceremony, to use his own words, he "shook hands with the bar, and invited them over to Stone's to drink some punch, where most of us resorted, and had a very cheerful chat." This was the beginning of a most honorable legal career, as is evidenced in his own saying: "I believe no lawyer in America ever did so much business as I did afterward, in the seventeen years that I passed in the practice at the bar, for so little profit." The sterling qualities of his character compelled him always to serve the interests of others rather than his own, and it is this characteristic which gives such a luster to his patriotism.



In 1764, when he began his law practice, he married Abigail Smith, daughter of a Weymouth minister—a woman whose admirable qualities were of the utmost value to her husband during his long and difficult career.

This career had its beginning in a town meeting at Braintree, his native place. The meeting was called for the purpose of instructing the representatives of the town on the subject of the Stamp Act. The resolutions which he here presented were adopted by more than forty other towns, and brought his name into prominence. The following entry in his diary about this time witnesses to the depth of his interest in this political crisis:—

"CHRISTMAS.—At home, thinking, reading, searching concerning taxation without consent."

In 1770 he was chosen representative of the town of Boston for the general court, an office which made him chief legal adviser of the patriot party, and launched him fairly upon his political and patriotic career. He did not begin this work without misgivings.

"I was throwing away as bright prospects as any man ever had before him," he writes, "and I had devoted myself to endless labor and anxiety, if not to infamy and death, and that for nothing except what, indeed, was, and ought to be in all, a sense of duty."

His first public service was not of long duration, the city life of Boston disagreeing with him. But the die had been cast. Much as he wished to stand aloof from public affairs, the current was too strong for him. He was consulted upon all important points of controversy between the patriots and Governor Hutchinson, and never withheld his aid. The destruction of the tea in Boston harbor and

the Boston Port Bill brought about the Congress of 1774, to which he was one of the five delegates from Massachusetts. From this period he was devoted, heart and soul, to the service of his country. Private life and interests were abandoned. He became a public man, entering upon that career of difficult statesmanship which he pursued always with honor, if not always with entire wisdom. He wrote in his diary on this occasion:—

“There is a new and grand scene open before me: a Congress. This will be an assembly of the wisest men upon the continent, who are Americans in principle; that is, against the taxation of Americans by authority of Parliament. I feel myself unequal to this business. A more extensive knowledge of the realm, the colonies, and of commerce, as well as of law and policy, is necessary, than I am master of.”

He took a most active part, however, in the proceedings of the Congress, which was held in Philadelphia, upholding in all discussions the legal right of the Colonies to resist the tyranny of England. As far as can be judged from fragmentary accounts, it was a Congress of enthusiasm; but limited in its scope, and productive of little practical result. But upon Adams, at least, it had the effect of crystallizing his patriotism and defining his position to himself. At its close, he knew on what platform he stood, and why he was there. He realized, moreover, as he had never done before, how hopeless was the dream of an agreement between the Colonies and the mother country. He wrote to his wife:—

“Frugality, economy, parsimony, must be our refuge. . . . Let us eat potatoes and drink water. Let us wear canvas and undressed sheepskin, rather than submit to the unrighteous and ignominious domination that is prepared for us.”

Between the Congress of 1774 and that of 1775, Mr. Adams's most important work was his controversy through a Boston newspaper with a Tory antagonist, who wrote for the King's cause under the pen name “Massachusettensis,” Adams replying as “Novanglus.” The battle of Lexington put an end to this paper warfare, in which the patriot came off with flying colors.

The Congress of 1775 differed radically from the Congress of the year before, in the fact that it was invested with full legislative and executive powers by the unanimous will of the people. Of all its members, John Adams played the most important part, for upon him fell the full burden of resisting those who desired to present further petitions to the king of England. Through his influence, Congress was persuaded to vote for putting the Colonies in a state of defense, though with protestations that war on their part was defensive only.

He was also influential in inducing Congress to assume the responsibility of the New England army—an impromptu army of fifteen thousand men, drawn together after the battle of Lexington. To him, also, by his own claim, belongs the honor of proposing Washington as commander-in-chief of the army.

Congress then adjourned for the summer vacation. On its re-opening in September, Mr. Adams found himself an object of suspicion to the more conservative members, chiefly because two confidential letters of his, which had been intercepted by the British and published in Boston papers, were zealous for decisive measures. His prestige was not long obscured, however. The necessity for definite action was every day becoming more apparent to the nation. The petition to the king had been treated with contempt. Royal governors were deserting their posts, and the Colonies were turning to Congress for advice in the difficult business of assuming a government. John Adams was more frequently consulted on this subject than any other member, coming, as he did, from a hotbed of Republicanism, and having made a special study of the whole question. About this time he wrote "Thoughts on Government Applicable to the Present State of the American Colonies." His policy urged the adoption of self-government by each of the Colonies, and a federation of self-governing bodies, capable of treating with foreign powers—a policy, in embryo, of the future government of the United States. This he repeatedly urged upon Congress, until, on May 13, he carried through a resolution empowering the Colonies to govern themselves. Committees on a Declaration of Independence and on foreign relations were formed, Adams serving on both. As a member of the committee on the Declaration of Independence, he did valiant service, by battling for its acceptance after it had been drawn up by Jefferson. To secure its acceptance was, as he said, "the end of his creation." For three days he employed all the resources of his eloquence, attaining, if for the only time in his life, heroic heights. When the supreme triumph had been gained, he wrote to his wife:—

"I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure that it will cost us to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these states. Yet, through all the gloom I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory; I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph in this day's transaction."

The close of John Adams's labors in the Congress of 1776 marked the beginning of what might be called his "hack work" for the new-born Republic. The dignities of statesmanship were ideal, but not actual. The whole of Europe looked coldly on the little Nation

and on its representatives. The office of minister involved much labor and little honor. When, therefore, John Adams was appointed commissioner to France, in 1777, and Minister to Great Britain, in 1779, he found his task difficult. Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, was much opposed to official relations with England, lest these should lead to reconciliation. The ministerial mission to England, thwarted in one way and another, bore little fruit. A breach occurred between Great Britain and Holland, where Adams had been sojourning in the hope of securing a loan, and he obtained the appointment of Minister to Holland, on April 19, 1782. This appointment enabled him to procure later the much-desired loan of two millions of dollars from the Dutch government. The treaty of peace was then in progress between Great Britain and the United States, and it was chiefly owing to his influence that the participation of America in the fisheries was secured. In May, 1785, Adams arrived at the Court of St. James as accredited Minister from the new Republic. His sojourn in England was rendered far from agreeable by the hostile attitude of the English government. While there he wrote his most voluminous work, entitled "Defense of American Constitutions."

Upon his return to America, in 1788, Adams was elected Vice-president, having the greatest number of votes after Washington. During Washington's first administration, Adams began to make himself unpopular among extreme patriots, by his critical and unfriendly attitude toward the French Revolution. He was, however, reelected to the vice-presidency in 1792. In 1796 Washington's retirement from office opened the presidency to Adams. He had a strong rival in Jefferson; but Adams was Washington's choice, and under the patronage of that great personality he obtained the honor, after a fierce campaign. The chief issue of this campaign was the attitude of the United States toward France. Jefferson believed that America should give positive support to the French government in its quarrel with England, while Adams, like Washington, believed in maintaining a strict neutrality.

The four years of Adams's administration were years of bitter feud, and of such violent accusation of one party by another, that a clear judgment of the events is difficult. The issue of the campaign preceding the election continued uppermost throughout the administration. Adams's conservatism earned for him every conceivable title of political obloquy. His one determination, to keep the United States out of war with England and with France, exposed him to the abuse of Federalists and Republicans alike. While there was abundant cause to go to war with both these nations—England having impressed United States seamen and France having con-

fiscated United States merchandise—there were still better reasons for refraining from war.

At the beginning of Adams's administration, relations between the United States and France were of an embarrassing nature. Monroe, the Minister to France, had been recalled, and General Pinckney sent in his place. The French Directory refused to receive him. Marshall and Gerry were sent over as envoys to join Mr. Pinckney. Then came the infamous action of Talleyrand, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the French Directory. He proposed that the envoys should pay him large bribes to obtain French protection for American commerce. On their refusal, a new decree was issued against American commerce. The indignation in the United States, when these affairs became known, strengthened for a time the power of the Federalist party. The famous expression, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," was uttered by Pinckney on this occasion.

War with France was, however, finally averted. Napoleon, having overthrown the Directory and made himself First Consul, immediately began overtures of friendship toward the United States. A treaty of peace was concluded in September, 1800.

The administration of Adams is memorable for the Alien and Sedition Laws. By the first the President was empowered to send out of the country any foreigners whose presence should be considered prejudicial to the United States. The Sedition law restrained the freedom of the press, by making abuse of the government a matter of high treason. Both these laws increased the growing unpopularity of Adams. At the next election he was defeated by Jefferson.

The magnificent services rendered to his country by John Adams have been sometimes obscured by his many faults of character, his lack of tact, his impetuosity, his unguarded enthusiasm; but the longer the perspective of intervening history, the more admirable does his statesmanship appear. A greater man might have wrecked the Republic in war, in the effort to prove his patriotism; while Adams, during the French crisis, was content to endure obloquy, that he might save the nation he had helped to create. Of his quarrels with Hamilton and Jefferson, a volume might be written, without attaining a just estimate of the merits of these dissensions. It is better, in summing up the character of Adams, to put these aside and to remember chiefly the fidelity of his statesmanship and the sincerity and earnestness of his purpose.

He died on the fourth of July, 1826, a quarter of a century after his retirement from office, at the advanced age of ninety-one. On the same day, Thomas Jefferson passed from earth.

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS, 1797-1801

Hamilton would have been the proper successor of Washington. He was the undisputed head of his party and admitted to be the ablest member of it. But he was an undeniable aristocrat, though a kindly one; money-making men had grown rich out of his banking, funding, and tariff measures, though he had not; he had no personal hold upon the mass of his party, whom he had kept at a distance, preferring the part of a leader of leaders, and there was a little speck of immorality upon his personal record, that the Republicans could easily spread into an ugly blotch. So he was out of the race before he was in it. Adams had been Vice-president all the time that Washington had been President, and was in the line of promotion. That was not all, but it was something. He had been a faithful Federalist all during his period of office, and had a rather conspicuous political record as a revolutionary and confederate statesman. Still, Jay would probably have been the favorite of the federal leaders, had he not been paying the penalty that patriotism so often pays for the honor of serving a democracy.

At that time there was no separate vote in the electoral college for Vice-president. Each elector voted for two persons for the office of President. The practical arrangement was that each elector should cast one vote for the presidential candidate determined upon by himself and those with whom he acted, and that a few votes should be scattered in the second vote, so as to give the vice-presidential candidate the second place, but not to tie him with the presidential candidate. The mode of electing the President and Vice-president was an original invention of the Constitution makers, as a compromise for other plans, based more or less upon actual experience, none of which found acceptance. The plan was a dead failure from the very beginning, and though altered to provide separate voting for the vice-presidency, its electoral college remains, what it has ever been, an absurd and clumsy, and a danger and scandal-breeding device, serving no good end whatever, and capable only for mischance and mischief.

Jefferson's chances for winning the presidency were so fair, and it was so uncertain whether Adams or Pinckney, of South Carolina, could command the strongest Federal support, that Hamilton urged that each federalist elector should give one of his two votes to Adams and the other to Pinckney; subject, of course, to the constitutional provision that one of the persons voted for must not be an inhabitant of the elector's own state. This he deemed the surest way to beat

Jefferson, a matter more important than decided beforehand that Adams was to be President and Pinckney the Vice-president.

The electoral votes were 138, so that 70 were necessary to elect a President. Adams had one more, and Jefferson two less than the required majority. But Jefferson was ahead of Pinckney, and so became Vice-president.

Shortly before the election, a stroke of high politics occurred, which, if attempted now, would consign the most popular candidate to eternal oblivion. The French minister wrote an official note to the Secretary of State, grossly attacking the now expiring administration of Washington, announcing that diplomatic relations were suspended—a covert threat of war—and promising a return of amity when France should find an acceptable government in power. This official communication the minister gave to the press. It failed of its purpose to sweep Jefferson into the presidency, but it increased his vote enough to make him Vice-president, an office he did not desire.

Adams declared his policy to be to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. The first step he took in this direction was to retain, unbroken, that predecessor's cabinet. But they were Hamilton's men, and took their orders from him instead of from Adams. This they could justify by Hamilton's recognized position as the uncrowned king of the Federalists. There was not such personal feeling between Adams and Hamilton as would make trouble, but they had conflicting views of public policy. The horrors of the reign of terror, and the arrogant and insulting behavior of the French Government toward that of the United States had produced a revulsion of popular feeling; so that Jefferson and his Republican party were discredited, and became glad to make and keep themselves obscure till the storm should pass. Hamilton wished to drive home the federalist advantage by fanning the warlike feeling against France. A successful war, to back up the capacity that the party had shown in works of peace, would kill the now unpopular party of Jefferson, and ensure the government for so long a time to the Federalists that the nation would bear their mint-mark forever. But Adams preferred peace. As other Presidents have done, he shrank from the responsibility that a war throws, in excessive weight, upon presidential shoulders. The treaty with England had changed an evil into a good situation; it had been plucked out of the midst of difficulties, and a like hope and a like result were possible in the case of France. Surely, the course he contemplated was the course that Washington, his professed exemplar, would have taken under the like circumstances. It was the course that Hamilton himself had proposed, as a prelude to actual war—an alternative to war it could hardly be, since Hamilton

would have stood out for higher terms than Adams would dream about, and higher than the French would conceivably grant. The new American minister to Paris having been rejected with insult and ordered out of the country, a fresh diplomatic approach could only be made by indirection. The approach was not encouraging, but nevertheless a commission of three envoys was sent to France, where they accepted, as a disagreeable necessity, the official and social insults heaped upon them, and sought, by any practicable means, to advance the object of their mission. In the end they got, confidentially, as far as the preliminaries, which were the payment of a large indemnity to France, for alleged broken faith and a repudiated alliance, and of a big corruption fund, for the personal profit of the patriots then constituting the French Government. At the worst, Jay, in England, had been received by gentlemen like a gentleman; but there were gentlemen treated as pickpockets by pickpockets indeed. For this result had Adams petulantly ordered the reluctant envoys to leave for France by a certain day; had as petulantly dismissed his whole cabinet on a hasty charge of intriguing against him, and had passionately accused Hamilton of being in the British interest; an accusation that Hamilton repelled in terms to make Adams contemptible, if they did not make a lasting breach in the Federalist ranks.

The envoys, of course, rejected the confidential preliminaries with indignation, and were thereupon ordered to quit the country. The French had long been capturing and confiscating American vessels and cargoes on pretense of violations of belligerent rights, and they now proceeded to capture and confiscate all they could, without any pretense. The little American navy and a large number of American privateers retaliated, and a full fledged maritime war went on with the two powers, nominally at peace, though not in amity. The publication of the confidential tribute and bribery correspondence, and of the particulars of the treatment of the envoys, set America in a flame and a war fever swept over the country. England was again, for the moment, in favor; for she had behaved not unhandsomely under provocations that France could not pretend to have received. Blood, after all, was thicker than water, and ties of race and language, though strained, could not be broken. This kind of talk was pleasing to Adams and other Federalist leaders, for their model of an American republic was an improved and purified British commonwealth.

Congress voted a large army for the defense of the country, and, amid universal joy, Washington accepted its command. It never came into active service, for the fortune of war turned against France in Egypt and Italy, and eventually a treaty was made with Bonaparte, who had become the head of the French republic, and who did not

wish to be teased by an unprofitable war with the United States while carrying out his already large designs of European conquest.

Taking advantage of the prostration of the Republican party, the furore against France, and the seeming popularity of England, the Federalists passed two acts through Congress, suggested to them by recent British legislation. Under the one, the President was authorized to order out of the United States, on pain of fine and imprisonment, any alien whose presence he deemed dangerous to the public peace and safety, or whom he reasonably suspected to be concerned in treasonable or secret machinations against the national government. The other made a criminal offense to combine or conspire to oppose the lawful authority of the government, or to intimidate its officers, or to incite riot or insurrection against the federal laws, or to publish false, malicious, and scandalous writings against the government, the Senate, the House of Representatives, or the President.

Both acts, at the time of their passage, were capable of striking hard among Republican politicians and editors—for this was a period when a traveler wrote that he found many Englishmen and Frenchmen in the United States, but few Americans—it was suspected by those exposed to the acts that they were meant to strike hard at them, and this suspicion proved correct.

Powerless in Congress and in the national government, Jefferson was obliged to fall back on his doctrine of state rights, to find fighting ground against the alien and sedition acts. His party had majorities in Virginia and Kentucky, wherefore through the legislatures of those states were passed resolutions expounding a theory of the Constitution that made it a compact among the states, and claimed for them the function of holding the federal government to a strict exercise of its powers. How they were to perform this function, Jefferson did not make clear; but his able lieutenant, Madison, thought it would be by a convention of the states, whenever Congress should need to be disciplined. To such a mode of discipline Congress could hardly have objected on practical grounds, except by way of protest against unfruitful agitations; but Calhoun afterward gave the resolutions living force by claiming for each state an independent power of nullification.

The constitutional aspects of the alien and sedition laws were soon lost in their practical effects. They were sometimes unnecessarily, and often unwisely put into operation, and were grossly abused in partisan interests. Popular feeling, impulsive and therefore wrong-headed, at first, will generally come right if time for reflection be afforded it. In this case, it got enough time and had plenty of opportunity for reflection. So it came right, and though the Federalists repented them of the laws, it proved a death-bed repentance.

Hamilton was opposed to a second term for Adams, a stout, florid, vigorous man; quick tempered and touchy; dogmatic, bookish, and rather priggish; with the making in him of a good trial court lawyer, head master of an academic school, or a pulpit preacher. A man of iron integrity; and effective speaker and a masterly writer; having a decided aptitude for and much experience in statesmanship; but an impracticable politician unless he could be led or driven, which was quite out of the question. Federalist faction, strife and folly had brought the party fortunes lower than the safety point; but they were not desperate by comparison with the prospects of Jefferson, whose candidacy was the one only danger signal. To make sure against him, Hamilton turned to Washington, who was appreciative of the motive and sympathetic with the object; but he had personal reasons enough, in age and infirmity, to recoil from another term in the presidency, while his sentiments about party—neither modified nor mollified by what he had witnessed since his retirement—would forbid his standing for election as a party candidate, a character which the existing circumstances would have compelled him to assume. He died while Federalist suggestions were still reaching him of his duty to his country, and his country found a common theme for all opinions in paying due reverence and honor to his memory.

Jefferson, the Republican candidate for the presidency, and Burr, the intended Vice-president, each received 73 votes. Adams had 65, and Pinckney, the choice of Hamilton, 64 votes. This threw the election into the House of Representatives, where the vote was to be by states, and had to be confined to Jefferson and Burr, because they had a majority of the electoral votes. The Federalists had been defeated by the electoral vote of South Carolina, one of their sure states, and the home of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the preferred candidate of Hamilton. Until they heard of this surprising defection, they were confident that they had won.

Two plans were successively devised to defeat the election of Jefferson. The first was to keep the house balloting without result till the offices of President and Vice-president should become vacant by the expiration of the terms of the existing incumbents, and so force a new election, which the Federalists might carry. The Federalists were strong enough to do this, but the people outside the House were stronger, and would have no juggling of that sort with the Constitution. It was soon given up, and no Federalist leader was willing to admit that he had so much as heard of it. Whoever devised it paid Hamilton the tribute of not submitting it to him. The second plan was to choose Burr for President and reduce Jefferson to the vice-presidency. This was partly defeated by Hamilton, who wrote to his

friends in Congress that if hatred were allowable in any case, he ought to hate Jefferson, while personally he had always stood well with Burr. But the public good was paramount to every private consideration, and upon intimate and accurate knowledge, he declared that the election of Burr would be the elevation of a desperate and profligate man. It was partly defeated by Burr, who having first intrigued with Republicans to get an equal electoral vote with Jefferson, was now intriguing with Federalists to reap the fruits of his first intrigue. Fearful that Hamilton's influence would prevail, he drew back from giving a pledge of turning Federalist in such a form as would expose him to his own party if he should fail of election. As it happened, his fear was groundless; for a majority of Federalists believed there was more "public good" in electing Burr under any kind of a promise to turn his coat than to elect Jefferson on the honest grounds proposed by Hamilton. But a distinct pledge some of them would have, while Burr feared to give it, and after a long struggle Jefferson was chosen. The truth could not long be hid; the Federalists who had intrigued with Burr brought shame on their whole party, and Burr was politically ruined.

Jefferson, of all public men, had divined how surely matters were moving his way. He could not have foreseen how much they were to be hastened by events of the late administration; but when they came he held his followers back, and let federal dissension and maladministration run their full course. In the darkest days of his party he retained a lively faith in the coming of the popular democracy, and his own call to guide its course. But the democracy and the call came four years sooner than he had latterly expected. They had not come with a rush, yet, with the small opening allowed it, the Constitution had already grown large and strong. Now, his mission was to help personal liberty, and state rights, the guardians of that liberty to grow large and strong.

PRESIDENCY OF JEFFERSON, 1801-1809

JEFFERSON was inaugurated in the new city of Washington, as yet almost unbuilt. He went to the capitol with a small military escort and, in the presence of Congress, read his inaugural address in a low and monotonous voice. Its moderation was a disappointment to his friends and a surprise to his enemies. Without calling names, he buffeted the Federalists a bit, and he glossed over what he admitted to be "the blood and slaughter" of the French reign of terror. But the general tone of the address was conciliatory and conservative. He held out the olive branch to the Federalists, and was respectful

and even gracious to the Federal Constitution. As he henceforth had to act, as well as think and write, he had constructed a sort of working chart, which he included in his address. It has cut a large figure in our political life, its very words and order of arrangement being often borrowed for present needs, and portions of it sometimes honestly offered as original contributions to political discussion, so completely has the whole become a part of the common stock of political maxims.

The chart embraces equal justice to everybody; peace and friendship with all nations but no alliances; state rights in domestic affairs; the general government in full constitutional vigor, for peace at home and safety abroad; prompt remedy of public evils, to avoid revolution; submission of the minority to the majority; an effective militia; civil supremacy over military authority; public economy, that labor be not oppressed; honest payment of public debts; sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information; the arraignment of abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion, of the press and of person; the protection of habeas corpus, and trial by impartial juries. In brief, "a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

The first difficulty that confronted the new President was one of patronage. Partly on patriotic and partly on political grounds, the public offices had been almost exclusively filled by Federalists. With the Republicans in power, this was a hard state of things to defend or maintain. In the state of New York, Vice-president Burr had built up an efficient party machine, the workers of which were compensated by public office or employment. That was too far for Jefferson to go, either as a patriot or philosopher. Pathetically complaining of office holders, as a class, that few die and none resign, he set himself anxiously at the task of relieving what he felt to be an intolerable situation, without debasing the public service to the character of a feed trough. In the end, he settled upon the plan of removing Federalists, on the ground that they had forfeited their right to retention in the service of the whole people, and those who had been rushed into office in the closing days of the late administration, on the ground that as they had been crowded in for party reasons they might justly be crowded out for the same cause.

The great act of Jefferson's administration was the purchase from France of the vast territory known under the general name of Louisiana, from which so many states have since been formed. He could not have believed that he, or even Congress, under the Consti-

tution, had the power to acquire this territory; but he knew that the West must have an outlet to the sea, by way of the Mississippi, under the auspices of the United States, or that it would break from the Union and take care of itself. To assure the Union, and incidentally to give room for the expansion of ages, he affected to see implied powers in the Constitution that drove the last nail, logically speaking, into the coffin of strict construction. Perhaps he felt that he and his party might be trusted to see when the Constitution meant more than it said. He certainly would not have allowed Adams and the Federalists the like discretion.

Jefferson was personally popular and conducted the government on popular lines. He made great retrenchments in public expenses and abolished a multitude of offices, which he was able to do because the displaced officials were nearly all Federalists. When sinecure offices are held by the party in power, their abolition, except through fear of the voters at the next election, is almost impossible. This is one argument for a stable civil service, which no party would have a lively interest in unduly swelling. Jefferson, as author of the Declaration of Independence, could not have foreseen that his accusation against the British king of creating a multitude of officers, to eat out the substance of the people, would find a truer example generations later, when the amount of bread taken from the mouth of labor, to meet the exactions of national, state, and municipal governments, would give to this country the distinction of paying more for government than any other civilized people, and getting less than any other in proportion to what is paid.

It was not so much patriotism as loss of place and privilege that made many Federalists despair of the future, and engaged some of their leaders in the design of separating New York and New England from the Union, to form a new confederacy, of the elect and enlightened. It was characteristic of Burr, holder of second place in the Republican party, to be hand and glove with these seceders. It was also characteristic of Hamilton to oppose the scheme to the uttermost. It was the last of many services to his adopted country, for in this new crossing of his designs Burr found his opportunity of dragging Hamilton to the gentlemanly murder to which he had already destined him. Considering the treatment received in his lifetime by Jay, who had rescued his country from an impending and desolating war, it was quite fitting that when Hamilton got the post-mortem honor of a statue, his own descendants should provide it.

Jefferson's first administration was one of the most successful and prosperous that the country has known. Population grew apace, agriculture and commerce flourished, public expenditure was light, the

revenue was abundant, and the national debt was paid off so fast that Jefferson proposed an amendment of the Constitution in behalf of public improvements and national education to dispose of the surplus that threatened soon to become an embarrassment. Tariff duties were already low, except on luxuries, and he expressed the belief that the wealthy who paid the high duties would prefer an enlargement of the beneficent powers of the general government while he was at its head.

During Jefferson's first term the Constitution was amended to provide for distinct votes in the electoral college for President and Vice-president. Burr was, of course, dropped from the Republican ticket and thereafter became, financially, socially, and politically, an adventurer. But the magnetic power that he had always exercised over men and women remained and he engaged in a vast and obscure enterprise, having for its possible ulterior object the creation of an independent power in the Southwest, and for its ultimate objection a gratification of his love for intrigue and power, and a command of the persons and fortunes of his victims. Putting forth the strong power of the national government that Jefferson kept in reserve for emergencies, the latter broke up the enterprise, arrested Burr and his leading confederates by military authority at New Orleans, and brought him to an unsuccessful trial for treason. It was never known certainly whether Burr meant a large scheme of colonization, as he claimed, or as aggression on Spanish-America, or a secession of the West; but Jefferson gave him a final fall and, incidentally, proved that the Federal Government was powerful enough to defend its own integrity, and perform its international obligations.

Jefferson and his party were less successful in a raid on the Supreme Court, the judges of which were all Federalists. Justice Chase was impeached by the House and tried by the Senate, for alleged arbitrary and oppressive conduct while holding a circuit court in Maryland, for the trial of indictments under the late alien and sedition acts. The impeachment failed, after it had degenerated into a mere partisan contest, in which Burr, as president of the Senate, had thrown the power of his office to the Federalists. Stung by their defeat, the Republicans tried to amend the Constitution so as to increase the powers and facilities of impeachment, but in this they also failed. Before these failures occurred, the presidential election of 1804 had been held, in which the Federalists had carried only Connecticut and Delaware.

When Jefferson began his second term the Napoleonic wars were in full progress, involving nearly the whole of Europe. The Jay treaty had expired and was not renewed. In striking hard at each other, France and England incidentally struck hard at the flourishing

commerce of the United States. Both relentlessly exercised the right of search of American vessels for enemy or contraband goods, even up to the mouths of American harbors. Privateering flourished, or rather piracy flourished under the name of privateering, and as Americans largely engaged in this warfare under one belligerent flag or another, the losses of regular commerce were in some measure recouped. The naval resources of the country were so abundant and flexible that, if put forth, the United States could have compelled recognition of unsupported diplomacy. But a strong navy the Republicans would not have. It meant increased taxes, and agriculture, amid which the Republican strength mainly lay, had not yet found out that its fortunes were bound up with those of its handmade commerce.

International law did not at that time recognize the right of a citizen of one country to change his allegiance to another without the consent of his own sovereign. The United States, as a new country, needing immigration, was striving hard for the contrary principle. This made more trouble with Great Britain, whose warships and privateers were constantly taking English speaking seamen from American vessels, who could not establish on the spot their American birth. The claim was pushed to an extremity when the British frigate "Leopard" forcibly brought to the American frigate "Chesapeake," and mustering her crew, took away four seamen as British subjects. While giving the British Government time to hear of and disavow this act, Jefferson, by proclamation, withdrew the hospitality of American ports from British warships.

Naturally unwilling to drift into a possibly simultaneous war with France and Great Britain in behalf of American commerce, Jefferson hit upon the device of backing up his incessant diplomatic pressure on both governments by getting Congress to prohibit American vessels from engaging in foreign commerce, and foreign vessels from taking cargoes in the United States. This was a hard blow at the Eastern States and gave renewed and genuine life to the feeling there for breaking away from any further political union with the South and West. Foreign commerce, however, was so profitable that a great deal of it was carried on, despite French and British depredations upon it, and the penalties of the embargo act.

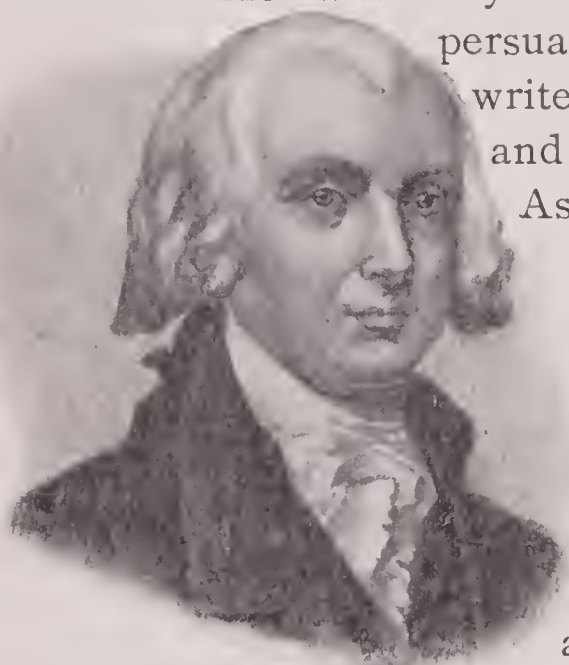
Presidential nominations were at that time made by congressional caucuses. Madison, the right arm of Jefferson for years past, was the Republican choice, after Jefferson had firmly declined nomination for a third term. He was getting tired, and disliked a life tenure of the presidency. The popular election again went strongly for the Republicans, so far as the whole country was concerned. But the handwriting on the wall in New England was plainly to be read.

New England the Federalists carried, and their next step would have been to carry New England out of the Union. This, Jefferson and his party averted by hastily amending the embargo act, so as to limit it to England and France. The principle of the act was saved, and the practical strain of it was relieved by the combined effect of the lawful and unlawful commerce.

In 1806, during Jefferson's administration, while Gallatin was so encouraged by the accumulation of the surplus in the treasury there was begun, upon his recommendation, the first national work of internal improvement, the Cumberland Road, by which it was intended to open up the public lands in Ohio and the country to the west and was supposed to be paid for by the proceeds of these public lands. It was a portion of a great system of internal improvements suggested by Gallatin. It was proposed that the isthmuses of Cape Cod, New Jersey, Upper Delaware, and North Carolina should be cut by canals. That roads be built from Maine to New Orleans by way of Georgia, and from Washington to Detroit and St. Louis. The plan devised would involve the estimated expenditure of twenty millions and this was provided for by ten annual instalments. The proposal appealed to Jefferson with so much force that he went so far as to recommend a constitutional amendment be made to promote the prosecution of the work. The vast scheme faded away as the surplus in the treasury grew less and the only portion of it that was then undertaken was the Cumberland Road and this was built by means of small appropriations. It takes its name from the eastern terminus, Cumberland on the Potomac, thence it passes to Wheeling, over the Alleghanies, thence to Columbus, Ohio, and thence cutting through Indiana and Illinois to Jefferson, Missouri. It was actively supported in Congress by Henry Clay and it is due to his efforts and persistent advocacy that the road ever reached Wheeling and passed into the state of Ohio. By 1812 over \$200,000 had been expended on it. In 1834 and 1835 appropriations were made by Congress to be expended upon it in the way of repairs previous to handing it over to the states through which it passed, on conditions that they would keep it up. The surplus in the treasury was swept away by the effects of the embargo act. There is no doubt that Jefferson chose this as an alternative to war. The expenditures that he could be induced to make toward the navy were purely defensive, and his attitude on this question, while it was not conducive to fame on the roll of history, it nevertheless was a step toward humanity whereby Jefferson sacrificed his popularity in his sincere effort to find a bloodless substitute for war. The suffering that commerce sustained by the embargo act shattered Jefferson as an idol of the people, but in a short time he recovered his reputation and his influence over public opinion.

JAMES MADISON

President when the British burned the White House.



MADISON has come down to us in popular history as one of the greatest of statesmen and smallest of Presidents. Both portraits are exaggerations. Talent, however distinguished, cannot make a statesman great without genius, and genius Madison never had. He was very learned, very philosophical; quite eloquent in a calm, persuasive way; and an elegant though somewhat tedious writer, in times when political writings were eagerly read, and had much more influence than they now possess. As the originator of the movement that led to the formation of the Federal Union, he gained the title of "Father of the Constitution," and so it came about that he was reputed to have had the principal part in the shaping of the Constitution, which was not the fact. He wrote so much on the public affairs of his generation, that his writings — which remained to us after he and his contemporaries had passed away, and have been much used by historians and public men — give him a larger appearance than he bore on the actual stage. Lastly, as the lieutenant of Jefferson in public life, while Jefferson was in nominal retirement before his presidency, he came to be regarded as a co-founder with Jefferson of the Democratic party, and the growth of Jefferson's fame, in after years, gave Madison's reputation as a statesman an increase by the process of reflection.

Madison was one of those men of good private fortune, of whom so many gave themselves to the service of the country in its early days, when it had much need of them, and had little but appreciation with which to pay them for surrendering all other interests to a public career. He went from his home in Virginia to Princeton College at eighteen and remained three years, taking private, as well as collegiate, instruction. He returned an excellent scholar, but with broken health from excessive study, and it took him many years to recover. In 1775, at the age of twenty-four, he began to be locally prominent as a patriot leader, and four years later was sent as a delegate to Congress. He was not satisfied with the "league of friendship," established in 1781 by the Articles of Confederation, and made

various proposals for extending and strengthening the powers of Congress. In 1783, the war ended, we find him in the Virginia legislature, opposing the reckless issues of paper money and the confiscation of private debts due to British subjects. In 1785 he started the movement that, two years later, brought about the convention at Philadelphia, by which the now existing form of government was created. There his early proposals settled the Federal plan, under which the states were to preserve their organization and local sovereignty, and a central government was to be devised for national purposes. Agreeably to a lifelong and laborious habit, he made notes of all the proceedings, which are often useful in interpreting the Constitution. After the convention had done its work, he joined Hamilton and Jay in writing the eighty-five numbers of the serial entitled "The Federalist on the New Constitution," the object of which was to explain to the people the merits of the new scheme of government, and to argue away the objections and prejudices raised against it.

In Virginia the popular leaders, and the people themselves, were hot against the new system, but, after a long struggle, Madison's eloquence and persuasive address carried the ratification. The resentment of the minority was so strong that they defeated his election as one of the two senators in the first Federal Congress. His own people, however, elected him to the House of Representatives, where he sat for eight years. This first Congress had to organize the various departments of government, and to prepare the "personal liberty" amendments which, by general consent, were to be immediately added to the Constitution. All this important work was admirably done, and Madison was conspicuously engaged in it.

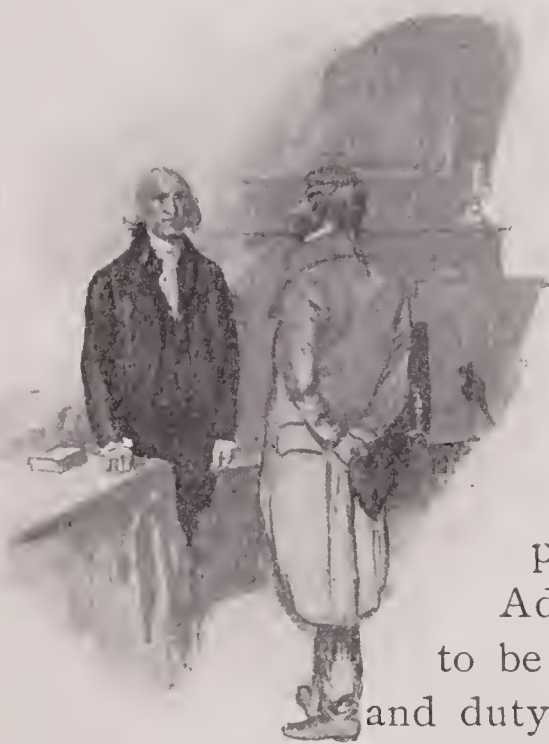
Thus far he had been in general agreement with Hamilton, the animating genius of the new government. But he opposed Hamilton's recommendation that the continental scrip, almost worthless, should be redeemed at its face value. He argued that it would be giving an enormous profit to the speculative holders, which Hamilton admitted, but contended that it was of more importance to establish the public credit by paying exactly the amount which the scrip promised on its face. Hamilton's argument prevailed and has prevailed ever since. Madison also opposed the assumption of the war debts of the states, on the ground that it would be carrying the constitutional power of the government too far. On this Hamilton failed by two votes in the House of Representatives, but he made a bargain with Jefferson, under which the war debts were to be assumed, and the national capital was to be established on the banks of the Potomac, where some of the Southerners wanted it. This bargain made a great clamor, which was increased by the profits made by the holders of

the continental and state war debts, out of their conversion into the Federal stock.

Having drifted away from the bold and dangerous Hamilton, who had also carried a congressional charter for a national bank, Madison attached himself politically to Jefferson. The two had long been friends, and, indeed, Madison was always on terms of friendship with political adversaries and allies alike, and seems never to have made a personal enemy in the whole of his public life. At the end of 1793, Jefferson left Washington's Cabinet and went home to Virginia, to organize and spread the opposition to a free construction of the Constitution, and to the aristocratic and British tendencies of the administration. Except for Madison in Congress, he would have been without a man of first-rate talent and reputation in public life to support him. As Jefferson's party rose and strengthened, Madison, as its ostensible leader, grew in public importance. He did the debating and pamphleteering, while Jefferson conducted a personal correspondence with the leaders in the states. While the popular tendency was toward Jefferson, the political ability of the country was nearly all on the side of the Federalists, and their policy had the powerful support of Wash-

ington, though he declined to be a party man. Madison, therefore, could score no direct success in Congress, but he was successful in so conducting the opposition there as constantly, if gradually, to increase the disaffection in the country. He went down with his party for the time being, under the revulsion of feeling caused by the excesses of the French Revolution, and, retiring from Congress in 1797, he appeared the next year as the author of the resolutions of the Virginia legislature against the alien and sedition laws, passed in the second year of the presidency of John Adams. These resolutions held the Federal Constitution to be a compact among the states, and that it was the right and duty of the states to hold the general government down to a strict exercise of the limited powers conferred upon it. More than thirty years afterward, Madison was compelled to protest against the perversion of these resolutions to the uses of Calhoun and the nullifiers.

Under Adams, the Federalists wasted their strength and fine prospects in less than four years, so that, in 1800, Jefferson defeated him in the presidential election. This brought Madison back to the seat of government as Secretary of State, which office he held throughout Jefferson's two terms and certainly adorned. He had all the intellectual qualifications for the place, and his personal disposition was singularly suited to the business of diplomacy. Upon him fell the



preparation for the negotiation with France, which unexpectedly ended with the purchase of the vast territory then known as Louisiana. But he had no success in the negotiations with Great Britain, which would not surrender its claimed rights of search and impressment, and, as Jefferson would not hear of war, he had to acquiesce in the latter's policy of an embargo on all foreign trade, which ruined American commerce and did no appreciable harm to Great Britain.

Before his inauguration, Madison learned from party friends in the East that New England would certainly leave the Union if the embargo were not raised. It was, therefore, replaced by a non-intercourse act, which permitted foreign trade with other countries besides France and Great Britain, and permitted it with them as soon as they should recall their obnoxious decrees against neutral rights. The French government did so in form, but gave private orders to the contrary, and a new British minister at Washington, exceeding his instructions, made the same engagement for his government, which, as soon as possible, repudiated his agreement and recalled him. For the moment, however, Madison was able to assure the country that its commerce was free, and he and Jefferson could congratulate each other on the supposed success of the former's policy of making war without it. The truth was soon out, and the situation was then worse than ever.

Napoleon was willing that America should trade with France, if she would not trade with Great Britain. The latter was permitted to trade with its own colonies but not to trade with France. The French confiscated American vessels and cargoes caught engaged in the British trade, and the British did the like with vessels and cargoes engaged in the French trade. As privateering was still lawful and very prevalent, the way in which the official decrees of the two governments were executed was often little better than piracy. Yet there was a profitable commerce, especially with Great Britain and her colonies, under protection of the British navy, which had swept the French navy from the seas. The French trade was also profitable, since a majority of the vessels and cargoes engaging in it escaped capture. The war risks made freight charges high, and the commodities carried outward and inward brought good prices. This was the commerce that Jefferson had prostrated by his embargo, and which Madison for a moment dreamed that he had restored, and released from further risks. When undeceived, a repeal of the non-intercourse act would have put matters back on their old footing and so relieved the pressure in New England.

But New England was the Federalist stronghold, and the Republicans — by which name the Jefferson party was then called — were

not concerned for New England or interested in commerce. Outside the commercial interests, popular feeling was influenced against England, and not altogether without cause. Yet England was fighting for life against Napoleon, who was putting forth almost the combined strength of Europe against her, and for eight years under Jefferson, the policy and conduct of the United States had been as unfriendly and damaging as possible, without coming to open war. British aggression upon American neutral rights had not been as lawless or insolent as the aggression of Napoleon, who recognized no law but his own will, and, failing to put off his bad manners as he put on greatness, had been as rude as he was violent. His injuries and insults were received with meekness, and upon the contrast the British government could put but one interpretation. The change from Jefferson to Madison could not be supposed to alter the unfriendly disposition of the American government, nor did it in fact. In courting peace, both Presidents had the like motive of averting war, and the same persuasion that Napoleon, cut off from the sea, could render no help to the United States, even if he could be trusted as an ally.

The "war hawks" of Madison's party were more logical than himself. He was continually giving them reasons why they ought to fight, and fight they would. At the worst they would get Canada—no small matter, since manifest destiny was pointing out the young republic as the future mistress of the continent. At the best they would get Canada and a big indemnity, out of which the traffic-loving New Englanders could be satisfied. Not all the Republicans, however, were in favor of war. There were enough "submission men," as the war faction called them, to maintain peace by coalition with the Federalists. So the "war hawks," who had been coquetting with De Witt Clinton, as a war candidate against Madison, let the President know that he could have a renomination by coming over to their side. It was a hard price to pay, but he paid it. He was not willing to go down in history as a one-term failure, like Adams. Naturally, Clinton was not satisfied that the bargain should be transferred from his willing hands to the unwilling substitute. He threatened and made trouble, but the most he could do was to transfer himself over to the peace party by an arrangement with his enemies, the Federalists.

Madison prepared the way for war by a message to Congress, revealing an alleged conspiracy by the British government to detach New England from the Union and join it to Canada. This he followed up a little later by another message, reviewing the course of affairs from 1803, when war was renewed between France and Great Britain, declaring that they constituted a state of war on the part of Great Britain toward the United States, and suggesting that Congress

should put the United States in a like attitude toward Great Britain. An act declaring that war existed was accordingly passed, and signed by the President on June 18, 1812. After this he was nominated for a second term and elected over Clinton, the peace candidate.

Having been dragged into war against his own judgment, and being unpossessed of any dominating qualities, Madison let the war leaders take things into their own hands, and, there being no firm head, political jobbery in army appointments and contracts had too much sway. The little navy, starved as it had been for ten years, did well from the beginning, and if men enough could have been obtained for the army, the capable leaders who gradually made their way upward might have effected something lasting. But the overthrow of Napoleon in Europe, the disaffection in New England, the general distress, the financial straits of the government, and the coldness of those whose zeal was necessary to maintain the war, made the situation hopeless. When England, freed from the Napoleonic danger, began to throw her might into the war, Madison called on his envoys to make the best peace they could, but in any event to make peace. The terms they got were just what had been offered by the British Cabinet at the beginning of the war, and which Madison had rejected as inadequate. Jackson's marvelous victory at New Orleans came too late to be of any practical use. Great Britain retained, in form at least, the right of search and impressment, which made Clay—chief of the "war hawks," and one of the envoys—declare the treaty shameful, but he signed it: his dream of the conquest of Canada had proved a delusion, and so left him without further interest in the war.

With the return of peace, Madison came again to the front, being no longer troubled by "war hawks." He was statesman enough to turn the unprofitable war into a good peace, made an advantageous commercial treaty with Great Britain, and became even cordial toward that lately detested country. His party had gotten quite away from Jefferson's principles, and voted in Congress for a national bank and a protective tariff, reproducing the arguments of the detested Hamilton in their favor. His old political rival, Monroe, had been more than his right arm during the trying times of his presidency, and to him he bequeathed the succession and made the bequest good. Then he retired to his beautiful estate in Virginia, where he lived nearly twenty years, honored by both parties as a sage, and the accepted oracle of the Constitution, which, upon his impulse, had come into being to bless and magnify the nation.



PRESIDENCY OF MADISON, 1809-1817

Madison was 58 when he became President; a small, neat, affable man, of faultless manners; a man of affluence, and accustomed all his life to good living and good society. His association with Hamilton and Jay in the authorship of "The Federalist" has disposed political and historical writers to rank him high as a statesman and philosopher, without much scrutiny into his actual claims by comparison with others. A favorite way of estimating him is to rate him with Hamilton; but, ill temper omitted, he was nearer to Adams. Where Hamilton intuitively grasped the heart of a matter, Madison proceeded, by sure, slow courses, to a provable result. Hamilton had the full courage of his convictions; Madison had convictions without daring. He had been very delicate in earlier life and, though his health improved with years, he remained shrinking and timid in disposition. Never willingly a party man, he was sympathetically a Federalist till he came under the influence of Jefferson, and became the latter's chief deputy. To Jefferson he was a great prize, being more of a practical statesman than his patron, and intellectually a giant among Jefferson's poorly furnished following. The latter somewhat weakened his own policy and his party in the later years of his administration, in carrying out his fixed determination that Madison should succeed him; but the debt was one of honor, to say the least.

Up to his own time, Madison has been the weakest of our presidents. His want of firmness led to his accepting in large part, a cabinet pressed upon him from outside, and which did not represent either his judgment or his preference. He inherited from Jefferson the trouble caused by the late embargo act, which had produced real distress among the commercial and maritime classes during the time it was vigorously enforced, and had left a sour disposition in the victims after its modification.

The non-intercourse act against France and Great Britain provided that if either power should recall the decrees obnoxious to American trade, the act should be suspended as to commerce with that power. Napoleon did this in form, though without the least change in practice; but the pretense gave Madison the opportunity of lifting the embargo as to trade with France. This left England the only ostensible offender. She had always been the larger offender; because her sea power was greater than that of France, the commerce with her was greater, and she had exercised the right of impressment in a measure that hurt American interest and feeling. Yet her sea power had been much used in protecting American commerce with herself

against the confiscating decrees of Napoleon, and in the scramble for seamen her own merchantmen and men of war had often been crippled by wholesale desertion to more lucrative American merchant service.

That Madison had much faith in the sincerity of the Napoleonic rescission is unlikely; but it gave him the occasion to put diplomatic pressure on England for a like rescission on her part, whereby, in form at least, American commerce would be restored to a good footing, legally, and lawfully exposed only to the ordinary war risks. This he believed he would be able to do, and he had fair ground for his belief. At that time, 1810, Napoleon was at his strongest, with only Great Britain and the Spanish guerillas standing out against him, and both sorely distressed. The British Government knew that the French emperor's pretended rescission of his decree was meant only to embroil England in a war with America, and though it would be hard for Great Britain to relax the fearful pressure she was exerting against him by sea, whence alone she could injure him, she would certainly have made concessions to avoid actual war. True, she was slow; but she was then fighting for her national existence, and what that means Americans have known ever since their own Civil War.

However the matter might otherwise have turned out, the conduct of it was taken out of Madison's hands through his own timidity. He had removed his incompetent Secretary of State, in order to make room for James Monroe, the man of greatest diplomatic experience and capacity then in the country. But in the Congress that met in November, 1811, there was a group of young members that in time came to be known as the War Hawks. Their leader was Henry Clay, of Kentucky, then a backwoods state; a tall, blue eyed, light haired, fresh complexioned man of 34; of winning presence, engaging manners, and fascinating address. In a long public life, he was never profound; nor ever had to be, since he could talk black into being white before anybody else could demonstrate its true color. Clay had a policy; an important matter in the case of a man of such popular attributes; doubly important when he was chosen to the powerful office of speaker of the House. He was an ardent Republican, and not satisfied with the position or prospects of the party since Jefferson's weakening device of the embargo, he wished for a popular war to give the party renewed luster and power. He was a man of the West, caring little or nothing for the commerce so dear to New England; but caring much for an expansive policy that would make his country mistress of the North American continent. His plan of warfare did not require a navy, with which the United States was almost unprovided. He would strike at England through Canada and over-

whelming her resistance there, would carry the northern boundary of the United States to the polar seas. Could he have begun early enough he might have succeeded; but Madison, backed by Monroe, was not to be pushed aside in a moment, and England and Canada had some little time for preparation. Had Madison resisted longer there would have been no war; for the British Government gave up its obnoxious orders against neutral commerce under pressure of the critical situation. The right of search and impressment it had not given up, and, when Monroe fell away from him on these points, Madison surrendered and war was declared.

Canada was not conquered, nor ever in serious danger; but the settled frontiers on both sides were badly ravaged, and for women and children, the aged and the feeble, the inevitable horrors of war were intensified by the rigors of climate and the hardships of a rude life in new and comparatively wild regions, as well as by the employment of Indian savages. Toronto, then called York, was captured and the provincial buildings and other public property were destroyed by the Americans, in retaliation for which Washington was captured, and the national buildings and other public property were destroyed by the British. Of martial glory, on land and sea, there was enough for both sides; more falling to the share of the Americans; but the war bore very distressingly on the United States. The difficulty of obtaining soldiers, the financial straits of the government, and the great number of Americans engaged in disloyal trade and traffic, showed how little popular affection there was toward the war. As might be expected from so feeble an administration, the mismanagement, jobbery, and corruption were frightful, and might almost excuse people for refusing to join in a profitless exercise of personal valor with the few that were in the field and afloat. The unexpected fall of Napoleon and the establishment of a strong British blockade of the American seaports led Madison to adopt a wail of despair in his communications to Congress, and as the War Hawks were by this time dismayed at the outcome of their work, there was no difficulty in pushing the measures for peace. As Great Britain had not wished the war, and could not possibly have profited by it had she been completely successful from start to finish, there was no waste of time on her part. But her plenipotentiaries would not agree to surrender the rights of search and impressment, and the American plenipotentiaries yielded the point. So the peace was made with matters left on paper as they were before. But the peace that fell upon Europe afforded no occasion for any further claim of the rights, and they expired as peacefully as though they had been given up by treaty.

The war had several important and lasting results:—

First, it renewed the American dislike of England that had measurably died out since the Revolution, and which was afterward to be fed by the accession of many foreign elements to the population, that did not look upon England as the Motherland, like the original American stock.

Secondly, it made bad feeling between Americans and Canadians, and has prevented their ever coming together in a way suitable to neighbors and relations.

Thirdly, it gave rise to the first important manufacturing interest in the United States, and so opened the door to that policy of protection against foreign competition that has ever since played a great part in our political history.

Fourthly, the glorious performances of the little American navy changed popular indifference into popular adulation, and made and has kept the United States a naval power.

Fifthly, the remarkable victory gained at New Orleans over some 12,000 of Wellington's Peninsular veterans, by a mere handful of untrained but dead-shot riflemen, brought on the reign—for it was nothing less—of Andrew Jackson; since whose time the "common people" have discarded the idea of political leadership by gentlemen born, which lasted all the way down from Washington to John Quincy Adams, and have substituted for it the extreme democratic idea of "the poor boy" as the best material for the making of Presidents.

Madison was elected to a second term while the war was in progress. The Federalists had opposed the war, and were anxious to conclude it on any terms. As "peace at any price" men they were denounced as traitors, and the name stuck to them, although their rivals made exactly the kind of peace for which they had clamored. Their convention at Hartford was controlled by the Conservative members, who did not desire a dissolution of the Union, but did desire some guarantee of fairer treatment of their sectional interests than they had received during the more than twelve years of Jefferson and Madison. There were disunionists in the convention, though they got no comfort from the resolutions finally carried. But on the heels of the convention came the news of the great victory of New Orleans, and, soon after, the more joyful news of the treaty of peace made in Europe. The Federalists were too late with their convention and their resolutions. The calamitous war had ended in a blaze of glory, and the peace they demanded had come without their procurement. So the Republican press and politicians opened on them viciously; they went down, as a party, to rise no more, and even history has been unkind to them in misrepresenting the object and

character of their famous convention. All that remain of the Federalists are the memory of their great leader, Hamilton, and their masterly organization of the government under the Constitution, which their rivals and successors left substantially untouched.

After the war, the Republicans went again into the camp of their enemy, and as they had lately filched from the Federalists their "peace at any price" policy, so they now appropriated the policies of a national bank and a protective tariff. If Madison had recalled the time when he was "Jefferson's right arm," he might have signed the bills with his left hand, out of respect to the metaphor.

In 1810 the third census of the United States was taken and showed a total population of 7,215,791, and an increase of over 36½ per cent. over the population as shown by the census returns of 1800 and they were distributed as follows:—

NORTH

	WHITE	FREE BLACK	SLAVE
Connecticut	255,279	6,453	310
Illinois	11,501	613	168
Indiana.....	23,890	393	237
Maine.	227,736	969
Massachusetts.....	465,303	6,737
Michigan	4,618	120	24
New Hampshire	213,300	970
New Jersey.....	226,861	7,843	10,851
New York.....	918,699	25,333	15,017
Ohio	228,861	1,899
Pennsylvania	786,804	22,492	795
Rhode Island.....	73,314	3,609	108
Vermont.	216,963	750
	3,653,219	78,181	27,510

SOUTH

	WHITE	FREE BLACK	SLAVE
Delaware.....	55,361	13,136	4,177
District of Columbia	16,079	2,549	5,395
Georgia	145,414	1,801	105,218
Kentucky.	324,237	1,713	80,561
Louisiana.....	34,311	7,585	34,660
Maryland	235,117	33,927	111,502
Mississippi	23,024	240	17,088
Missouri.....	17,227	607	3,011
North Carolina.....	376,410	10,266	168,824
South Carolina.....	214,196	4,554	196,365
Tennessee.....	215,875	1,317	44,535
Virginia	551,534	30,517	392,518
	2,208,785	108,265	1,163,854

WAR OF 1812

IN JUNE, 1812, war was declared by the United States against Great Britain. This war grew out of the British orders in council, made to destroy the commerce of France and all nations trading with France; the arbitrary impressment of American seamen, and the exercise of the right of search. These orders in council, with the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, subjected to capture American vessels trading with both England and France. Congress passed acts known as the Embargo Acts, the Non-intercourse Act, and the Non-importation Act, in an effort to check British aggression on the commerce of the U. S., but these failed of their purpose and war ensued. The war was waged at first along the Canadian frontier, where the Americans suffered some serious reverses. Detroit was surrendered by Hull, and Fort Dearborn, the site of the present city of Chicago, was captured by the British. Perry's splendid victory on Lake Erie, in 1813, recovered Detroit, and while the naval and military forces of Britain were greatly superior to those of the Americans, the latter won some memorable victories as the war progressed. The navy especially distinguished itself in a remarkable series of engagements with the enemy's ships. The British attacked and captured Washington city in 1814, and burned most of the public buildings. The most notable victory won by the Americans was that of Gen. Jackson over the British commander, Sir Ed. M. Pakenham, Jan. 8, 1815, at New Orleans. This battle was fought 15 days after peace had been declared, but before the news had reached New Orleans. Peace was restored Dec. 24, 1814, by the treaty of Ghent. The total number of enlistments in the regular service was 38,187 and in the militia 471,000. The cost of this war was \$107,159,000.

ABBOT, SAMUEL.—(1732–1812.) A Boston merchant and philanthropist; one of the founders of the Andover Theological Seminary.

ALLEN, WILLIAM HENRY.—(1784–1813.) An American naval commander who served with distinction in the War of 1812, and was mortally wounded while in command of the "Argus."

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—Acts of Congress passed by the Federalists in 1798, and largely instrumental in causing the downfall of

the Federal party. During the French Revolution, public sentiment in the U. S. ran high, especially as only a few years before France had greatly aided this country in its war with England. Public men openly urged intervention in the affairs of France and characterized the neutral position of the government as cowardly and ungrateful. Many of the newspapers that violently attacked the administration were in the hands of foreigners, and this circumstance had not a little to do with the passage of the act. The law empowered the President to expel from the country such aliens as he might deem dangerous to the peace and safety of the nation, or as were engaged in plots against it. The sedition act imposed heavy fine and imprisonment upon such persons as should conspire to oppose the national government or its laws, or print or publish any false, scandalous, or malicious writings against the government, Congress, or the President, to bring them into disrepute, to excite hatred against them or to promote sedition. The followers of Jefferson, who formed what was then known as the Republican party, denounced the laws, and Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions declaring them subversive of liberty of speech and a free press.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—A scientific society founded at Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin, in 1744. It was reorganized in 1768 and united with the Jesuits, or Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, in 1769. Franklin was its first president.

ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION.—A convention of twelve delegates from the states of N. Y., N. J., Pa., Del., and Va., which met at Annapolis, Md., Sept. 11, 1786, for the promotion of mutual commercial interests.

ANTI-FEDERALISTS.—A political party that had for its basic principle opposition to the strengthening of the National Government at the expense of the states. It antagonized the adoption and ratification of the Constitution, and under George Clinton, George Mason, and Patrick Henry, developed much strength in the First and Second Congresses. This party was finally absorbed by what was known as the Republican party, under the leadership of Jefferson. It opposed Hamilton and his plan of centralization, and advocated a strict construction of the Constitution as against supreme Federal power. Other political organizations have borne the prefix "anti"; but they have not, strictly speaking, been political parties, as they have lacked affirmative policies and, formed with specific purposes, they have disappeared with the issue that called them into being. Examples of such quasi parties have been the Anti-Lecompton, Anti-Masonic, Anti-Monopoly, Anti-Nebraska, and Anti-Renters.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.—The confederacy against England formed by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark in 1780; dissolved, 1781. Dec. 16, 1800, it was renewed and a treaty to cause their flags to be respected by the belligerent powers was ratified. England denied the principle that neutral flags protect neutral bottoms, and in the ensuing war, Nelson and Parker destroyed the Danish fleet near Copenhagen, Apr. 2, 1801. This event, together with the murder of the emperor, Paul, of Russia, led to the final dissolution of the armed neutrality.

ARMISTEAD, GEORGE.—(1780–1818.) An American officer who served with distinction at the capture of Fort George from the British, May 27, 1813.

AUTTOSE TOWNS, DESTRUCTION OF.—Settlements of Auttose Indians who in 1813 massacred the whites at Fort Mimms. Brig.-gen. John Floyd, at the head of 950 Ga. militia and 400 friendly Indians, overwhelmed the village and almost exterminated the hostile savages.

AUX CANARDS (Canada), BATTLE OF.—Memorable as the first action between British and Americans in the War of 1812. General William Hull, governor of the Northwest Territory, assumed command of the forces in Ohio, and, crossing into Canada, sent Col. Lewis Cass with 280 men toward Fort Malden. Cass drove the British before him and won a complete victory.

BAINBRIDGE, WILLIAM.—Born at Princeton, N. J., 1774; died at Philadelphia, 1833. An American naval officer; appointed commodore in 1812; captured the British frigate "Java," Dec. 29, 1812.

BANCROFT, AARON.—Born at Reading, Mass., 1755; died at Worcester, Mass., 1839. An American clergyman who wrote a "Life of George Washington" (1807).

BARRON, JAMES.—Born in Va. about 1768; died at Norfolk, Va., 1851. An American commodore. He was court-martialed and deprived of his rank and pay for five years on account of misconduct when in command of the "Chesapeake" (1807). On his return to duty, being refused an active command he fought a duel (1820) with Commodore Stephen Decatur, who had opposed him, in which the latter was killed. (See DECATUR, STEPHEN, 227).

BARTON, BENJAMIN SMITH.—Born at Lancaster, Pa., 1766; died at Philadelphia, 1815. An American physician, naturalist, and ethnologist, and author of "New Views on the Origin of the Tribes of America" (1797), etc.

BATTLE MONUMENT.—A memorial structure in Baltimore, Md., erected in 1815, in honor of the soldiers who defended the city against the British troops in 1814. Its height is 72 feet.

BAYARD, JAMES ASHTON.—Born at Philadelphia, 1767; died at Wilmington, Del., 1815. An American statesman, and one of the commissioners in negotiating the treaty of Ghent, 1814.

BEAVER DAM (Canada), BATTLE OF.—Resulted in the surrender of Lieut.-col. Boerstler, who with a U. S. force of 542 men had been sent by Gen. Dearborn to capture Beaver Dam. The capitulation took place June 24, 1813, and was effected by a British lieutenant who had only 40 or 50 men. He convinced Boerstler that he commanded the advance guard of 1,500 troops and 700 Indians.

BERLIN DECREE.—Nov. 21, 1806, Napoleon I. issued from Berlin an edict by which he declared a blockade of the British Islands, and decreed that all Englishmen in countries held by the French troops should be treated as prisoners of war. Dealing in English merchandise was prohibited, and letters in the English language were not permitted to pass through the French post-offices. Vessels directly from England or English colonies were barred from admission to French ports and merchandise from England or her colonies was liable to seizure wherever found and by whomsoever owned. The decree further menaced all English ships and English commerce by reserving for consideration the question whether vessels with British cargoes might not themselves be captured and confiscated. The decree was intended to ruin the foreign trade of Great Britain, as well as punish the latter for an order in council issued May 16, 1806, by which a blockade of the ports of Germany, Holland, Belgium, and France was proclaimed. There were no condemnations under the Berlin decree. (See EMBARGO; MILAN DECREE; ORDER IN COUNCIL; RAMBOUILLET DECREE.)

BIDDLE, JOHN.—Born at Philadelphia, 1784; died there, 1848. An American naval commander, distinguished in the War of 1812 by the capture of the British brig, "Penguin," 1815.

BILLINGS, WILLIAM.—Born at Boston, 1746; died there, 1800. An American music composer, noted as being the first; he published "The Singing-Master's Assistant" and the "Psalm-Singer's Amusement."

BLACK COCKADE.—This was worn originally by American soldiers in the Revolution, and later was used by the Federalists, in 1797, during the trouble with France, as a patriotic emblem, in contradistinction to the tricolored cockade affected by the Republicans or followers of Jefferson, as an evidence of their sympathy with the radical and violent political movement in that country.

BLACK ROCK (N. Y.), BATTLES OF.—July 11, 1813, Lieut.-col. Bishop, with a British force of 400 men from the camp at Lundy's Lane, reduced the blockhouse at Black Rock which contained a large quantity of ammunition and naval stores. It was garrisoned by Gen. Peter B. Porter and a few artillerists with 300 militia and friendly Indians. Most of these fled at the approach of the enemy, and Porter himself barely escaped. Retreating toward Buffalo, he met 100 regulars, with whom he returned and drove the British out of the blockhouse and to the boats. Bishop lost his life in the action. After this battle the larger part of the American army fell back to Fort Erie, Gen. Drummond pursuing. The latter determined to take the fort, and as a preliminary step, resolved to capture Black Rock. Aug. 3, 1814, Lieut.-col. Tucker, with 1,200 men, made the attack and was driven away by 300 Americans, under Lieuts. Ryan, Smith, and Armstrong, the British losing severely and the Americans slightly.

BLADENSBURG (Md.), BATTLE OF.—An engagement fought five miles from Washington, D. C., Aug. 24, 1814, between 5,000 British regulars under Gen. Ross and about as many Americans, 4,000 of whom were untried militia. The battle raged four hours, and although the British lost more than 500 men and the Americans only 77, the latter were overwhelmingly defeated. The invaders then descended upon the capital and burned the public buildings.

BLAKELEY, JOHNSTON.—(1781–1814.) An American naval officer; commander of the "Wasp." He was lost at sea.

BLENNERHASSET, HARMAN.—Born in Hampshire, Eng., 1765; died at Guernsey, Channel Islands, 1831. An Englishman of Irish extraction noted for his connection with Burr's alleged conspiracy. He settled and resided on a small island in the Ohio River near Marietta, since called by his name, Blennerhasset's Island, where he erected a fine mansion, surrounded with gardens and conservatories and furnished with a splendid library and other facilities for the gratification of intellectual tastes. In 1805 he was induced by Burr to join his enterprise, probably without knowing its real character, and was arrested and indicted for treason. On Burr's acquittal in 1807, Blennerhasset was liberated, his home having in the meantime been sold to satisfy his creditors. The tradition that his last days were spent in poverty is not correct.

BLUE LICKS, BATTLE OF.—Aug. 19, 1782, about 200 Ky. pioneers were ambuscaded by Indians at Blue Licks, Ky. The settlers lost 62, including a son of Daniel Boone.

BLUE LIGHTS.—The term originated from the belief that in the summer and fall of 1813, while Commodore Decatur's fleet was block-

aded in the harbor of New London, Conn., advance information of his preparations and plans to escape was flashed by blue signal lights from the shore to the British squadron in the vicinity. The phrase was applied to the opponents of the war, who became known as Blue Light Federalists.

BOLLMAN CASE.—A Supreme Court case that embraces a definition of treason and maintains the right of that tribunal to issue writs of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*. Bollman was accused of being a party to a treasonable scheme to levy war upon the U. S., in that in 1805, he had conspired with Aaron Burr to found an independent state in the southwest. The court's decision was that a conspiracy to subvert the government by force is not, in itself, treason, a specific act of war being necessary to complete that crime. Bollman and one Swartwout, who had been charged with the same offense, were released.

BOMFORD, GEORGE.—Born in New York City, 1780; died at Boston, Mass., 1848. An American military officer, colonel, and chief of ordnance and the inventor of the heavy gun called the Columbiad.

BOONE, DANIEL.—Born in Bucks Co., Pa., 1735; died at Charette, Mo., 1820. A famous American pioneer and Indian fighter in Ky. He first explored that region in 1769 and founded Boonsborough in 1775. In 1795 he emigrated to Missouri, then a possession of Spain.

BOSTON COMMON.—A tract of about 44 acres in the heart of Boston, which was a "common" in the early days and has been so preserved to this day. No encroachment upon it was allowed, for either business or residence purposes. It is a popular resort and is much used as a place for public outdoor assemblages, such as political or other meetings. (See COMMON.)

BRADFORD, WILLIAM.—Born at Philadelphia, Pa., 1755; died there, 1795. An American lawyer; attorney-general of the U. S. (1794-95).

BRISTED, JOHN.—Born in England, 1778; died at Bristol, R. I., 1855. An Anglo-American clergyman and author. He came to New York in 1806 and married a daughter of John Jacob Astor. He wrote "Resources of the United States."

BROWN, CHARLES BROCKDEN.—Born at Philadelphia, 1771; died, 1810. An American novelist. Among his productions are, "Wieland, or The Transformation," "Ormond," "Arthur Mervyn," "Edgar Huntley," etc.

BROWN, JACOB.—Born in Bucks County, Pa., 1775; died at Washington, D. C., 1828. An American general. He was appointed brigadier-general in 1813 and placed in command of the army of the Niagara;

he gained victories over the British, at Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and Fort Erie, 1814, and became general-in-chief of the U. S. army in 1821.

BROWNSTOWN (Mich.), BATTLE OF.—An engagement Aug. 5, 1812, in which Maj. Thomas B. Van Horne, with 200 men of an Ohio regiment were ambuscaded and almost surrounded by Indians under Tecumseh. The detachment lost heavily and retreated in disorder. It had been sent by Gen. Hull, who had invaded Canada, to meet and escort reinforcements that had, with cattle and provisions, been dispatched to him by Gov. Meigs of Ohio. Gen. Hull was aware that the British had been informed of the approaching relief expedition and intended to intercept it.

BUFFALO (N. Y.), DESTRUCTION OF.—Was effected on the night of Dec. 29, 1813, by Maj.-gen. Riall, who, with 1,500 British regulars and a party of Indians, crossed the Niagara River at Black Rock, 800 American troops fleeing at the approach of the enemy. Gen. Amos Hall, who had been intrusted with the defense of the place, was, however, so gallantly supported by Canadian refugees and Chautauquan troops that he held the foe in check until the inhabitants had escaped. He was finally obliged to abandon the town to the invaders, who sacked it and left only four buildings standing.

BURNT CORN CREEK (Ala.), BATTLE OF.—Col. James Caller, with 180 men, July 27, 1813, overtook Peter McQueen, a half-breed Florida Indian, who had been persuaded by Tecumseh to ally himself with the British. McQueen, through the connivance of the Spanish governor, had received supplies from the British agent at Pensacola and had a considerable following of braves pledged to a war of extermination against the Americans. Caller undertook to disperse these Indians, who at first fled to the woods, but presently returned and attacked his men, two of whom were killed and 15 wounded. Caller was then obliged to retreat.

BURROUGHS, WILLIAM.—Born near Philadelphia, 1785; died, 1813. An American naval officer who, when in command of the "Enterprise," captured the British brig, "Boxer," near Portland, Me., Sept. 5, 1813. Both commanders were killed in the action.

BUTLER, WILLIAM ORLANDO.—Born in Jessamine Co., Ky., 1791; died at Carrollton, Ky., 1880. An American general and politician. He served in the War of 1812, and in the war with Mexico; was a member of Congress and Democratic candidate for Vice-president in 1848.

CALEBEE CREEK (Ala.), BATTLE OF.—Fought Jan. 26, 1814, between the Creek Indians and 1,300 Ga. volunteers, assisted by 400 friendly

Indians, under command of Gen. Floyd. The Creeks attacked the camp before dawn, but a prompt reception with grapeshot, followed by a bayonet charge, dismayed them and they fled, leaving 37 dead and many wounded. The loss of Floyd's force, killed and wounded, was about 170.

CAPITAL OF THE UNITED STATES.—Until the adoption of the Constitution, Congress had no fixed abode, but deliberated, as changing conditions dictated, at York, Lancaster, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, or New York. From 1790 to 1800 it met at Philadelphia, and in the latter year removed to Washington, which in 1790 had been selected as the permanent capital of the country. There was a sharp rivalry among several cities to secure the prize of the national capital. Washington was chosen as the result of a combination between the southern members of Congress, who wished it located there, and Alexander Hamilton, who was endeavoring to secure the passage of an act by which the general government should assume the various state debts, incurred for the prosecution of the Revolutionary War, and also for the redemption of the continental script at its face value. The combination was successful in both enterprises; Hamilton's debt bill was passed and the capital was fixed at Washington.

CASS, LEWIS.—(1782–1866.) An American statesman. He served in the War of 1812, and successively filled the offices of governor of Michigan territory, Secretary of War, minister to France, United States senator, and Secretary of State. He was a presidential candidate (Democratic) in 1848.

CHALMETTE'S PLANTATION (La.), BATTLE OF.—Fought near New Orleans, Dec. 28, 1814, between Gen. Jackson with 4,000 men, 20 pieces of artillery, and the war vessel "Louisiana," and the British under Gens. Keane and Gibbs. The fire of the American sharpshooters was so accurate and deadly that Sir Edward Pakenham, commander-in-chief of the invaders, soon ordered a retreat.

CHAUNCEY, ISAAC.—Born at Black Rock, Conn., 1772; died at Washington, D. C., 1840. An American naval officer who was actively engaged in the war with Tripoli and in the War of 1812; in the latter he was in command of the naval forces on the northern lakes; defeated an English fleet of seven vessels, capturing five of them, on Lake Ontario, Oct., 1813.

"CHESAPEAKE," THE.—The action of the British ship "Leopard," which in June, 1807, fired on the U. S. frigate "Chesapeake" at Hampton Roads, Va., was one of the causes of the War of 1812. On

the 22d of that month a lieutenant of the British vessel boarded the "Chesapeake" and demanded the release of three negroes who had deserted from the English man-of-war "Mclampus" and enlisted on the American ship. The government had already declined to surrender these men, and Commodore Barron refused to return them. Then the "Leopard" opened fire and the "Chesapeake," wholly unprepared for action, yielded without firing a shot. President Jefferson, in a proclamation, demanded an immediate disavowal of the act, the release of the captured sailors, and the withdrawal of Admiral Berkeley from command in American waters. The British made reparation, but so slowly as to aggravate rather than mitigate the original offense. The "Chesapeake," under the command of Capt. James Lawrence, sailed out of Boston Harbor, June 1, 1813, to meet the English frigate "Shannon," commanded by Capt. Broke. The engagement resulted in the death of Capt. Lawrence and the capture of the "Chesapeake," June 1, 1813. When Lawrence fell, he muttered those words, that will never be forgotten, "Don't give up the ship!"

CHEVES, LANGDON.—Born at Rocky River, S. C., 1776; died at Columbia, S. C., 1857. Was elected to Congress in 1811; was speaker of the House (1814-15); president of the National Bank (1819-22).

CHICAGO INDIAN MASSACRE.—While on their way from Fort Dearborn, which stood on the present site of Chicago, to Detroit, where they expected to join Gen. Hull, Capt. Nathan Heald and 50 men were waylaid on the lake shore by Indians Aug. 15, 1812, and nearly all the soldiers, with 12 children under their protection, were slain and scalped. The scalps were bought by Col. Proctor, of the British army, who had put a price on them.

CHOUTEAU, AUGUSTE.—Born at New Orleans, 1739; died at St. Louis, Mo., 1829. In 1764, he and his brother Pierre, with some others, opened a trading post which grew into the present city of St. Louis.

CHRYSTLER'S FIELD (Canada), BATTLE OF.—An indecisive action that lasted five hours, Nov. 11, 1813, when Gen. Wilkinson, commanding the Americans, fought a larger force of British. The latter held the field. American loss, 339; British, 187.

CLARK, WILLIAM.—Born in Va., 1770; died at St. Louis, Mo., 1838. An American explorer, brother of G. R. Clark. With Meriwether Lewis, he led the Lewis and Clark exploring expedition from St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia River (1804-06); was governor of Missouri Territory (1813-21) and superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis till his death.

CLAY, GREEN.—Born in Va., 1757; died in 1826. An American general, noted for his defense of Fort Meigs against the British in 1813.

COBBETT, WILLIAM.—(1762-1835.) A noted English political writer; emigrated to America in 1792 and for two years published the "Porcupine's Gazette" at Philadelphia. After his return to England, published "Cobbett's Weekly Political Register," and the "Parliamentary Debates." Elected to Parliament 1832 and in 1834.

COMMON LAW.—Is largely a law of precedents and is best expressed by those rules of action which are founded upon established usage and the decisions of judges. As used in the U. S. the term "common law" refers more particularly to that of England, and is taken to include uncoded maxims and immemorial customs, as well as statutes of Parliament passed prior to the first settlement in the Colonies that formed the original states. The ancient common law of England is the foundation of the jurisprudence of all the states, and under the first Constitution of the colonies, emphasis was laid on the claim that the people were entitled to the benefits of this common law. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the strict constructionists held that there was no common law in respect to the jurisprudence of the government, while the nationalists held the opposite opinion. Common law is still recognized, to some extent, in the U. S. in the administration of justice, although statutory law is generally adhered to. A "common law marriage," for instance, is usually held to be valid and binding on both parties, although no marriage ceremony has been performed.

COMMONS.—At the time the older New England towns were settled, facilities for fencing were inadequate and a part of the land in a community and in a few cases all of it, was tilled in common. The areas so cultivated were often very extensive, but whether large or small, the right of each freeman to a part was jealously guarded. Selectmen occasionally had authority over such lands. The cultivators were styled proprietors and sometimes formed a body distinct from the ordinary town organization. Common cultivation is an old English custom. (See BOSTON COMMON.)

CONFEDERATION, ARTICLES OF.—June 11, 1776, the second Continental Congress appointed a committee to prepare Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. The draft, amended, was finally ratified by Congress, Mar. 1, 1781. It provided for a single house of Congress, with authority to raise money by requisitions on the states, but Congress and the articles commanded little respect at home or abroad,

as Congress lacked the power to enforce its decrees. So unsatisfactory were the articles in the practical working of government, that a convention to devise a better system met at Annapolis, Md., in 1786, and this body, in turn, called the convention that in Philadelphia, in 1787, framed the existing Constitution.

CONGRESS.—A formal assemblage of persons in a representative capacity, gathered to enact laws or to deliberate on some particular subject for the advancement of a common interest. The U. S. Congress, the powers of which are enumerated and described in the Constitution, consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. All authority not expressly delegated to the U. S. by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the states, is reserved to the states, respectively, or to the people. Congress, acting within the limits of its authority, can be restrained only by the veto of the President, and may override even that by a two-thirds vote. Each state is entitled to two senators and to members of the House proportioned to its population, as shown by the Federal census. "No State," says the Constitution, "without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." The Vice-president of the U. S. is by virtue of his office, president of the Senate, but has no vote except in case of a tie. The Speaker, who presides over the deliberations of the House of Representatives, is elected by its members. When a measure has passed both Senate and House, it is sent to the President, who may sign it,—in which case it becomes a law,—veto it, or take no action whatever. In the latter case it also becomes a law if, within ten days after it has been submitted to him, Congress shall not have adjourned. When the President disapproves a bill, he is required to return it with his objections, for reconsideration, to the branch of Congress in which it originated. In such cases, after reconsideration, the measure cannot be passed except by a two-thirds affirmative vote in each of the two houses. The Supreme Court of the U. S. has power to declare unconstitutional and void legislation that Congress may pass in excess of the power delegated to it. Each house is, under the law, the judge of the election returns and the qualifications of its own members. Congress must meet at least once a year, on the first Monday in December, "unless they shall by law appoint a different day."

"CONSTELLATION," THE.—Launched at Baltimore, Md., in 1798, she was made the flagship of Commodore Thomas Truxton and was sent, with his squadron, to the West Indies in 1799, to protect U. S. shipping during the trouble with France. Feb. 9, 1799, she captured "L'Insurgente," a French frigate of 40 guns, and Feb. 1, 1800, defeated

"La Vengeance," of 54 guns, which, however, got away in a storm. Truxton received from Congress a gold medal and a vote of thanks in recognition of his bravery and skill.

"CONSTITUTION," THE.—Better known as "Old Ironsides," the celebrated American frigate, is still in existence, though built in 1797. She carried 44 guns. July 17, 1812, she met five British frigates, but through the skillful handling of Capt. Hull, she escaped capture. Aug. 19, of that year she encountered the British frigate "Guerrière," 38 guns. In less than half an hour the "Guerrière" was helpless, with 85 of her crew killed or wounded. Dec. 29, 1812, after a fierce battle of two hours, the British man-of-war "Java" surrendered to the "Constitution," the former losing 161 in killed and wounded, while the Americans lost but 34. Feb. 20, 1815, the "Cyane," 20 guns, and the "Levant," 18 guns, struck their colors to the "Constitution," the British loss outnumbering that of the Americans more than five to one. Great public indignation was excited in 1830 at the proposal of the secretary of the navy for her dismantlement and sale. It was this that suggested Holmes's well-known poem, "Ay, tear her tattered ensign down." Eventually she became a school-ship, and in 1897 was taken to Boston, where she was at first built.

CONSTITUTIONALISTS.—Pa. forerunners of the Democrats and Anti-Federalists, who later became prominent and important under the leadership of Jefferson. The Constitutionalists, who as such had little prestige outside of Pa., favored the maintenance of the Constitution that was in force during the Revolution and down to 1790, as against those who wished a government stronger than was possible under that instrument. When between 1806 and 1808 another party that wished to amend the Federal Constitution was organized, it adopted the name Conventionalist, and the party that particularly took issue with it was known as the Constitutionalist.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF GREAT BRITAIN—DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THEM.—The chief distinction between the English Constitution and that of the United States lies in the fact that the English nation is a monarchy and the United States is a republic. England is the home of the parliament and a responsible ministry. The United States that of a congress and an executive not having seats in or directly responsible to the legislature. On this continent, in Canada alone is responsible English parliamentary government found in complete operation. It is England that has given representative government to the world at large. The system fol-

lowed in the United States is based on English institutions of a century ago, and on the legislative model of the old English colonies. The characteristic of the local or state government in this country is pretty much that of the Federal power. In the several states, the governor is the head of the executive and has no responsible ministers in the English or Canadian sense, while the executive or administrative officers are generally elected. Further contrast lies in the fact that the head of the nation in the United States is elected for a brief period and has to make way for a rotation in office, while in England the office of the sovereign is a life position.

CREEK INDIAN WAR.—This conflict was inspired and in its early stages directed by Tecumseh, the great Shawnee chief and his brother, known as the Prophet, who planned a conspiracy of all North American Indians against the U. S.

The Indians made common cause with the British in the War of 1812, and though Tecumseh was defeated by Harrison at Tippecanoe, and fell in the battle, Wethersford or Red Eagle proved scarcely less troublesome. The most serious damage done by the Indians was in the massacre at Fort Mimms. (See CREEK INDIANS.) Immediately after this event, the whites practically abandoned Ala. Gen. Jackson assumed command of the Tenn. militia, Gen. Floyd led the Georgians, and Gen. Claiborne the La. and Miss. contingents. Jackson was placed in charge of the entire force and defeated the Creeks at Horse Shoe Bend, Mar. 27, 1814.

Jackson's victory was particularly important, because it rendered impossible that Indian aid in the southwest upon which the British had counted.

CRITTENDEN, JOHN JORDAN.—Born in Ky., 1787; died near Frankfort, Ky., 1863. He took part in the War of 1812 and was governor of Ky. (1848-50); was attorney-general under President Fillmore, U. S. senator (1855-61), and member of Congress (1861-63); was the author and strong advocate of the Crittenden Compromise, in 1860-61, as a proposal to avert Civil War.

CUSTIS, GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE.—Born at Mount Airy, Md., 1781; died at Arlington House, Va., 1857. An American writer. His father was a son of Martha Washington by her first husband, Daniel Parke Custis. After his father's death George Washington adopted him as a son.

DARTMOOR MASSACRE.—In 1815, 10,000 Americans—prisoners of war taken in the War of 1812 and impressed seamen who had refused to fight against their country—were held in Dartmoor prison in

Devonshire, Eng. The war was ended and they were impatient for their liberty. Apr. 6, a number of sailors attempted to escape and came into collision with the guards. Seven Americans were killed and 33 wounded. The British, after an investigation, gave full disavowal and ample satisfaction.

DAVIS, JOHN.—Born at Plymouth, Mass., 1761; died at Boston, 1847. An American jurist. He became Comptroller of the U. S. Treasury in 1795, and was the youngest and the last survivor of those who voted for the adoption of the Federal Constitution in the convention of 1789.

DEARBORN, FORT.—This fortress was built in 1803 at the mouth of the Chicago River, on the site of the city of Chicago. It was intended to keep back the Indians. In 1812, when war was declared with England, General Hull ordered its abandonment and withdrew the garrison to Detroit for safety. While this was being done the Indians attacked the garrison and massacred two-thirds of the party, including twelve children. The remainder surrendered, were taken to Fort Mackinaw and then released. Fort Dearborn was rebuilt in 1816, and was used as a garrison post until 1837. It was destroyed in the great fire of Chicago in 1871.

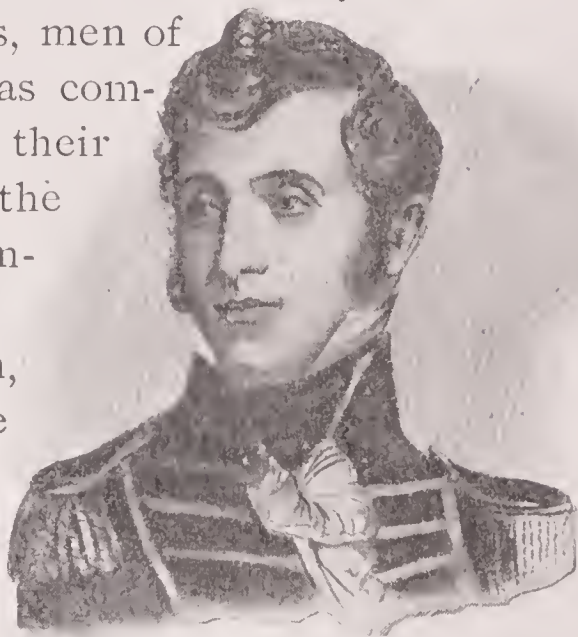
DEARBORN, HENRY.—(1751–1829.) An American physician and soldier. He practised military strategy and tactics as a pastime and took an active part in the Revolution at Bunker Hill, Quebec and in several other engagements down to Yorktown. He was secretary for war under Jefferson. He was made major-general at the beginning of the War of 1812. He took York (now Toronto) and Fort George. He was minister to Portugal in 1822.

STEPHEN DECATUR

Whose exploits on the sea made him famous.

HISTORY, through all the long line of human achievements, presents no more illustrious examples of valorous deeds, inspired by patriotic devotion to duty, than those which are found in the annals of the United States navy. Men who fight on ships must face a double peril. Those who escape the missiles of the enemy may meet death in the pitiless sea. In all our wars, men of dauntless courage—subalterns and seamen as well as commanders—entirely fearless of danger, have defended their flag on the ocean with a constancy that commanded the admiration of the world. Their deeds have been immortalized in story and in song.

There were two Stephen Decatur, father and son, both of whom reached the rank of commodore. The elder, son of a Huguenot refugee, was born in Rhode Island, served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, and died in 1808. The younger Decatur, the subject of this sketch, was a native of Maryland, born in 1779. At the age of nineteen, he entered the navy as a midshipman, and evinced such capacity that within a year he was commissioned a lieutenant. He seemed to have been born to the sea, and showed a remarkable aptitude in acquiring a knowledge of his duties. In their discharge he was earnest, zealous and intelligent, to a degree that early marked him for a career of distinction. Personally, his manners were engaging, and his kindly disposition drew around him a throng of admiring associates. It has been said of him that he was "a lamb to his friends, a lion to his enemies."



In February, 1804, Lieutenant Decatur was the hero of an exploit which, for boldness of design and stout-hearted intrepidity of execution, has few parallels in the record of brave deeds, and which covered his name with a luster that time cannot dim. In the latter part of 1803, during the war with Tripoli, the United States frigate "Philadelphia," commanded by Captain William Bainbridge, while cruising off the harbor of Tripoli, sighted one of the enemy's vessels and at once gave chase. The hostile ship made for the harbor, fol-

lowed by the "Philadelphia" in an effort to bring her to action. Bainbridge was in strange waters, without a chart, and his vessel struck hard upon a rock. Every possible effort was made to release her, but she was immovable, and in such a position that her guns were useless. Her helpless condition was discovered by the enemy, and the ill-fated ship, one of the finest in the navy of the United States, was soon under the fire, not only of half a dozen Tripolitan gunboats, but also of the forts, within range of whose heavy guns the vessel lay. There could be but one result. Captain Bainbridge, when not a spark of hope remained, struck his colors and all on board were surrendered as prisoners of war. Among these, besides the captain, were Porter, Jones and Biddle, who had already won plaudits for their gallantry and afterward became famous in naval history.

The American fleet in the Mediterranean Sea was commanded by Commodore Edward Preble. Early in 1804, Lieutenant Decatur asked permission of Preble to attempt to "cut out" the "Philadelphia," which had been floated, repaired and put in service by her captors and was lying in the harbor of Tripoli. Decatur worked out the details of his plan and submitted them to his chief. It was an audacious scheme, astonishing in its boldness, but the young lieutenant was so confident of success that the commodore consented. His plan was to seize the vessel at night, and to destroy her if it was found impracticable to take her out of the port. Two small, fast-sailing vessels were placed at Decatur's disposal for the expedition. The "flagship" of his miniature squadron was a "ketch" called the "Intrepid," and her consort was a still smaller vessel, the "Syren," commanded by Lieutenant Charles Stewart. The crews were composed entirely of volunteers, to whom the extremely hazardous nature of the duty had been fully explained. Notwithstanding the peril, three times as many men offered their services as were needed. The best were selected, and there was not a man of those lion-hearted crews who would not have followed his intrepid commander into the very jaws of death.

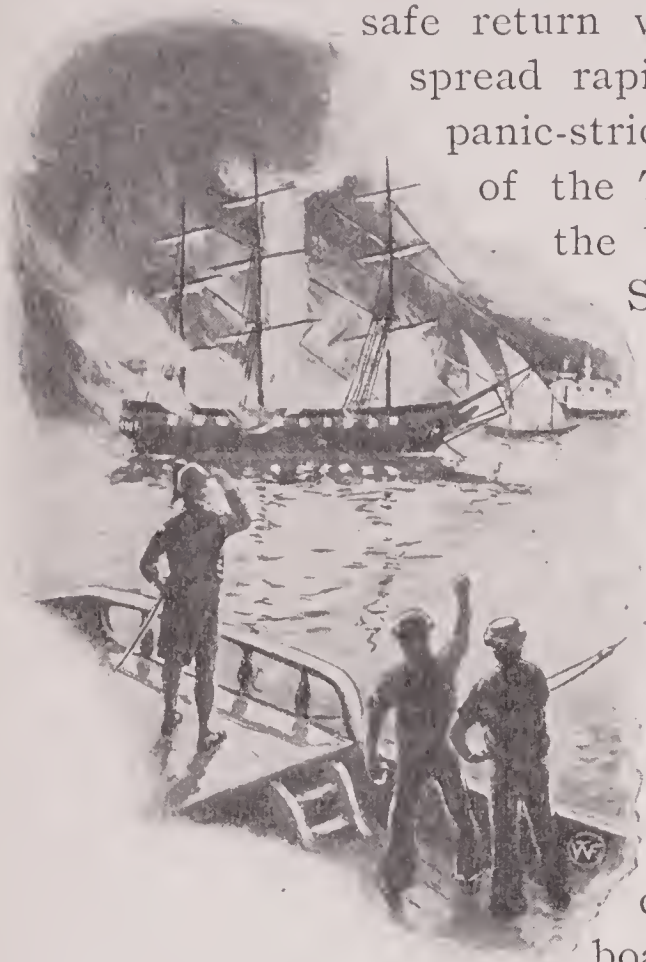
The two little vessels, supplied with everything necessary to carry out the enterprise, sailed from the port of Syracuse, Sicily, on February 3, arriving off Tripoli soon after sunset, on the sixteenth. The "Intrepid," commanded by Decatur, was filled with inflammable matter, and, if necessary, was to be used as a fire ship to destroy the "Philadelphia," her crew to find refuge on the "Syren." Decatur and Stewart arranged the details of execution with the greatest care, so that the two crews might act in perfect unison. The position of the "Philadelphia" had been made out, and it was proposed to sail

directly to her, both crews to leap on her deck and thus take her by "boarding." Before starting, Decatur called his men together and explained to them the plan of operations, so that each might know how to act at the supreme moment. He told them of the great hazard and addressed to them a few words of exhortation to duty. Every heart swelled with enthusiasm in response to the patriotic sentiments of their leader. At ten o'clock the "Intrepid" and "Syren," which had been lying-to, waiting for the curtain of night, set sail and noiselessly entered the harbor.

The "Philadelphia," after her release from the rock, had been moored within close range of powerful land batteries, and two of the largest Tripolitan corsairs were anchored within two cable-lengths. The captive vessel was manned by nearly a thousand Turks, for an attempt to rescue her had been anticipated. If there ever was a "forlorn hope," it was that little expedition, as it quietly made its way through the darkness upon its perilous mission. At eleven o'clock the Americans were within two hundred yards of the "Philadelphia." Up to this time they had not been discovered, but now they were hailed by a sentinel. Decatur had expected a challenge, and had instructed his Maltese pilot to answer in the Turkish tongue. The pilot did so, and the sentinel was so deceived that he reported "All's well!" When within fifty yards, Decatur sent a small boat to attach a rope to the forechains of the "Philadelphia," by which to draw the "Intrepid" alongside. All this was quickly done and Decatur leaped to the deck of the "Philadelphia," followed by Lieutenant Lawrence, Midshipmen Morris and Macdonough, and the crew of the "Intrepid." A moment later the crew of the "Syren," headed by Stewart, poured over the rail. The scene that followed cannot be described. The Turks, now thoroughly alarmed, came up from below by scores, only to be assailed with the utmost fury by the boarders, armed with cutlasses and pistols. The Turks were in a frenzy of panic, as Decatur and his men rushed upon them, dealing death and mutilation. In ten minutes the ship was in the complete possession of the Americans. Lieutenant Decatur's father had commanded the "Philadelphia" years before, and no words can express the pride and satisfaction which filled the heart of the son as he trod the deck of the now recaptured frigate.

But there was no time for sentiment. Whatever was to be done must be done quickly. It was seen at once that it would be impossible to "cut her out." The forts and the corsairs had already opened their guns upon the "Philadelphia." There was no wind with which to sail her out of the harbor, nor was it possible to tow her with the two small craft. The order was given to set her on fire at

every inflammable point. In twenty different places the torch was applied and then the crews returned to the "Intrepid" and "Syren." A favoring breeze sprang up, every sail was spread, and they were soon beyond the range of the hostile guns. Of the two crews not a man had been killed and the wounded numbered but four. Their safe return was like a resurrection from the dead. The flames spread rapidly and soon enveloped the "Philadelphia." The panic-stricken crew could do nothing to save the ship. Scores of the Turks leaped into the sea and were drowned. As the loaded guns became heated they were discharged. Some of the shots reached the town and created there the wildest consternation. The destruction of the vessel was complete. The work of the fire was finished by that of the explosions when the flames reached the magazines.



Later in the same year, in a naval battle, an American vessel commanded by Lieutenant James A. Decatur, a brother of Stephen, captured a Tripolitan gunboat. After the surrender of the latter, her treacherous commander, a Turk, drew a pistol upon Lieutenant James Decatur and shot him dead. He then recovered the mastery of the gunboat and escaped. As soon as Stephen learned of the murder of his brother, he took a single boat, with a crew consisting of Midshipman Macdonough and nine men, and made for the gunboat. The lieutenant and his crew sprang upon the deck and a most extraordinary conflict followed. Decatur made for his brother's murderer, who was a powerful man, much heavier than himself. After a desperate and prolonged struggle to the death, Decatur succeeded in killing the Turk, after he had been, himself, severely wounded. The little boat's crew captured the vessel after nearly all of them had been wounded. The slaughtered Turks lay upon the deck almost in heaps.

For the very distinguished gallantry of his "Philadelphia" exploit, Decatur was made a captain. During the War of 1812 he commanded the frigate "United States," with which he captured the British frigate "Macedonian." For this gallant achievement he was voted a gold medal by Congress. In 1815 he was sent against the Algerians. He conducted his operations with such energy that he captured several of their vessels and compelled them to sue for peace. Decatur returned to America at the pinnacle of fame. By Congress and by the people, everywhere the highest honors were showered upon him for his many valorous deeds.

Decatur's life came suddenly to a most pathetic end. He was but forty-one years old, still in the prime of vigorous manhood. His home was in Washington, where he had a delightful residence on Lafayette Square, near the White House. He had a beautiful and highly accomplished wife, who was passionately devoted to her gallant husband. After a long period of service at sea, he was assigned to shore duty, and was appointed to the position of naval commissioner. This permitted him to be at his home in Washington and to enjoy his happy domestic relations. Most unfortunately, he became involved in a controversy with Commodore James Barron, of the navy. Barron had been suspended from duty for alleged misconduct at sea. He sought to be reinstated, and Decatur, in an official communication, urged that he be not restored to duty. After much personal bitterness between them, Barron sent a challenge to Decatur, which the latter accepted. Decatur did not approve of dueling, but he felt that he could not lay himself open to the charge of cowardice by declining the challenge.

On the evening of March 21, 1820, there was a large social gathering at the Decatur home. This was one of the favorite resorts for the social leaders at the national capital. Commodore and Mrs. Decatur were accomplished entertainers, and their *salon* was thronged at every social occasion there. On the night in question the assemblage was an especially brilliant one. Mrs. Decatur was most gracious in her hospitality, and several times entertained her friends with the harp, on which she was an expert performer. The Commodore was at his best, and throughout the evening there was no abatement of that charm of manner which was so attractive to those around him. Only two or three of his trusted friends knew that all the arrangements had been completed for a duel with Barron the next morning. Decatur remained in the parlor till all the guests had gone. Then he retired, and at dawn carefully arose, without awakening his wife or any other member of the sleeping household. He walked to Beale's tavern, near the Capitol, where he breakfasted. Then, accompanied by his second, he went to Bladensburg, just over the line in Maryland, the usual meeting place of Washington duelists. The duel took place at nine o'clock. Both combatants were struck, Decatur fatally. He was removed to his home, where he died twelve hours later. His body was followed to the grave by the President and a large concourse of illustrious men. For three years Mrs. Decatur shut herself entirely apart from the world. The bullet from Barron's weapon also pierced her breast and left a wound that time could not heal.

DERNE EXPEDITION.—In 1805 the U. S. consul at Tunis, Gen. Wm. Eaton, espoused the cause of Hamet, pasha of Tripoli, against the latter's usurping brother. With the coöperation of the U. S. naval forces in the Mediterranean, they defeated the usurper at Derne, Apr. 27, 1805. After this success, a treaty highly favorable to the U. S. was negotiated with the pasha.

DETROIT (Mich.), SURRENDER OF.—Aug. 16, 1812, Gen. Brock, the British commander at Sandwich, Canada, with a force of 1,300 men, sent a party of Indians and regulars across the river to assault Fort Detroit, which was commanded by Gen. Hull, who had 1,000 men available for duty. Hull surrendered the fort and the whole Territory of Michigan, of which he was governor, without firing a shot. During the attack by the British, seven Americans were killed and several wounded, and the entire force became prisoners of war. Gen. Hull was afterward court-martialed, convicted of cowardice, and condemned to death, but President Madison pardoned him, in consideration of his age and his services in the Revolutionary War. Subsequent investigation greatly lessened the blame attached to Gen. Hull.

DEXTER, SAMUEL.—Born at Boston, Mass., 1761; died at Athens, N. Y., 1816; noted as jurist and politician. He was secretary of war in 1800 and secretary of the treasury in 1801.

"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!"—The dying words of Capt. James Lawrence, commander of the U. S. frigate "Chesapeake," when he fell to the deck with a mortal wound, in the combat with the British frigate "Shannon," in 1813. (See CHESAPEAKE, THE.)

DOWNES, JOHN.—(1786–1855.) An American naval officer. After serving on the "Essex," under Capt. Porter, in the War of 1812, and commanding the "Épervier" in the war against Algiers, he obtained command of a squadron in the Pacific Ocean in 1832 and bombarded Quallah Batoö, on the coast of Sumatra, on account of an outrage committed on an American vessel. For several years he was in command of the navy-yard at Boston.

DRAFT, MILITARY.—A drawing by lot to select men to fill the ranks of the army in time of war. The method of increasing the army by draft was first resorted to in 1814, during the war with Great Britain. Militiamen only were subject to this draft and the result was unsatisfactory. During the Civil War effort was made to recruit the army by drafts upon able-bodied citizens between the ages of 18 and 45. April 16, 1862, and July 18, 1863, the Confederate Congress passed conscription laws, and during the last two years of the war conscription was enforced with much rigor in order to fill the ranks that had been depleted by the ravage of war. Able-bodied

men were scarce and it became necessary to include as subject to draft all such within the ages of 15 and 50.

EATON, WILLIAM.—Born at Woodstock, Conn., 1764; died at Brimfield, Mass., 1811. He was American consul at Tunis (1799–1803), and during the Tripolitan War organized a movement among the natives in favor of Yussuf Caramalli, brother of the reigning bey. He was on the point of marching on Tripoli when peace was concluded between the U. S. and the ruler of Tripoli (1806).

EDUCATIONAL LAND GRANTS.—Large tracts of land in the Northwest Territory were granted to the states formed therefrom, to be sold by the Legislature or by the Federal Government for educational purposes. As early as 1785, Congress, foreshadowing the permanent policy of the nation in encouraging education, enacted that one-thirty-sixth of all the public lands should be set apart for and dedicated to the cause of education, and by the act of July 23, 1787, this reservation was made perpetual.

ELECTIONS.—The deliberate choice of a person or persons for office of any kind by the voting of a body of qualified or authorized electors. The first presidential election was held in 1788. All the candidates stood for the office of President and Vice-president, the one receiving the largest number of votes being declared elected President and the one having the next highest number, Vice-president. Up to 1824 the electors in many of the states were chosen by the legislatures. In the colonial period, the people of Mass., Conn., and R. I. elected their governors. In all the colonies the people elected the representatives of their assemblies, either by ballot or by a *viva voce* vote. Laws against treating and violence were in force, but disturbances were not uncommon at voting places.

ELIOT, JOHN.—Born at Boston, 1754; died there, 1813. A celebrated clergyman and author of "New England Biographical Dictionary."

ELLIOTT, JESSE DUNCAN.—Born in Md., 1782; died at Philadelphia, 1845. An officer of the U. S. navy. At the battle of Lake Erie (1813), he was second in command under Commodore Perry. In the Algerian War (1815), he commanded the war-sloop "Ontario," in Decatur's squadron.

ELLSWORTH, OLIVER.—Born at Windsor, Conn., 1745; died there, 1807. A statesman and jurist. He was U. S. senator from Conn. (1789–96); chief-justice of the U. S. Supreme Court (1796–1800); envoy extraordinary to France, 1799.

EMMET, THOMAS ADDIS.—Born at Cork, Ireland, 1764; died at New York, 1827. An Irish-American lawyer and politician; brother of

Robert Emmet, the Irish patriot. In 1804 he settled in New York, where he practised law and became attorney-general of the state in 1812.

EMUCKFAU (Ala.), BATTLE OF.—In Jan., 1814, Jackson, with 930 volunteers and 200 friendly Indians took the field against the hostile Seminoles. Jan. 21, with Gen. Coffee, he camped near Emuckfau, southern Ala. At dawn on the 22d, the savages made an attack, but were repulsed and driven back two miles. The Indians then returned to the attack, but were again repulsed. Gen. Coffee was wounded. His aid-de-camp and three others were killed.

ENGINEERS, UNITED STATES CORPS OF.—A branch of the U. S. military service which was organized by Congress in 1802. Its duties consist in the ordinary engineering work of fortification, bridge-building, etc. Another branch has control of the construction and repair of seacoast defenses and harbor and river improvements.

ENTANGLING ALLIANCE.—An expression originally used by Thomas Jefferson, in his inaugural address. He counseled "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none," as some of the principles which "form the bright constellation that has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation." The expression has since come into general use in the discussion of our foreign relations.

"ENTERPRISE," THE.—Sept. 5, 1813, the American brig "Enterprise" while cruising off the coast of Me. captured the British brig "Boxer" after a desperate fight in which both captains were killed.

"ESSEX."—A famous frigate of 860 tons, built at Salem, Mass., in 1799. On Aug. 13, 1812, under the command of Capt. David Porter, she fought and captured the "Alert," and after doubling Cape Horn, entered the harbor of Valparaiso in 1813. She was the first American warship that appeared in the Pacific. In 1814 while blockaded in Valparaiso harbor by the British "Phœbe" under Capt. Hill-iar and the "Cherub" under Capt. Tucker, she boldly engaged these ships in a storm, but after a gallant fight which lasted from 4 to 7:30 P. M. was compelled to surrender.

ESSEX JUNTO.—A synonym for New England Federalism. The name was first applied by John Hancock, in 1781, to a group of Essex Co. (Mass.) Federalists. They advocated a stronger general government and the protection of the commercial interests of the country. President John Adams brought them into national prominence by accusing them of trying to bring on war with France in 1798. Fisher Ames, Cabot, the Lowells, Higginson, Pickering, Parsons, and Goodhue

were among the prominent members of the Essex Junto. John Quincy Adams sharply criticised their policy and principles in his writings.

EUSTIS, WILLIAM.—Born at Cambridge, Mass., 1753; died at Boston, 1825. He was secretary of war (1809-13) and governor of Mass. (1823-25).

EVANS, OLIVER.—Born at Newport, Del., 1755; died at New York, 1819. Distinguished as a mechanical inventor. By his inventions in milling, he effected a great revolution in flour manufacture. He is claimed to have been the inventor of the first high pressure steam engine. He wrote "The Young Millwright's and Miller's Guide."

FAREWELL ADDRESS.—An address issued by George Washington, to his countrymen, on his retirement from public life, in 1796.

FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.—A sobriquet popularly applied to George Washington.

FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION.—A name often applied to James Madison, by reason of the large part that he was reputed to have had in shaping that instrument.

FINANCES, SUPERINTENDENT OF.—An office created by the Continental Congress. It was established, Feb. 7, 1791, and replaced the Treasury Board, which consisted of five members of Congress. Its first incumbent was Robert Morris, the banker, who, impoverished himself in the patriot cause. It was Morris's duty to investigate the national finances, report plans for their improvement, enforce orders bearing on revenue and expenditure and control public accounts. When Morris resigned the position, in 1784, a board of three commissioners took charge of the finances and retained office until 1789, when the existing Treasury Department was established.

FITCH, JOHN.—(1743-1798.) An inventor and constructor of steam-boats, the first of which was launched in 1787 on the Delaware River. Discouragement at the financial failure of his enterprise led him to take his life. (See FULTON, ROBERT.)

FLAG.—A national or state banner or ensign, often referred to, in military parlance, as colors. Early in the Revolution the patriots had as many as six distinct flags, three of which were very suggestive of those in use in Great Britain. Even then many of the colonists in arms against England did not seriously contemplate an absolute separation from the mother country and were reluctant to adopt a device that would typify complete independence. In New England a green pine tree on a field of white was a very popular banner. Still better known was the "rattlesnake flag," composed of a snake in 13 sections, each section bearing the initial of a colony, and under or above this

device the legend "Join or Die." An approximation to the present standard was made in another rattlesnake flag, which had a background of alternate red and white bars and the words, "Don't tread on me." In 1775 Congress adopted the flag of the Philadelphia Light Horse Cavalry, which, in view of the fact that it retained the British union, was not wholly satisfactory. The need of a banner that should be at once a common standard for all the soldiers of all the states, and an expression of the idea of national independence, which had displaced all hope of a reunion with Great Britain, had its statutory inception in this resolution introduced in the Continental Congress, June 14, 1777: "Resolved, that the flag of the U. S. shall be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the union shall be 13 stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation." The stars, five-pointed, are arranged in a rectangular space. It is supposed that the idea of using the stars was derived from the arms of the Washington family. A committee of Congress and Gen. Washington called on Mrs. John Ross, of Philadelphia, in June, 1777, and she made a model flag from a rough pencil drawing that had been modified by Washington, at whose suggestion the stars were altered to five-pointed instead of six-pointed, as in the original design. As states other than the first 13 entered the Union, it became evident that the addition of a stripe for each new state, as well as a star, in accordance with the plan early adopted,—and this was done for the first four new states,—would make the flag unwieldy. Congress in 1818 reestablished the standard with 13 stripes and 20 stars, one for each state then in the U. S. The principle established in 1818 of leaving the number of stripes undisturbed and representing each newly admitted state by an added star, is still in force. The number of stars now is (1902), 45.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SECRETARY OF.—At the solicitation of its representatives in other countries, the Continental Congress in 1781 created the office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The first incumbent of the office was Robert R. Livingston of N. Y. Its duties also included the adjustment of affairs between states. From 1784 to 1789, the position was held by John Jay. July 27, 1789, the two Departments of Home and Foreign Affairs were combined in the Department of State. It has so continued since that time.

FORT ERIE (Canada), BATTLES OF.—Occurred Aug. 14-15, 1814, between Gen. Gaines commanding 2,500 Americans, and 5,000 British under Lieut.-col. Drummond. The latter bombarded the fort on both of the above days and between midnight and dawn on the 15th tried to carry it by assault. He was driven off with a loss of 531, killed,

wounded, and prisoners, while the total American loss was but 84. Sept. 17, Gen. Brown, who had taken command in consequence of injuries to Gen. Gaines, ordered a sortie on the enemy's outposts and all the British batteries were captured or destroyed. This action saved Buffalo and western N. Y. from invasion. In the sortie the British lost 885 and the Americans 295. Drummond at once retired to Canada and the Americans abandoned Fort Erie after destroying it.

FORT GEORGE (Canada), CAPTURE OF.—On May 27, 1813, Gen. Dearborn, commanding 4,000 American troops, attacked Fort George on the Canadian side of the Niagara River. The fort was held by 1,800 British regulars, 350 militia, and 50 Indians under Brig.-gen. Vincent. Gen. Dearborn's force was transported from Fort Niagara, an American stronghold nearly opposite, by the fleet of Commodore Chauncey and Capt. Perry. After a sharp engagement of 20 minutes, the British fled to Beaver Dams, 18 miles away, to rendezvous. Fort George, its dependencies, and the village of Newark, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost 40 killed and about 100 wounded. The British regulars lost in killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners, 56, while 507 Canadian militia were captured, together with much ammunition and stores.

FORT HARRISON (Ind.), ASSAULT ON.—Sept. 4, 1812, Capt. Zachary Taylor, afterward general and President, held, with a garrison of 50 men, ill or convalescing, this blockhouse on the Wabash River until reinforcements reached him. The attacking Indians fired the fort, and inflicted a loss of three killed and three wounded. (See TAYLOR, ZACHARY.)

FORT MACKINAC (Mich.), CAPTURE OF.—The British in Canada heard of the declaration of the War of 1812 sooner than the Americans on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, and on July 17, English and Indians, 700 strong, under Capt. Roberts, surprised and captured the garrison of 61 officers and men under Lieut. Hancks at Fort Michilimackinac, or Mackinaw.

FORT MCHENRY (Md.), BOMBARDMENT OF.—Sept. 13, 1814, the British fleet of 16 heavy vessels attacked Fort McHenry, three miles southeast of Baltimore. Eight hundred men, under Maj. Armistead, defended the fort, which withstood a bombardment for 25 hours, when the hostile ships were obliged to withdraw with a loss of two vessels and many men. During the action Francis Scott Key, who was in the city, wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner." During the Civil War this fort was much used by the U. S. Gov't as a place of confinement for high military and state prisoners.

FORT MEIGS (Ohio), BOMBARDMENT OF.—Lasted from May 1 to May 6, 1813, when the British and Indians numbering 2,500 under Col. Proctor, despairing of carrying the fort, abandoned operations against it. The defenders, commanded by Gens. Clay and Harrison, lost over 600 of their 2,200 men through the disobedience of orders by Col. Dudley, who in an attack on the British rear penetrated too far into the woods and were ambushed. Notwithstanding this reverse to the Americans, the English failed in their main purpose.

FORT MIMMS (Ala.) MASSACRE.—In 1813 the people of Ala., alarmed by the hostile course of the Creek Indians, crowded Fort Mimms, near Montgomery. It was garrisoned by 16 regulars and 240 volunteers. Aug. 30 it fell before an attack of 1,000 savages, and 400 persons, including all the women and children, were slain.

FORT MORGAN.—Situated at the entrance to Mobile Bay, on the site of the old Fort Bowyer, the scene of a repulse of the British and their Indian allies by the Americans under Major Lockwood, Sept. 15, 1814. Fort Morgan was also an important factor in the defense of Mobile in the Civil War. It was captured by the Federals in Aug., 1864. (See MOBILE BAY, BATTLE OF.)

FORT NIAGARA.—At the mouth of the Niagara River, N. Y.; established by the French in 1678, and surrendered to the U. S. by the British in 1796. Nov. 21, 1812, Fort Niagara repelled a bombardment by Forts George and Niagara on the Canadian side, silencing their batteries. American loss nine; British loss unknown.

FORT ST. PHILIP (La.), BOMBARDMENT OF.—Fort St. Philip, on the Mississippi, 65 miles below New Orleans, was bombarded by British vessels from Jan. 9 to Jan. 14, 1815. The English failed to capture it, and inflicted a loss of only two killed and seven wounded. This fort also formed one of the Confederate defenses of New Orleans, early in the Civil War. In Apr., 1862, Farragut ran his ships past the fort and captured the city. (See FARRAGUT, DAVID GLASGOW. See also FORT JACKSON.)

FORT STEPHENSON (Ohio), ATTACK ON.—Maj. Croghan with 160 men occupied Fort Stephenson, now Fremont, Ohio. Aug. 1, 1813, he was attacked by Gen. Proctor with 400 regulars and many hundred Indians, while Tecumseh and 2,000 braves held the roads to prevent reinforcements. Aug. 2 the garrison repelled a general assault with slight loss, the enemy losing 120.

FREEMAN, JAMES.—Born at Charlestown, Mass., 1759; died at Newton, Mass., 1835. He was pastor of King's Chapel, Boston (1787–1835), and was the first in the U. S. to assume the name of Unitarian.

FRELINGHUYSEN, FREDERICK THEODORE.—Born at Millstone, N. J., 1817; died at Newark, N. J., 1885; nephew of Theodore Frelinghuysen. He was elected U. S. senator from N. J. in 1866 and 1871; was a member of the Electoral Commission in 1877, and secretary of state in 1881.

FRENCH SPOILIATION CLAIMS.—In July, 1796, the Directory of the Republic of France announced to the world that French cruisers and privateers had been ordered to treat vessels of neutral and allied powers, either as to search, seizure, or confiscation, in the same manner as they (the neutral or allied powers) should suffer the English to treat them. It was claimed that the U. S. did not exercise sufficient vigilance over the belligerent rights and treaty stipulations between themselves and the warring European powers, and American commerce became the prey of French cruisers. By a convention between the U. S. and France, ratified in 1801, the differences were adjusted and the U. S. urged the claims of its citizens for damages sustained, amounting to \$20,000,000. France made a counterclaim many times as great, for damages alleged to have been sustained by her citizens resulting from the failure of the U. S. to keep their treaty obligations. The result of this convention was a mutual surrender of these claims and the U. S. became responsible to its own citizens for indemnification. The claims have been repeatedly pressed upon Congress and the subject has engaged the attention of our ablest lawyers and statesmen. Bills for their payment were vetoed by Polk (1846) and by Pierce (1855). In Jan., 1885, Congress passed an act authorizing the claimants to apply to the court of claims for adjudication of their claims. The 51st Congress passed an act appropriating about \$1,000,000 to pay such of the claims as had been reported favorably by that court. A similar bill, carrying over \$1,000,000 for their payment, was vetoed by President Cleveland, in 1896. March 3, 1899, President McKinley approved an act to pay over \$1,000,000 of these claims. Most of these claims are a hundred years old.

FRENCHTOWN.—A small town in Michigan, situated on Lake Erie, 22 miles southwest of Detroit, on Raisin River. Here, in the War of 1812, it was the scene of a victory by the British and Indians under General Henry Proctor over the Americans under Brig.-general James Winchester, Jan. 22, 1813. The American loss, in killed and prisoners, was 934 out of a detachment of 1,000 in all, while that of the British was only 180. Winchester was taken a prisoner to Quebec until released by exchange in 1814.

"FROLIC," THE.—A British brig captured by the American sloop-of-war "Wasp," Oct. 18, 1812. (See "WASP," THE.)

"FULTON," THE.—A small American warship built in New York in 1815, and named after the inventor Robert Fulton. It was the first warship propelled by steam, and was the prototype of the modern iron-clad.

GAINES, EDMUND PENDLETON.—(1777-1849.) A general of the U. S. army, distinguished for his defense of Fort Erie against a superior British force in Aug., 1814.

GALLATIN, ALBERT.—(1761-1849.) A financier and statesman. He came to America in 1780, and was elected member of Congress from Pa. in 1795; became Secretary of the Treasury in 1801. He was the first promoter of the committee of ways and means, and was reported as one of the greatest financiers of the age. He was U. S. minister to France (1816-23) and to England (1826-27).

GERRY, ELBRIDGE.—(1744-1814.) An American statesman; member of the Continental Congress and holder, subsequently, of several important offices under the government.

GERRYMANDER.—An arbitrary arrangement of the legislative or congressional districts of a state, regardless of geographical contiguity and compactness, whereby the voters of the political parties are so grouped that a party which is in the minority may elect a majority of the representatives in Congress or in a state legislature,—more than its just proportion, based on its numerical strength. It is a scheme, the avowed purpose of which is to gain a political advantage. The word was coined in 1811, suggested by the name of Elbridge Gerry, who as governor of Mass., signed a bill passed by the Democratic majority of the legislature, grouping the counties that gave Federalist majorities into one district. In its unique form, this district had a fancied resemblance to the reptile known as the salamander, and by combining the governor's name with the latter half of this word, the result was "Gerrymander." This device has been resorted to by both political parties at different times, in many states, to intrench themselves in power.

GHENT, TREATY OF.—A treaty of peace concluded by the U. S. and Great Britain, at Ghent, Belgium, Dec. 24, 1814, and ratified, Feb. 17, 1815. It brought to a close the War of 1812, leaving matters substantially as they had been before the war. The treaty was negotiated by John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin on behalf of the U. S. and by Lord James Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams on the part of Great Britain.

GIBBONS vs. OGDEN.—An important Supreme Court case, denying the right of a state to grant the exclusive privilege of navigating the

waters of a state, extending to the coastwise traffic of another state. Aaron Ogden had obtained by assignment the exclusive right to navigate for 30 years the waters within the jurisdiction of the state of New York. In 1808 the N. Y. court of chancery granted an injunction, forbidding Thomas Gibbons from running steamboats between New York and Elizabethtown and other places in N. J. Gibbons appealed and the N. Y. court of errors sustained the chancery court. The U. S. Supreme Court reversed the decision and rendered judgment for the appellant Gibbons. Daniel Webster appeared for the appellant. Chief-justice Marshall delivered the opinion.

GREEN, ASHBEL.—Born at Hanover, N. J., 1762; died at Philadelphia, 1848; president of Princeton College, 1812-22.

GRISWOLD, ROGER.—Born at Lyme, Conn., 1762; died at Norwich, Conn., 1812. An American politician. He was elected a Federalist member of Congress from Conn. in 1795; appointed a judge of the Conn. supreme court in 1807, and governor of the state in 1811. During his governorship he refused, when requisitioned by the President, to supply four companies of troops for garrison purposes, on the ground that they were not wanted to repel invasion, and that the requisition was, therefore, unconstitutional.

"GUERRIÈRE," THE.—A British frigate destroyed by the American frigate "Constitution," Aug. 19, 1812. (See "CONSTITUTION," THE.)

HAMILTON, PAUL.—(1762-1816.) He was comptroller of S. C. (1799-1804), governor (1804-06), and Secretary of the Navy under James Madison (1809-13). He was strenuous in enforcing the embargo policy of the government in the War of 1812, and it was in spite of his mandate "to remain in Boston until further orders" that Hull on the "Constitution" defeated and captured the "Guerrière."

HARTFORD CONVENTION.—The historically celebrated Hartford Convention was in session in Hartford, Conn., from Dec. 15, 1814, to Jan. 5, 1815. It met behind closed doors, and denounced the war with Great Britain as injurious to the commercial interests of the Eastern States. It was essentially a Federalist body, and Mass., R. I., Conn., N. H., and Vt. were represented. The delegates attacked the government for drafting men for the army, and called for reforms in state rights. When charged with an attempt to revolutionize the country, they disavowed any present intention to disrupt the Union, but startled the people by admitting that "if a dissolution should become necessary by reason of the multiplied abuses of that administration, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent." The convention enunciated the proposition that it

is as much the duty of the state authorities to watch over the reserved rights, as of the U. S. to exercise the powers that are delegated. Mass. and R. I. indorsed the course of the convention and Congress was urged to act in sympathy with the Hartford body, but ignored the recommendation. The proceedings of the Hartford Convention are interesting and curious as illustrating the fact that the idea of secession and state rights early developed in a political party, whose genius was wholly opposed to such distinctive and subversive tendencies. The Hartford Convention virtually ended the career of the Federalist party.

"HARTFORD," THE.—The flagship of Admiral Farragut, at the battle of New Orleans and the battle of Mobile. (See FARRAGUT, DAVID GLASGOW.)

HOLLINS, GEORGE NICHOLS.—(1799–1878.) An American naval officer. He served under Decatur in the Algerian War (1815) and became commander in 1844. In 1861 he resigned and accepted a commission as commodore in the Confederate navy.

HOPKINSON, JOSEPH.—(1770–1842.) Noted as a jurist, but more particularly as the author of "Hail! Columbia."

"HORNET," THE.—An American sloop-of-war carrying 18 guns, commanded by Capt. Lawrence during the War of 1812. Feb. 24, 1813, near the mouth of the Demerara River, Guiana, she attacked the British brig "Peacock," 18 guns. The "Peacock" was soon in a sinking condition and struck her colors. March 23, 1815, off the Cape of Good Hope, the "Hornet" sank the British brig "Penguin," also of 18 guns. Shortly after this battle, the "Hornet" was chased by the British frigate "Cornwallis," 74 guns, and only escaped capture by throwing overboard her guns and heavy stores.

HORSE SHOE BEND (Ala.), BATTLE OF.—At this battle the spirit of the Creek and the Cherokee Indians was completely broken. When Gen. Jackson was informed of the arrival of Creeks in considerable numbers in Tallapoosa Co., he resolved to strike a decisive blow. He sent his stores down the Coosa River from Fort Strother in flatboats, and marched his army against the Indians. Mar. 27, 1814, with 2,000 effective men, he halted at the Horse Shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River, where 1,200 Indians (one-fourth of whom were women and children) had intrenched. The whites and their Indian allies surrounded the camps. The enemy was attacked in front with bayonet and ball and the torch was applied to their camp in the rear. The Indians fought desperately, the battle lasting all day. In the evening 557 Creek warriors were dead in the little peninsula and some 200 more were killed while trying to escape. The loss of the whites

was 22 killed and 99 wounded. The Cherokees lost 18 killed and 36 wounded. Some 300 women and children were taken prisoners.

HOUSTON, SAM.—(1793-1863.) A noted American statesman and general. He served in the War of 1812; member of Congress from Tenn. 1823-27; governor of Tenn. 1827-29; commander-in-chief of the Texans defeated at San Jacinto by the Mexicans 1836; president of Texas 1836-38 and 1841-44; U. S. senator from Texas 1845-59; governor of Texas 1859-61.

HUGER, FRANCIS KINLOCH.—(1773-1855.) An American officer noted for his unsuccessful attempt to liberate La Fayette from the fortress of Olmütz. He was discovered and was imprisoned for nearly eight months by the Austrian Government.

HULL, ISAAC.—(1773?-1843). An American commodore famed for his defeat and capture of the "Guerrière" when in command of the "Constitution."

HULL, WILLIAM.—(1753-1825.) He served as general through the Revolutionary War, became governor of Mich. Territory (1805-14), and surrendered Detroit to the British in the War of 1812.

INAUGURATION DAY.—The selection of Mar. 4, as the day for the inauguration of the President and Vice-president of the U. S., dates back to 1788. After the ratification of the Constitution by the several states, the Congress of the old Confederation fixed upon the first Wednesday in Jan., 1789, for the choice of electors, the first Wednesday in Feb. for the popular voting by the electors, and the first Wednesday in Mar., for the inauguration of the President. The latter day fell on the 4th in that year, and the twelfth amendment to the Constitution settled upon this as the legal date. Washington's first inauguration was, however, on April 30, 1789. Measures have been frequently introduced, in both houses of Congress, for an amendment to the Constitution changing Inauguration Day to a later date in the year.

JAY, JOHN.—Born at New York 1745; died at Bedford, N. Y., 1829. A distinguished statesman and jurist. He became delegate to Congress from N. Y. (1774-77 and 1778-79), and was the framer of the N. Y. constitution of 1777. He was appointed U. S. minister to Spain (1780-82), peace commissioner at Paris (1782-83), secretary of foreign affairs (1784-89). He was a contributor to the "Federalist," first chief-justice of the U. S. Supreme Court (1789-95); unsuccessful candidate for governor of N. Y. (1792); special minister to Great Britain (1794-95), and governor of N. Y. (1795-1801).

JAY TREATY.—The name given to a treaty of peace and friendship which was negotiated in 1794 by John Jay representing the U. S.

and Lord Grenville for Great Britain. It provided for the evacuation of the British posts in the U. S., free commercial intercourse on the American continent, unrestricted navigation of the Mississippi River, indemnity to citizens of each country for damages at the hands of privateers of the other, and a limited trade between this country and the British West Indies. This last clause caused the treaty to be very unpopular in America.

JONES, JACOB.—(1770–1850.) A naval officer, noted as the commander of the “Wasp” at the capture of the “Frolic” in 1812.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL.—Born at Guilford, Conn., 1696; died at Stratford, Conn. 1772. A clergyman and educator; the first president of King’s College (Columbia College), New York (1754–63).

KEMPER, REUBEN.—Born at Va.; died in Miss., 1826. A soldier. He commanded in 1812 a force of Americans coöperating with the Mexican insurgents against Spain. In 1815 he served under Gen. Jackson against the British at New Orleans.

KENT, JAMES.—Born at Philippi, N. Y., 1763; died in New York City, 1847. A noted jurist. He was chief-justice of the supreme court of N. Y., 1804–14; his principal work is “Commentaries on American Law.”

KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS.—Nine resolutions prepared by Thomas Jefferson and passed by the Ky. legislature in 1798. These and the Va. resolutions were the outcome of a feeling that the Federal party, in passing the Alien and Sedition Laws, was making an illegitimate use of the power granted to the government by the Constitution. The resolutions declared that the Union was not based on the “principle of unlimited submission to the general government”; that the Constitution was a compact to which each state was a party as related to its fellow states, and that in all cases not specified in the compact, each party had a right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress. They then proceeded to set forth the unconstitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Laws and invited other states to join in declaring them void. The tenth resolution was passed the following year declaring that nullification of a Federal law by a state was the rightful remedy for Federal usurpation of authority. Upon these resolutions were based in part the doctrines of nullification and secession.

LAKE BORGNE (La.), BATTLE OF.—The British army, repulsed at Baltimore, retired to the island of Jamaica. It was here reinforced by a sufficient number to make a total of above 7,000 men, and sailed from Jamaica, Nov. 26, 1814, in Admiral Cochran’s ships, with the in-

tention of capturing New Orleans, and thus securing possession of the Mississippi River and the Territory of Louisiana. Early in December, Daniel F. Patterson, commanding the naval station at New Orleans, sent Lieut. Thomas A. C. Jones with seven small vessels, mounting 23 guns and carrying 182 men, to intercept the British fleet. The British, Dec. 14, 1814, manned 60 barges with 1,200 volunteers from the fleet under Capt. Lockyer, and sent them out to destroy the American gunboats. The battle took place on Lake Borgne, and lasted about an hour. Several of the British barges were shattered and sunk, and about 300 men were killed or wounded. The American gunboats were captured, which gave the British control of Lake Borgne.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN, BATTLE OF.—After arriving at the head of Lake Champlain, Sept. 6, 1814, Governor-general Prevost awaited the co-operation of the British fleet on the lake. Sept. 11, Capt. Downie's squadron rounded Cumberland Head. It consisted of the frigate "Confidence," brig "Linnet," sloops "Chub" and "Finch," and twelve gunboats. In Plattsburg Bay, awaiting the attack, lay the American squadron under Capt. Thomas Macdonough, then only 28 years of age. It consisted of the ships "Saratoga," brig "Eagle," schooner "Ticonderoga," sloop "Preble," and 10 gunboats. The first shot from the "Saratoga" was aimed by Macdonough, and went entirely through the flagship of the British squadron, demolishing her wheel. The battle raged two hours and twenty minutes, when every British vessel struck her colors. The British loss was more than 200, including Capt. Downie. The American loss was 110, of whom 52 were killed.

LAKE ERIE, BATTLE OF.—In 1813, the Americans, under great difficulties, constructed a fleet of war vessels at Presque Isle, now Erie, Pa., for service on the Great Lakes. Aug. 12, 1813, the American squadron, consisting of the "Lawrence" (flagship), "Niagara," "Caledonia," "Ariel," "Somers," "Tigress," "Scorpion," "Porcupine," "Ohio," and "Trippe," manned by less than 400 officers and men, under Capt. Oliver Hazard Perry sailed for the head of Lake Erie, in search of Barclay's British squadron of six vessels, manned by more than 500 men. Sept. 10, Perry's lookout sighted the enemy. At 10 o'clock in the morning the signal for action was run up to the mast-head of the "Lawrence." It bore the words of the dying Capt. Lawrence of the "Chesapeake," "Don't give up the ship." During the action the "Lawrence" was disabled and Perry transferred his flag to the "Niagara." At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the flag of the British flagship was struck and the firing ceased. Perry sent to Gen. Harrison the famous message: "We have met the enemy and they are ours." The British loss in the action was 135, 41 of whom were

killed. The Americans lost 123, 27 of whom were killed. (See PERRY, OLIVER HAZARD.)

LAWRENCE, JAMES.—(1781-1813.) An American naval officer. He captured the British ship "Peacock," Feb., 1813; as commander of the "Chesapeake," he was defeated by the "Shannon," June 1, 1813; he lost his life in this engagement.

"LAWRENCE," THE.—The flagship of Com. Oliver Hazard Perry, in his battle with the British fleet under Com. Barclay on Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813. The "Lawrence" was disabled in the action and Perry passed in a small boat, under a heavy fire, to the "Niagara," transferring his flag to that vessel. (See PERRY, OLIVER HAZARD, 252.)

LAURENS, HENRY.—(1724-1792.) American statesman and diplomat. He was a delegate to Congress (1776); was president of Congress (1777-8); and was peace commissioner at Paris in 1782.

"LEANDER," THE.—A British warship which, while lying off Sandy Hook, Apr. 25, 1806, fired a shot which killed a sailor on board an American coaster. Citizens of New York, in mass meeting, denounced the outrage and called upon the President for better protection. President Jefferson issued a proclamation ordering the arrest of the "Leander's" captain, if found within the jurisdiction of the U. S.

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION.—A party of citizens and soldiers sent under command of Captain Merrywether, and Lewis and William Clark, by order of President Jefferson, to explore the country from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. They ascended the Missouri River to its sources, crossed the Rocky Mountains and finding the source of the Columbia River, floated down that stream to its mouth. They explored almost all the territory lying south of the 49th parallel. This expedition was important, as its work (1804-06) formed the basis of America's claim to Oregon.

LIVINGSTON, BROCKHOLST.—(1757-1823.) A jurist, son of William Livingston. He was a judge of the U. S. Supreme Court (1806-23).

LIVINGSTON, ROBERT R.—(1746-1813.) A statesman and jurist. He negotiated the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and was associated with Fulton in promoting steamboat navigation.

LIVINGSTON, WILLIAM.—(1723-1790.) A politician, brother of Philip Livingston. He was governor of N. J. (1776-90), and a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—The regulation and administration of the local affairs of a city or district by its inhabitants, as distinguished from such regulation and administration of authority by the state or nation at large. The state was an institution of the Roman empire,

but the Teutonic nations developed a local government of their own and gave the name "town" to language and "township" to constitutional law. When the first settlements were made in America, England had well-developed forms of local government which served as a pattern for the Jamestown Colony in Va., and for other colonies as well. The colony was subdivided into counties, the counties in some cases into hundreds, and the hundreds into parishes or townships. In the southern colonies, where the plantation system prevailed and the people were scattered over a large area, the colonists on their separation from England retained the county system as being best suited to their population. In the New England colonies, where population was more compact, the township government was retained. Thus two distinct types of local government prevailed in the U. S.—the township system in New England and the county system in the South. In the middle colonies a system of local government was instituted which combined the county and township systems. This is now generally in use in the Western States.

LOUISIANA, DISTRICT OF.—That part of the Louisiana Purchase which is not included in the present state of La. It was established as a district with its capital at St. Louis in 1804. In 1805 it was given a separate government, as the territory of La. In 1812 the name of the territory was changed to Missouri.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE.—A name applied to the territory west of the Mississippi River, that was purchased from France in 1803. It embraced all of the present state of La. lying west of the Mississippi River, together with New Orleans and the adjacent district east, comprising Miss. and Ala. below the thirty-first parallel; Ark., Mo., Iowa, a portion of Id. and Minn., all of the Dakotas, most of Kan., all of Neb. and Ind. Ter., part of Col., most of Wyo., and the whole of Mont. It is claimed by some that Ore. and Wash. were included, but at that early day it was not possible in the wilderness for the boundaries to be clearly defined.

LUNDY'S LANE (Canada), BATTLE OF.—After the defeat of the British force under Gen. Riall, at Chippewa, in 1814, it returned by way of Queenston toward the head of Lake Ontario. Riall was soon reinforced and returned to attack the Americans under Gen. Brown, who had pursued him as far as Queenston. Learning of the British reinforcement, Brown retreated to the Chippewa River, and on July 24, 1814, encamped on the south bank, where he had defeated Riall a few days before. On the 25th, Gen. Winfield Scott, with about 1,200 men, went forward to reconnoiter, and came upon the British army, 4,500 strong, near Niagara Falls, at Lundy's Lane, a road leading

from the Falls, to the end of Lake Ontario. Soon the entire American force was engaged, the battle lasting from sunset till midnight. The American force numbered about 2,500 men. Both sides claimed the victory, though both left the field. The American loss was a total of 852 out of an army of 2,500. The British lost 878 out of an army of 4,500.

McARTHUR, DUNCAN.—Born in Dutchess Co., N. Y., 1772; died near Chillicothe, O., 1839. A pioneer in Ohio, general in the War of 1812, and governor of Ohio (1830-32).

McDONOUGH, THOMAS.—Born in New Castle Co., Del., 1783; died at sea, 1825. A naval officer. He defeated the British squadron under Downie on Lake Champlain, Sept. 11, 1814, and was appointed captain that year.

MACLURE, WILLIAM.—Born at Ayr, Scotland, 1763; died at San Angel, Mexico, 1840. A noted geologist. Memoirs of his geological survey of the U. S. were published in 1809 and 1817.

McNEIL, JOHN.—Born at Hillsborough, N. H., 1784; died at Washington, D. C., 1850. An officer distinguished in the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, 1814.

MACOMB, ALEXANDER.—Born at Detroit, Mich., 1782; died at Washington, D. C., 1841. A maj.-gen. He defeated the British under Prevost at Plattsburg, 1814, and was commander-in-chief of the army (1828-41).

MACON, NATHANIEL.—Born in Warren Co., N. C., 1757; died there, 1837. A politician. He was a member of Congress from N. C. (1791-1815); speaker of the House (1801-06), and U. S. senator (1816-28). He was chosen president *pro tempore* of the Senate in 1825.

MARCY, WILLIAM LEARNED.—Born at Southbridge, Mass., 1786; died at Ballston Spa, N. Y., 1857. A statesman. He served in the War of 1812; was U. S. senator (Democratic) from N. Y. (1831-33); governor of N. Y. (1833-38); Mexican claims commissioner (1839-42); Secretary of War (1845-49); Secretary of State (1853-57).

MARINE, SECRETARY OF.—Up to 1781, the Board of Admiralty had supervision of all naval affairs. Feb. 7 of that year the Continental Congress created the office of Secretary of Marine, whose duties corresponded to those of the present Secretary of the Navy. Before the end of that year, however, the duties of the office were transferred to the Treasury Department.

MAZZEI LETTER.—A private letter written by Thomas Jefferson to one Mazzei, an Italian, in 1796. The letter was translated and pub-

lished in an English paper. It aroused much animosity against Jefferson by its supposed allusion to Washington and others as "Those Samsons in the field and Solomons in the council," who had formed an Anglican, monarchal, aristocratic party in America, whose avowed object was "to draw over us the substance as they had already done the forms, of the British Government."

MEIGS, FORT.—A fort at the Maumee rapids, in northwestern Ohio, held by the Americans under Harrison against the British and Indians, May and July, 1813.

MIDNIGHT APPOINTMENTS.—During the last days of his presidential term, John Adams, piqued at the success of Jefferson whom he had opposed for the presidency, made a number of Federal appointments, in every instance of men who were opposed to Jefferson and his principles. Among the appointments were 16 circuit judges. The commissions of some of these appointees were signed just before midnight of March 3, 1801, hence the term "midnight appointments."

MILAN DECREE.—Nov. 11, 1807, France and England being then at war, the king of Great Britain and his privy council issued a decree forbidding trade between the U. S. and any European country, under Napoleon's power. Napoleon, thereupon, in retaliation, Dec. 7, 1807, issued the Milan Decree, in which he declared to be denationalized, whether found in continental ports or on the high seas, any vessel which should submit to search by a British vessel, or should touch at or set sail to or from Great Britain or her colonies.

MILLER, JAMES.—Born at Peterborough, N. H., 1776; died at Temple, N. H., 1851. A general and politician, distinguished at Lundy's Lane in 1814.

MORSE, JEDIDIAH.—Born at Woodstock, Conn., 1761; died at New Haven, Conn., 1826. A geographer and Congregational divine, author of a series of geographies and gazetteers.

NAVIGATION LAWS.—The Constitution gives Congress power to pass navigation laws in accordance with the principles of international law. By act of 1789 a tonnage tax of six cents per ton was levied on all American vessels, and one of 50 cents a ton on all vessels built and owned in foreign countries and entering American ports. In 1792 an act requiring American registrations was passed. In 1793 the coasting trade was closed to foreign vessels. In 1816, 1817, and 1820 the American navigation laws were remodeled and made to correspond closely to those of Great Britain. Tonnage taxes, which had been abolished, were renewed at the outbreak of the Civil War.

NEW JERSEY PLAN.—This was the constitution proposed by William Paterson, of N. J., at the convention held at Philadelphia, in 1787, to amend the Articles of Confederation. Among various items of interest the plan provided for a single house of Congress with power to choose a president, who should have power to coerce refractory states and individuals. The plan was rejected in favor of the Va. plan, which, however, was extensively modified before its adoption.

NEW ORLEANS (La.), BATTLE OF.—This was fought near New Orleans; Jan. 8, 1815, between British troops under Sir Edward Pakenham, and American troops under General Jackson. The British numbered 10,000, most of them being veterans recently under Lord Wellington; the Americans numbered 5,800 in all, of which only 2,200 were at the front, and of this number not more than 800 were veterans. In the battle, in which the Americans fought from behind intrenchments the British lost 700 killed, including Sir Edward Pakenham, 1,400 wounded, and 500 prisoners. The Americans lost 8 killed and 13 wounded. The battle is remarkable for the disparity in the number lost.

"NIAGARA," THE.—The vessel to which Com. Oliver Hazard Perry transferred his flag, after the "Lawrence" had been disabled, during the battle with the British fleet on Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813. (See PERRY, OLIVER HAZARD, 252.)

NON-INTERCOURSE ACT.—An act passed by the U. S. Congress in 1809, prohibiting commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France, in retaliation for the injury done by the vessels of those nations to American commerce.

NORTH POINT (Md.), BATTLE OF.—Sept. 12, 1814, three days after the British army, 9,000 strong, had partly burned Washington, it landed at North Point, 12 miles from Baltimore, which was then defended by Gen. Samuel Smith with about the same number of troops. Gen. Smith sent 3,200 men under Gen. Stricker to oppose the advance of the enemy, whose commander, Gen. Ross, was killed in a preliminary skirmish. The battle lasted four hours and the British retained possession of the field.

OGDENSBURG (N. Y.), CAPTURE OF.—Ogdensburg lies in northern N. Y., on the right bank of the St. Lawrence River. Feb. 22, 1813, 800 British soldiers under Lieut.-col. McDonnell, crossed upon the ice from Canada, captured and sacked the town which had been garrisoned by 1,200 Americans under Maj. Forsyth.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL.—Generally speaking such orders of the British sovereign as are advised by the privy council. Specifically, those orders which in 1807 prohibited direct trade with France or her allies, and which directed the seizure of neutral ships engaged in such trade. The result of these orders bore heavily upon the commerce of the U. S.

OSGOOD, SAMUEL.—(1748-1813.) An American politician; first commissioner of the U. S. Treasury (1785-89) and Postmaster-General (1789-91).

OSWEGO (N. Y.), CAPTURE OF.—Oswego was defended by Fort Ontario with a garrison of less than 300 Americans commanded by Lieut.-col. Mitchell. On May 5, 1814, these were attacked by a British fleet with 1,200 men under Lieut.-col. Drummond. The British were repulsed, but renewed the attack the following day, effected a landing, and by their overwhelming numbers compelled the Americans to fall back.

PARKER, ISAAC.—(1768-1830.) An American jurist, Federalist member of Congress from Mass. (1797-99); appointed a judge of the supreme court of Mass. in 1806, professor at Harvard (1816-27).

PAULDING, HIRAM.—(1797-1878.) An American admiral; prominent in the victory of Lake Champlain, in 1814.

"PEACOCK," THE.—A famous sloop-of-war of 8 guns which did gallant service in the War of 1812. She captured the British ships "Épervier" and "Nautilus."

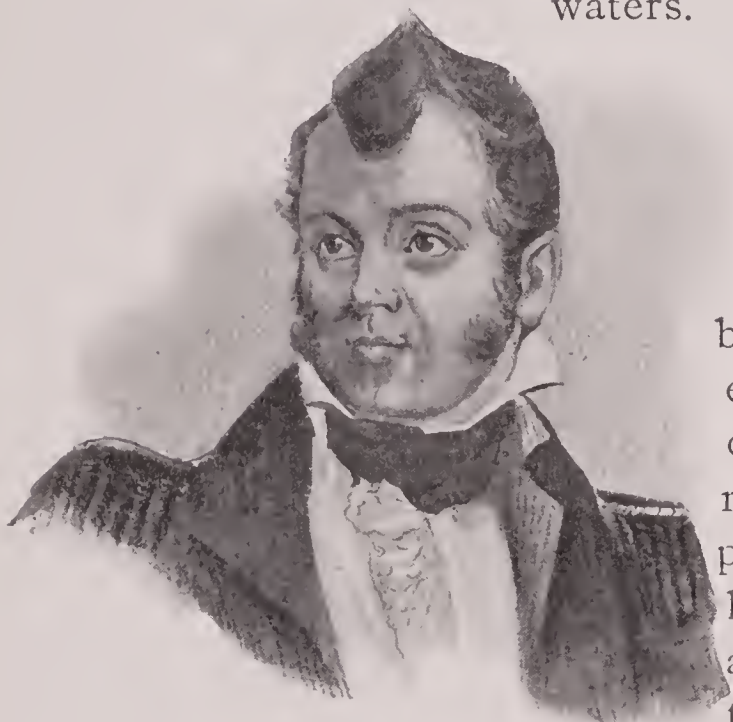
PENINSULAR WAR.—The war for the conquest of Spain and Portugal, urged by Napoleon. It was going on during the time of the War of 1812 in America. It began in 1807 when there was a disagreement between Charles IV. of Spain and his son Ferdinand. Napoleon interfered and sought to place his brother Joseph on the throne. England sent an army of 30,000 under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterward Duke of Wellington. The latter was opposed by 375,000 French veterans, but on October 7, 1813, he drove the French over the Pyrenees and next year won a victory at Toulouse.

PERRY, MATTHEW CALBRAITH.—(1794-1858.) An American naval officer, active in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican War. Appointed commodore in 1841.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY

"We have met the enemy and they are ours."

IN THE Capitol at Washington, at the head of the stairway leading to the Senate floor, is a striking painting which always commands attention. It shows a fierce naval engagement in progress. In the foreground is a rowboat in which stands, proudly erect, a young officer, waving his sword, as his gallant crew push him over the waters. To understand it, we must know that this



defiant young officer, with uncovered head, has just left his disabled flagship to transfer his flag to another vessel. Amid the terrible fire from three hostile ships, though loving arms are trying to pull him down into the boat for safety, his handsome form is the enemy's target. A few minutes later, lusty cheers from the survivors of the "Lawrence" ring out as they see their loved commander passing up the ladder of the "Niagara." One hour later that same officer sends a message across the waters of Lake Erie in words that thrill all Americans with joy — words that

have been written and rewritten in the hearts of millions of school children: "We have met the enemy and they are ours!"

That young officer was Oliver Hazard Perry, who by his gallant action on Lake Erie won a place of renown in the halls of the Nation's Capitol, while his heroic action has been made a living lesson to future generations. Born in 1785, he was the son of Christopher Raymond Perry, who had fought on land and sea during the Revolution. His mother, Sarah Alexander, of Scottish ancestry, was a descendant of the noted Wallace family, of Scotland. She prepared young Perry to command by teaching him to obey. Perry began his naval career as a midshipman on board the "General Greene," a vessel built by his father. After a cruise on the frigate "John Adams," against the pirates of the Mediterranean, Perry, who had risen to the rank of lieutenant, commanded a flotilla of gunboats at Newport during the embargo of 1807.

When the war of 1812 broke out, the United States had no naval force on the lakes. The surrender of General Hull, commanding the

United States forces at Detroit, had carried with it all her available vessels, and had made the English navy master of the great chain of inland waters. It became necessary, therefore, to create a lake squadron, and Lieutenant Perry was appointed master-commander to superintend its building and outfit. The difficulties of creating a navy in the wilderness can scarcely be conceived. The trees were standing in the woods, but that was all. Shipbuilders, sailors, naval stores, guns and ammunition, were all to be transported by land, in wagons, and over bad roads, a distance of more than four hundred miles, either from Albany by way of Buffalo, or from Philadelphia by way of Pittsburgh. Perry's superior officer, Commodore Chauncey, had never seen a naval battle, while his antagonist, Commodore Barclay, was a veteran of Lord Nelson at Trafalgar.

Against such odds, Perry set his genius to work. It was immediately developed in the selection of Port Erie for his shipyard. There a peninsula, extending a considerable distance into the lake, encircled the harbor. Captain Barclay's heavy ships could not pass the bar, for the water was but six feet deep. The point was also defensible by gunboats and by the militia stationed there. While the ships were on the stocks, the British navy kept watch, but could not enter the harbor. By August, 1813, Perry had eight vessels ready for service, two of which, the "Lawrence" and the "Niagara," of five hundred tons each, drew more water than the bar afforded. Since the English fleet could not get in, how were Perry's two heavy vessels to get out? His genius again solved the problem. He placed large scows on both sides of these ships, filled them with water so that they sank to the edge, then attached them to the ships by strong pieces of timber, and pumped out the water. The scows thus buoyed up the ships, enabling them to pass the bar in safety. This operation was performed in sight of the enemy. With his fleet of nine vessels and fifty-four guns, Perry then sailed for the head of Lake Erie, whither the British fleet had gone, to give battle to the enemy.

At sunrise on the morning of September 10, 1813, the British squadron, which had been lying at Malden, Canada, was seen bearing down upon Perry. Commodore Barclay's flagship "Detroit," carrying nineteen long guns, was in the lead, followed by the "Queen Charlotte," with seventeen guns, and four smaller vessels, the fleet carrying in all sixty-three guns. Perry signaled his officers to the deck of the "Lawrence," and gave orders for a line of battle. He brought out his union jack, a blue flag upon which was inscribed in white letters the motto of the American navy, "Don't give up the ship!" At the sight of the dying words of Captain Lawrence, the crews broke into enthusiastic cheers. As the officers were about leaving to prepare for action,

Perry told them that it was his intention to bring the enemy to close quarters, and he could not advise them better than in the words of Lord Nelson: "If you lay your enemy close alongside, you cannot be out of place." Perry's object was to beat to the windward of the islands, which lay between him and the enemy, and thus gain the weather gauge, but the wind was baffling and Perry ordered his sailing master to wear ship and run to the leeward of the islands. "Then we'll have to engage the enemy from the leeward," exclaimed Taylor. "I don't care—to windward or to leeward, they shall fight to-day!" was Perry's instant response. The wind having suddenly veered to the southeast, bearing the squadron clear of the islands, Perry was enabled to keep the weather gauge.

In awful silence, the opposing squadrons approached each other. Perry went around the deck, from gun to gun, greeting with a cheerful word the captain of each: "Well, boys, are you ready?" "All ready, your honor," was the reply, as they touched their tarpaulins. At fifteen minutes after eleven o'clock, a bugle blast sounded from the "Detroit," and loud cheers burst from all the English crews, as a tremendous fire was opened on the "Lawrence," which the latter, from the shortness of her guns, had to endure for some forty minutes without being able to return a shot. Perry did not wait for the other ships to come up, but kept on his course so determinedly that the enemy thought he intended to grapple and board. At twelve o'clock, having gained a more favorable position, the "Lawrence" opened fire, but her short guns still did little harm, while the long pieces of the British fleet pierced her sides in all directions, for it was the enemy's plan to destroy the commander's ship. Seeing the hazard of his position, Perry signaled his other vessels to follow, and put on all sail for the purpose of closing with the enemy.

The tremendous fire to which he was exposed soon cut away every brace and bowline of the "Lawrence" and she became unmanageable. The other vessels were unable to get up. Throughout all this scene of horror, the utmost order prevailed. The "Lawrence" had become a mere wreck. Her deck was strewn with the dead and wounded, her guns were dismounted, she could do no more service. Leaving her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, Perry hauled down his union jack and, taking it under his arm, ordered a boat to put him on board of the "Niagara." He passed the line of the enemy, still standing in his boat, waving his sword and cheering his men. He arrived safely, and tremendous huzzas rent the air as his ensign was again unfurled aloft. Even the survivors of the crew of the "Lawrence" sent up three lusty cheers. Captain Elliott, of the "Niagara," gave up the command to Perry and went to bring up the gunboats.

Giving the signal for close action, the smaller vessels came to the front, and Perry laid the "Niagara" alongside of Commodore Barclay's flagship. Perry's fire was so destructive that the enemy's men had to run below. His smaller vessels poured in grape and canister, and for a time the combat was furious. At last the "Queen Charlotte," having lost her captain and all her principal officers, ran foul of the Detroit, rendering the guns useless, and the two ships were now compelled to sustain the concentrated fire from Perry's fleet. The flag of Captain Barclay was soon struck, followed by that of the "Queen Charlotte" and the other vessels in quick succession. One, only, attempted to escape, but was quickly captured. Thus, after a battle of three hours, every vessel of England's proud squadron was in possession of the victorious Perry, now master of Lake Erie. It was on the deck of the "Niagara," about four o'clock, that he wrote General Harrison the immortal message:—

"We have met the enemy and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop. Yours, with great respect and esteem,

"O. H. PERRY."



Perry next visited the shattered remains of the "Lawrence" and there received the surrender of the British fleet. The deck was slippery with blood, and the groans of the wounded were most harrowing. Those who could walk approached their commander with tears in their eyes and with outstretched arms of welcome. The bodies of the sailors who had been slain, of both sides, were committed to the lake immediately after the action. The next day, at an opening on the margin of the bay, the dead officers, side by side, were laid to rest. The crews of both fleets united in the ceremony. The autumnal stillness, the procession of boats, the oars keeping exact time with the solemn dirge, the mournful waving of the flags, the sound of the minute guns, the wild aspect of the place, all were in marked contrast to the terrible conflict of the preceding day and formed a scene most solemn and impressive.

Congress voted Perry thanks and a gold medal. Later, he was at the defense of Baltimore, and in 1815 commanded the "Java" in the Mediterranean squadron. He died of yellow fever at Port Spain, Trinidad, in 1819, at the age of thirty-four. His remains were brought home and buried at Newport, where the state of Rhode Island erected a granite obelisk to his memory. In the city of Cleveland, Ohio, stands a beautiful marble statue of Perry. It was erected by the citizens of

Cleveland and vicinity, to commemorate the victory and to honor the man who won it. In person, Commodore Perry was tall, well-proportioned, graceful in bearing, intellectual and refined.



Foreign nations which had belittled the pretensions of the United States to carrying on an ocean warfare with the proud-“Mistress of the Seas,” were more than astonished when it was learned that every British ship had struck her colors to a youth of twenty-eight years, commanding a rough-and-ready squadron just out of the woods around Lake Erie. The honor of that victory is due to the genius, the inspiration and the personal gallantry of that young officer, who had never before seen a naval engagement. His adroit transfer from the “Lawrence” to the “Niagara,” is thus related by Lossing:—

“The ‘Niagara’ had lagged behind—the swift, staunch, well-manned ‘Niagara.’ She did not come to the relief of the helpless and severely wounded ‘Lawrence,’ but Perry went to her, an exploit at that hour of peril, one of the most gallant on record. So certain did he feel of ultimate triumph, and of having occasion to receive guests, that he exchanged his sailor’s suit for the uniform of his rank. Leaving the gallant and thrice wounded Yarnall in charge of the ‘Lawrence,’ the colors of which were still flying, he entered a boat with his little brother and four stout seamen, and standing erect, with the pennant and battle flag half folded around him, he pushed off for the ‘Niagara,’ half a mile distant. The hero, now so conspicuous, was made a general mark for the missiles of his antagonists. Barclay knew that if the man who had fought the ‘Lawrence’ so bravely reached the ‘Niagara,’ the British squadron would be in great danger of defeat. For fifteen minutes, during Perry’s fearful voyage in the open boat, the great and little guns of the British, by Barclay’s order, were brought to bear on him, but he received no harm. Oars were splintered, bullets traversed the boat and the oarsmen were covered with spray caused by the fall of round shot near the boat, but not a person was hurt. Perry sprang upon the ‘Niagara,’ took command, bore down upon the British and broke their line. The next movement in the solemn drama was the reception of the British officers, the expected guests, who delivered to him their swords. All were treated with great courtesy and kindness.”

This victory had much to do with bringing the war to an end, for it led to the breaking up of the Indian confederacy and the recovery of all the territory lost by Hull’s surrender. The name Put-in-Bay was given to the haven where Perry’s fleet “put in” after the action, and Put-in-Bay Island to the bit of land, surrounded by the waters of Lake Erie, the picturesque shore of which forms the harbor.

PIKE, ZEBULON MONTGOMERY.—Born in N. J., 1779, killed in the assault on York (Toronto), Canada, 1813. A general. As commander of an exploring expedition he visited Pike's Peak (named from him), in 1806; commanded the attack on York in 1813.

PLATTSBURG (N. Y.), BATTLE OF.—A severe battle fought Sept. 11, 1814, at Plattsburg on the shore of Lake Champlain, near the northeastern corner of N. Y. state. The British general Prevost, with 14,000 veteran troops fresh from the Napoleonic war, engaged the American general Macomb, commanding 3,500. While the fighting was in progress news was received of the American victory in the naval battle of Lake Champlain, which so disorganized the British forces that they fled precipitately. The total loss of Gen. Prevost was 2,000.

PUT-IN-BAY.—An arm of Lake Erie extending into one of the islands near the western end of the lake. Commodore Perry anchored his squadron here after his victory over the British fleet under Barclay, Sept. 10, 1813. (See PERRY, OLIVER HAZARD.)

QUEENSTON, or QUEENSTOWN.—The scene of a battle between the British and the Americans, in 1812, in which the Americans were defeated. It is situated in Ontario, Canada, about 5 miles north of Niagara Falls.

QUIDS.—A name applied to the anti-Madison faction of the Republican party led by John Randolph, from 1805 to 1811. Jefferson strongly favored the succession of Madison and the Quids declared war upon the administration, charging "backstairs" influence. They opposed the restrictive system and nominated Monroe in 1808 against Madison, but the latter was successful.

RAMBOUILLET DECREE.—Napoleon hearing in 1810 that the American Congress had repealed the non-intercourse act of 1809, ordered the seizure and sale of all American ships in French ports, hoping thereby to prevent commercial intercourse with enemies of France. Vessels and their cargoes numbering 132 were sold, valued in the aggregate \$8,000,000.

RANDOLPH, JOHN, "of Roanoke."—(1773-1833.) An American statesman, a Democratic member of Congress during a period of 30 years; U. S. minister to Russia in 1830.

RIGHTS, BILL OF.—Also called Declaration of Right, signed by William and Mary in 1689, guarantees the right of subjects to petition, the right of Parliament to freedom of debate, the right of electors to choose representatives, etc. Corresponding rights are in the U. S. inserted in the first ten amendments to the Constitution.

ROSS, ROBERT.—(1770-1814.) A British general, who defeated the Americans at Bladensburg and burned Washington, in 1814.

SACKETT'S HARBOR (N. Y.), ATTACK ON.—May 29, 1813, by a British force under Sir George Prevost. The Americans at first fell back, but rallied; the assailants being repulsed.

"SERAPIS."—The British man-of-war captured by John Paul Jones in the most famous of his sea fights. (See JONES, JOHN PAUL, 108.)

"SHANNON," THE.—A British man-of-war, which captured the American war vessel, "Chesapeake," off Marblehead, in 1813.

SHELBY, ISAAC.—(1750-1826.) An American pioneer and patriot.

"STAR-SPANGLED BANNER."—American national patriotic air; written by Francis Scott Key, of Baltimore, while detained on board of a British vessel during the bombardment of Fort McHenry, 1814.

STATE DEBTS, ASSUMPTION OF.—During the First Congress, Alexander Hamilton proposed that the government should pay the foreign debt of the Confederation, the domestic debt, and the uncanceled war debt of the states. He was supported by five states and opposed by five, and the measure was defeated. It was reintroduced in 1790, and passed, the government being authorized to liquidate the state debts at \$21,500,000.

STONY CREEK (Canada), BATTLE OF.—Between the British forces under General Vincent and the Americans under Generals Chandler and Winder, June 5, 1813. The Americans retreated with a loss of 154 men; the British loss was 178.

TAMMANY.—The Tammany Society, incorporated as such in 1805, was established in New York City in 1789, as the Columbian Order. Its present name was taken from a benevolent and friendly chief of the Delaware Indians. It was originally a charitable organization, and in other cities there were similar societies, having the same name and the same ostensible purposes. By many it was deemed a protest against the exclusive and aristocratic, so considered, Society of the Cincinnati. The sole surviving Tammany Society is that which is known as "Tammany Hall" in New York, and has at various times and for long periods ruled that city and made its influence felt in the state and in the nation. The Tammany Hall general committee is supposed to have no relation to the Tammany Society, except as a tenant of the latter's building, but practically the political relations one with the other are close. Tammany Hall insists that it is the one regular Democratic organization of the city and county of New York. It has a system of clubs in all of the assembly districts and, unlike most of the political ward and district campaign organizations

of other parties, these clubs are never disbanded. The head of the organization is called Chief Sachem, its headquarters is a Wigwam, and other Indian names are used in its nomenclature.

TAXATION.—The money that the individual pays to the nation, state, or municipality, for the support of government is a tax, and the process by which this money is raised is known as taxation. In this country the theory of taxation that is generally held is that a tax that does not bear equally on all, or bearing equally on all, is administered principally for the benefit of a favored few, is inequitable. All tax reform has for one of its objects self-taxation—in other words that a community, as a whole, should determine what part of the burden of public expense each individual should bear. From this principle proceeds another, that a tax cannot be levied except by representatives of the people who are to pay it. To enforce the latter, the American colonists opposed the stamp act, and proclaimed that taxation without representation is tyranny. The money or other valuable consideration extorted in war by a conquering nation from the vanquished is commonly called tribute. The Constitution authorizes direct taxation proportioned to the population, and the first tax so levied was for \$2,000,000. It was distributed among the 16 states existing in 1798. A similar tax was imposed in 1861, when \$20,000,000 was raised to prosecute the war. Of this, three-fourths was refunded to the states in 1891. Congress cannot tax exports; and states cannot tax either exports or imports, but may tax directly. Up to the period of the Civil War the government depended principally for its revenues upon duties on imports, but during and since that struggle, it has levied and collected vast sums by means of an internal-revenue tax. States assess real and personal property and privileges, and in some cases collect poll taxes, that is, a tax per capita on adult males. Before 1800, all states except Del. taxed land. The single-tax advocates contend that the tax should be wholly on land, exclusive of improvements, and that all taxes on personal property should be abolished.

TECUMSEH.—A famous chief of the Shawnee Indians, an ally of the British in the War of 1812. Born about 1768; killed in the battle of the Thames, Canada, 1813.

THAMES (Canada), BATTLE OF.—Sept. 27, 1813. Between 5,000 men, under the American generals Harrison and Shelby, and 3,000 British regulars, and Indian allies, under General Proctor. The British were routed; the loss on both sides was light.

TREASURY BOARD.—Appointed by the Continental Congress, 1776. A standing committee of five members having power over the treasury office of accounts (which see), the committee of claims, and minor bureaus and officials.

WAR-HAWKS.—A name given to those who in 1810-12 urged a war with Great Britain. They corresponded to the "jingo statesmen" of more modern times.

"WASP."—(1) An American ship of war, 18 guns, constructed in 1806. Captured by the British frigate, "Poictiers," in 1812. (2) An American ship-rigged sloop-of-war, 22 guns, built in 1814. Lost at sea, in October of the same year.

WATERVLIET ARSENAL.—A U. S. Government establishment at West Troy, N. Y., for the construction of field, coast-defense and siege ordnance, shot, shell, equipment, and small ammunition. It was established in 1807.

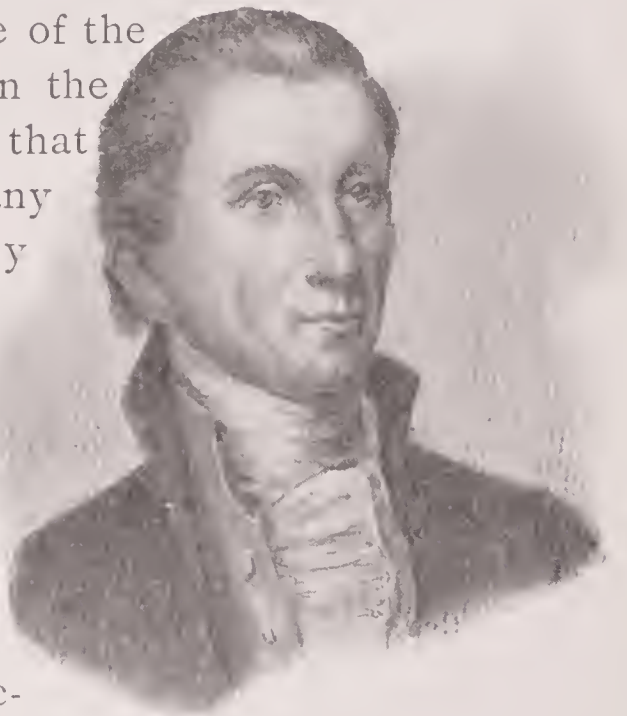
"WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE OURS."—The opening words of the dispatch sent to Gen. Harrison by Com. Oliver Hazard Perry, announcing the latter's victory over the British fleet on Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813. (See PERRY, OLIVER HAZARD, 252.)

X. Y. Z. MISSION.—An American embassy to France in 1797. The relations between France and the United States became strained. France had given valuable aid to the United States in the time of the Revolution and this assistance was based upon treaties which were made in 1778. When England and other countries declared war against France in 1789, France was desirous of obtaining the assistance of the United States. This Washington refused to give and preserved throughout, in spite of protests at home, a spirit of rigid neutrality, and this determination not to assist France was further emphasized by the making of the Jay Treaty with England. France was then governed by the Directory and it became very much offended at the attitude which the United States took. In revenge for what they considered the ingratitude of the United States, they authorized French vessels to take American ships wherever they found them. President Adams sent Charles C. Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry to France with a view to adjusting matters. Tallyrand was the minister of foreign affairs in France, and refused to interview these three commissioners but sent three special envoys, Bellamy, Hattinger and Hauteval to confer with them. The names of the commissioners were not used and were referred to as X. Y. Z. The French agents insisted upon a demand of cash in the form of consideration or loan, but the Americans refused to grant this, and it was upon this occasion that Pinckney is said to have used the celebrated phrase: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." France ordered Pinckney and Marshall to leave the country and the United States government recalled Gerry. The accession of Napoleon as first consul of France averted a war, although a few naval engagements did take place, and a treaty was proposed in 1800 and ratified on December 21, 1801.

JAMES MONROE

Author of the famous doctrine, "Hands off!"

SO LONG as the American republic endures, the "Monroe Doctrine" will remain an essential principle of our foreign policy. Since its assertion by President Monroe, it has grown with our national growth, and it is now as firmly fixed in the minds and hearts of the American people as the love of liberty or the unity of the states. The Monroe Doctrine is an announcement of the attitude of the United States with respect to foreign interference in the affairs of this continent. It contains the declaration that the United States will regard the attempt of any European nation to extend its sovereignty to any part of this hemisphere as "dangerous to our peace and safety." This is the language of diplomacy, but since its utterance, European dynasties have risen and fallen and European ministries have come and gone, yet no one has failed to grasp its meaning. It has been sneeringly said by unfriendly critics that the Monroe Doctrine has no place in international law; that is to say, it is not legally accepted abroad, and this is true. But it is very much "accepted" by the American people, who will defend it by force of arms whenever and wherever that be necessary. It is quite sufficient, therefore, that the Americans, themselves, accept it. The country that opposes it will first carefully count the cost, for active opposition to the Monroe Doctrine means war—war with the United States—and this is a thing not lightly to be undertaken by any country or combination of countries.



What is known as the Monroe Doctrine, appears in two separate passages in Monroe's annual message to Congress, in 1823. At the time it was written, the "Holy Alliance" had been formed to suppress liberal ideas of government and constitutional reforms abroad. It was conceived by the Emperor of Russia, and its other members were the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, these three being the most autocratic rulers of Europe. The Holy Alliance had been a silent but interested spectator of the revolt of the Spanish colonies in South America. Its influence, if exerted for Spain, would

reduce the budding republics again to dependencies, and this the liberty-loving Americans could not view unmoved. The spectacle presented by the South American colonists, in throwing off the yoke of Spain, had appealed strongly to our sympathies. The American government had not recognized their independence until it had been fairly won, but it could not be a passive witness of the effort to destroy their well-earned freedom. Moreover, the fewer monarchical institutions there were on this continent, the better it would be for the United States. The time had come, in Monroe's opinion, when European governments should understand our position, and he defined it in his message.

"The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained," he began, "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

Farther along, he referred to the difference between the political systems of the allied powers and that of America, saying:—

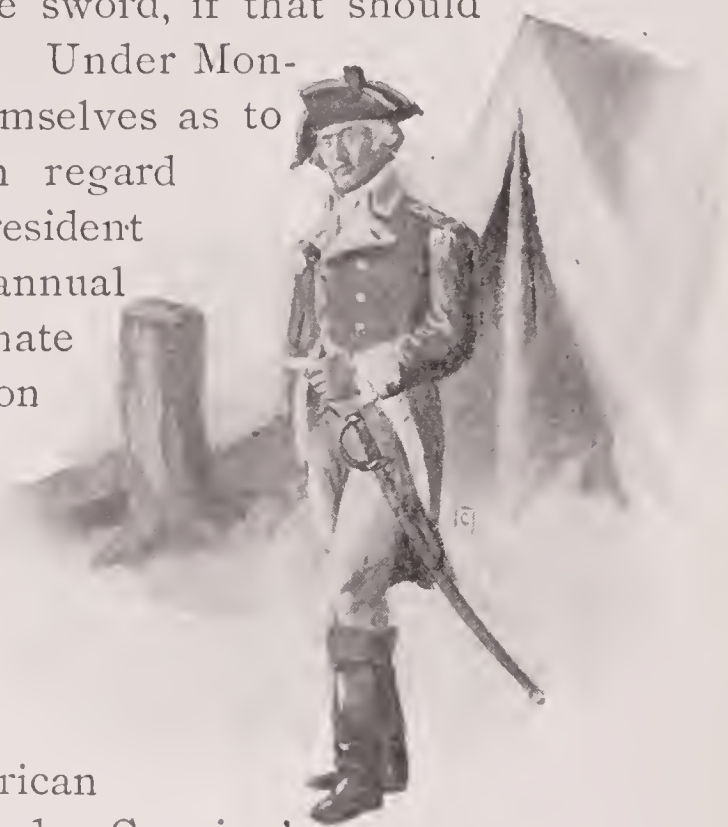
"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. . . . Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers. . . . But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can anyone believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."

The announcement of this policy occasioned no surprise in America. The idea of independence from foreign sovereignty was at the beginning of our national life. For more than thirty years, the importance of complete separation of American and European affairs had pressed itself upon the attention of public men. We were rapidly growing in

wealth and in population. We had given Great Britain, on two occasions, a taste of our quality, and had shown ourselves in war, as in peace, to be worthy descendants of the Anglo-Saxon stock. We had made our country an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all climes. Entire independence of Europe was necessary to our continued existence, and we were determined to preserve by the sword, if that should be necessary, what we had gained by the sword. Under Monroe's administration, events had so shaped themselves as to demand some statement of our position with regard to both South America and Europe, and the President embraced the opportunity presented by his annual message to make it. The occasion was a fortunate one, for it was coincident with a conviction on the part of Canning, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that the Holy Alliance had become a menace to Europe, and it was on information obtained by him, and confidentially communicated to the American government, that the Holy Alliance was endeavoring to find some way of helping Spain against her American colonies, that the Monroe Doctrine was announced. Canning's reward lay in the rapid decline of the influence of the Holy Alliance in Europe, after the open and severe check it had received from the United States. At this time Monroe was sixty-five years old and nearing the close of his second term. He was in the full flush of his intellectual and physical powers, and we may well pause for a moment to study the man and his career.

Monroe was one of the Virginia gentry. He was descended from a family of Scotch cavaliers, but his parents were Virginians and he represented the aristocratic and ruling class. He was born in 1758, in a part of the Old Dominion, famous as the birthplace of noted men. It was near Washington's home, and in the same peninsula in which Madison first saw the light. Monroe came on the scene not many years before the Stamp Act, and, under the influence that surrounded him, he became imbued with the love of civil liberty. He enlisted in the continental army, leaving college before graduation, and was commissioned lieutenant in a Virginia regiment. He took part in several important engagements, and was wounded at Trenton while gallantly leading a charge.

It is Monroe, the statesman, rather than Monroe, the soldier, in whom we are interested. His military career was not brilliant, but it was satisfactory, and Washington described him as a "brave, active and sensible officer." The assignment of duties took him out of the line



of regular promotion, and he left the service, disappointed that fate had dealt so unkindly with him. Under other circumstances he might have won distinction as a general officer, for in after years he combined for some weeks the duties of Secretary of State and Secretary of War, and history tells us that in his administration of the war office, after the earlier disasters of the War of 1812, he showed unusual energy, vigor and determination, and that he appears at that time "in his best aspect."

It was Monroe's good fortune to reach the presidency by successive steps, and these experiences smoothed many rough places in the rocky road that every chief magistrate, from Washington to McKinley, has trod. He had been by turns a member of the Virginia assembly, three times a member of the Continental Congress, United States Senator, ambassador to three European powers, and Secretary of State, and had filled each station creditably. It seems a little strange to us, at this late day, that Monroe and Patrick Henry, he of the "Give me liberty or give me death" oration, should have opposed, in the Virginia convention, the adoption of the Federal Constitution, yet Monroe's fear that it would precipitate complications between the national and state authorities, and that a President once elected might be elected indefinitely, was shared by many thoughtful men. The dreaded conflict did come, but not until the grave had closed over him and his two great colleagues, Marshall and Madison, who strenuously favored adoption.

In the Senate, where Virginia sent him a little later, Monroe was conspicuous only for his opposition to Washington's administration, and for the obstacles that he put in the way of the firm establishment of the new government. He was particularly hostile to Hamilton, whom he personally disliked, and he opposed Hamilton's efforts to establish the national finances on a sound basis. Looking back over the century and more that separates us from that time, one sees the two men sharply contrasted. They were nearly of an age, and neither was thirty-five years old. Each had had a creditable army career, but Hamilton's was the more brilliant. Monroe was a senator and Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury. Monroe had little constructive ability and his tendencies were largely destructive; for he was a disciple and follower of Jefferson, and filled with his prejudices. Hamilton was the most constructive statesman of that or any other day. He could make presidents, but he could not be elected President, and his useful life was ended at forty-seven by Burr. To Monroe came the presidency quite as a matter of course, and as a fitting crown to a long and honorable, if somewhat commonplace, career. Their lives furnish an interesting study. Hamilton was dashing and brilliant,

Monroe distrustful and cautious. Yet the slower-moving man gained the presidency which passed the other by. This is the unwritten law of American politics, that the presidency is won by the soldier whose successes dazzle the popular imagination, or by the statesman of respectable abilities and the fewest enemies. Few, indeed, are the instances where the ablest party leader wins the prize. From the time that Jefferson, acknowledged leader of the anti-Federalist party, placed Monroe beside himself as next to his great lieutenant, Madison, the eye of Monroe was fixed upon the presidency. That it became so early fixed was not an unalloyed blessing, for though it gave him an objective point and made his career steady and consistent, it disposed him toward narrow and ungenerous judgments upon some of his contemporaries, whose standing and ambitions might possibly be leading them toward his own desired goal.

After Monroe had been four years in the Senate, Washington sent him as minister to France. In this, as in all his official acts, Washington showed his large-mindedness, for Monroe had been an acrid critic of the administration and had stubbornly opposed its policies. He was not Washington's personal choice, for Washington had little reason then to love Monroe, and less reason later, but our relations with France were strained almost to breaking, and it was hoped that Monroe, an ardent sympathizer with the revolution, might lessen the tension. Monroe was very young for a mission so important, and he had had no diplomatic training. Small wonder then that his enthusiasm should have got the better of his judgment when he presented his credentials to the convention, and that he should have uttered such sentiments, and in other ways so comported himself, as to be sharply criticized at home and sternly rebuked by the Secretary of State. He was finally recalled, and upon his return to America he published a defense of his conduct. This was to some extent a reflection on Washington, and it aroused the indignation of Washington's friends, who quickly resented it. The attacks of the Federalists added greatly to Monroe's popularity at home, and he was rewarded with the governorship of Virginia.

After a few years, Jefferson being President, Monroe went a second time to France, and on this occasion he negotiated a treaty for the purchase of Louisiana, which gave us an unobstructed outlet to the Gulf, and a new territory larger than the thirteen colonies and their western possessions. The Louisiana purchase, as it has since been known, was the crowning act of Jefferson's administration, and it established him as the original expansionist. Jefferson is very properly credited with this achievement, for he had long seen the advantage to the West of our control of the Mississippi. He had in Monroe

a zealous and experienced representative. From the time of his first mission to France, Monroe had shown this government how important it was that the Mississippi should run "unvexed to the sea," as Lincoln afterward happily phrased it, and we can believe that he set out upon his voyage filled with pleasurable anticipations of success. Livingston, the resident representative at Paris, cordially coöperated with Monroe, and in thirty days the bargain was made. Napoleon wanted money to fight England, and we wanted the territory to complete our continental possessions. There was the usual amount of diplomatic fencing, but the plenipotentiaries got on well together, and when Napoleon signed the treaty he said that he had "given to England a maritime rival which will sooner or later humble her pride." The price paid was sixteen million dollars, an insignificant sum measured by the importance of the transaction.

Monroe was not so successful in England, where he was next accredited, and where he sought to negotiate a treaty against the impressment of our seamen, and for a money indemnity to Americans for losses incurred in the seizure of their goods and vessels. Yet he won the offer of a treaty more liberal than the Jay treaty; and he gained additional experience and favorably impressed the officials of the British foreign office. He had gone to London, distrustful of England and strongly in sympathy with France. A short residence there convinced him that England was more republican than monarchical, and that France was more monarchical than republican. He lived to see France again a monarchy and England, notwithstanding its form of government, as free in all essentials as his beloved America. A special mission to Spain and association with her leading men still further broadened Monroe's mental and intellectual horizon, and added to his knowledge of men and things. And so it came to pass that he returned to America acknowledged as its foremost diplomat, and learned beyond most of his contemporaries in international affairs.



In a career covering a period of forty years, the inspiration of all Monroe's public acts was found in the sentiment that America belonged to the Americans, or, as the phrase is now understood, "America for Americans." It inspired his efforts in youth for independence from Great Britain; for the free navigation of the Mississippi; for the purchase of Louisiana and Florida; for the War of 1812 when self-respect could no longer brook Great Britain's abuse of neutral rights, and for the promulgation of the "Doctrine" regarding the nations on this hemisphere, the most notable of all his acts. He was President long enough to see his favorite statesman, John Quincy

Adams, an original Federalist, unite with Clay in laying the foundations of the Whig party, while Crawford and Calhoun, and afterward Jackson, remodeled the original section of Jefferson's Republicans into the Democratic party.

Monroe was the last of the "Virginia dynasty," consisting of Jefferson, Madison and himself. He was inferior both to Jefferson and Madison as a statesman, and was a man of less elevated character than either. He had become a disciple of Jefferson while a law student in Jefferson's office, and, as already said, his public career was largely influenced by Jefferson, who retained to the last an affectionate interest in him. Historians tell us that Monroe was scrupulously honest, but honesty in public men of real rank is not so rare a virtue as to call for special mention. We look for honesty in men holding places of trust, as we look for courage in a soldier, and the exceptions are few. Monroe's honesty, therefore, is a mere incident of a career at no time brilliant, but at all times respectable, and which would have been more distinguished had he not pointed so long and so anxiously toward the presidency. He refused to appoint his relatives to office, and for this he deserves much of a long-suffering people. Latter day statesmen, who read the lives of the fathers for the enlightenment they contain, could profit by Monroe's example. During the Spanish-American War, as in the War of 1812, though in a less degree in the Mexican and Civil wars, many men, high in official life, sought and obtained army commissions for their sons and nephews, to the exclusion, frequently, of better men without influence.

Benton tells us that Monroe "had none of the mental qualities that dazzle and astonish mankind, but he had a discretion that seldom permitted a mistake; an integrity that looked always to the public good; a firmness of will that carried him resolutely upon his object; a diligence that mastered every subject, and a perseverance that yielded to no obstacle." He has suffered by comparison, not alone with Jefferson and Madison, but with Washington, Marshall and Hamilton; yet his life was so interwoven with theirs, and he was so much a part of the early history of the nation, that to recall one is to recall all. Aside from this, he will long be remembered for his vigorous Americanism — for he was one of the most American of American Presidents — and this is a good place to leave him.

PRESIDENCY OF MONROE, 1817-1825

Monroe was the proper and expected candidate of his party to succeed Madison, and an intrigue to substitute Crawford, of Georgia, for him, through a caucus of Republican congressmen, caused the downfall of congressional nomination. The Federalists were too feeble to make any public impression by their presidential arrangements; though, characteristically enough, they were found in close relation with Duane, one time editor of a reptile sheet that had vilified Washington and Adams in the interest of Jefferson, and who was now squeezed out of his party, since its rank and file had become conservative and respectable.

The Republicans, having taken up with liberal construction of the Constitution, national banking, and a tariff for protection, now added internal improvements to their program. There was a fair-sized Federalist opposition to a protective tariff, as hurtful to New England commercial interests, and to the new scheme of internal improvements, as tending to take money from the East to spend it in the West. On the other hand, there were Republicans who were still strict constructionists and revenue tariff men, and opposed to a national bank and a federal system of paying for improvements that they thought the states ought to make for themselves. So it came about that party lines became obliterated, because there was no question upon which parties could be solidly arranged. To this transitional period in our party history the political writers have given the name of "the era of good feeling."

Sectionalism, dreaded by Washington and casting repeated shadows in the days of Jefferson and Madison, came to the front in the time of Monroe. Slavery, so long apparently doomed to early extinction in the South, had at last been accepted there as its true and profitable labor system, thus changing the whole character of the problem raised by its existence. The question of admitting Missouri to the Union with a slavery constitution caused the most bitter strife that the Union had yet experienced. It was settled by the so-called Missouri Compromise, which let in Missouri as a slave state, but forbade that character to any new states north of the line of her southern boundary.

There was no opposition to the reëlection of Monroe, who had lived up to the new character of a non-partisan President, and he received all but one of the electoral votes.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE—PRESIDENT ADAMS FAVORS HIGH PROTECTIVE DUTIES—JACKSON'S ELECTION—THE SPOILS SYSTEM AND THE KITCHEN CABINET—THE ANTI-MASON PARTY—THE LOG CABIN AND HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN—CLAY'S POPULARITY COULD NOT WIN FOR HIM THE PRESIDENCY—THE MEXICAN WAR—THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—LINCOLN'S ELECTION.

WHAT is known as the Monroe Doctrine was brought forward in the second term. It has a curious history. Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, was hostile to the "Holy Alliance" formed by the continental sovereigns of Europe, as a mutual aid society, after the fall of Napoleon. It had become an agency for the suppression of both civil and political freedom, and the stifling of progress. He could not strike at it in Europe; but he had learned that it was to be made a pretext for aid to Spain in subduing her revolted American colonies. Whether Spain was to retain the sovereignty of Spanish-America, or transfer it to a stronger power for a consideration, he did not know nor care. The important thing was that if the Spanish-American colonies were held to be within the objects of the "Holy Alliance," their revolt would be suppressed, if it took all the force of the great continental powers to suppress it. The same principle, applied in Europe, would, eventually, end in a coalition of the "Holy Alliance" against England, a land of liberty and free speech; and the one safe European refuge of political exiles. Canning was a proud man and an arrogant statesman, who had given the United States some hard rubs in the presidencies of Jefferson and Madison; but he had the Englishman's love of fair play, and knew the rottenness of the Spanish administration. He had a frank but confidential talk with the American minister at London, who as confidentially reported it to John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State. Adams put Canning's suggestion in diplomatic language and submitted it to Monroe. The latter worked it over and embodied it in his annual message to Congress of December, 1823, where it was well received, and thus the Monroe Doctrine was born and grew at once to manhood. It embraced two points: first, that European exploitation of the American continent, for the purpose of making conquests or founding colonies, was at an end, and secondly, that the setting up of new empires, kingdoms, or dynasties on that continent would not be permitted. Coupled with the declarations of Washington and Jefferson against foreign alliances or entanglements, it dedicated the whole American continent to American principles of government. Not Canning nor Monroe could possibly have foreseen the importance of what he was doing. The Monroe Doctrine has no formal place in the law of nations; but, without sacrificing a dollar or a man, the United States

have been the acknowledged guardians of republican institutions, in America, from Mexico to Patagonia. The Spanish-American republics do not always govern well; but, well or ill, they are the undisturbed architects of their own fortunes. We may look kindly on Canning's boast that he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. Cut off by the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine from any assistance, Spain eventually gave up the struggle to preserve her American empire.

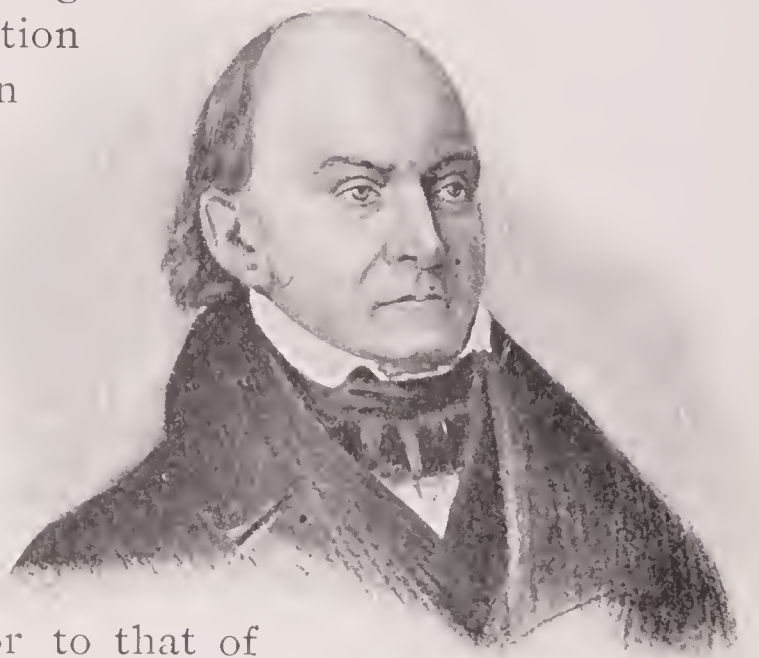
For the succession to Monroe, the leading candidates were Clay, Adams, Crawford, Calhoun, and Jackson. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, was Monroe's choice, and an effort was made to nominate him by a congressional caucus, but failed. It therefore became a scrub race, in which Jackson had the largest popular vote, and the largest vote in the electoral college; but not enough to elect him. The election was consequently thrown into the House of Representatives, whose choice was limited to Jackson, Adams, and Crawford, as the three having the highest numbers of votes. Clay, fourth on the list, was ineligible, and as his political sentiments were nearer to those of Adams than of Jackson, his influence was naturally thrown to the former, and he was elected. Jackson and his faction raged and stormed and accused Clay of selling out to Adams after Jackson had refused to buy his support; but it was all false.

This accusation was put into circulation immediately among his friends and partisans by Jackson, who endorsed it with his own name and authority. Clay and his friends not only publicly denied the charge but challenged Jackson and his friends to produce their evidence. A period of over two years elapsed before it was possible to have this produced, and when it was brought forward the charge was proved to be utterly groundless, and the accusation false. It was then seen to be the creation of the disappointment and jealousy in Jackson's mind. Notwithstanding the fact that the charge was wholly and absolutely refuted, the partisans and admirers of Jackson continued to circulate the story for years afterward and to abuse Adams throughout his administration.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

A statesman whose last days were his best days.

THE history of our country furnishes but a single instance of father and son both elevated to the presidency. John Quincy Adams, the sixth President, was a son of John Adams, the second President. After his term of office had expired, he did what no other ex-President, before or since, has done, in accepting a seat in the House of Representatives, where he made a reputation far greater than that which he had made in the President's chair. The career of John Quincy Adams is a striking illustration of what a distinguished American may lose and gain by a patriotic but independent course in the discharge of his official duties. He lived in an age of strong partisan feeling, perhaps the most bitter in all our annals. He inherited much of the independence of his distinguished father, and possessed an education infinitely superior to that of many of the politicians who then controlled legislation. He saw his duty and dared to do it, even in the face of the opposition of his own friends and the freely expressed contempt of his opponents. Over all he was destined to triumph at last—the champion of human rights, one of the master minds of his time—and to be stricken with death in the national Capitol, wherein his greatest victory had been achieved.



Born at Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1767, John Quincy Adams was named for his maternal great-grandfather. He was seven years old when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought and, with his mother, saw it from a neighboring hill. He accompanied his father when the latter was sent as Minister to France, and there received the most of his education. For a time he acted as private secretary to Francis Dana, Minister to Russia, and afterward became secretary to the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Paris. On the subsequent appointment of his father as Minister to the Court of St. James, the younger Adams returned to America and entered Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1787.

Even at this early age, Mr. Adams was aggressive. In a newspaper article he attacked and refuted Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," and wrote ably in opposition to the French Minister, Genet,

in his attempt to involve the United States in the war then existing between France and England. President Washington, who was particularly indignant against Genet, recognized young Adams's ability by nominating him for Minister to The Hague. During the same year that his father became President, he married Louisa Catherine Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson, of Maryland, Consul at London. At the request of ex-President Washington he was made Minister to Russia, and while there negotiated a treaty between that country and the United States. At the end of his father's presidential term, he desired not to embarrass President Jefferson, and asked to be recalled.

In 1802 John Quincy Adams was chosen to the senate of Massachusetts, in which his independent course greatly displeased the Federalists; but he was elected to the United States Senate the following year, and there he experienced to the fullest extent the hostility which his father had excited throughout the country. "Republicans trampled on Federalists, and Federalists trampled on John Quincy Adams," says a writer of the time. When he rose to speak, a cold reception met him, for he was an unpopular member of an unpopular minority. His very presence in Congress was ignored, and his acts were held in utter contempt. The most unpopular support a measure could have was that of Mr. Adams. Much of this was due to his manner, his independence, his freedom of speech and much to the fact that he was "the son of his father." The Federalists could never depend upon him, and the Republicans had no use for him. Mr. Adams, in 1809, resigned his seat in the Senate, saying that he was not the man to stay where he was not wanted.

But his great ability was beginning to be shown. He had supported the non-importation act, which was bitterly opposed by the Federalists. The North heaped abuse upon him for helping to kill their trade, yet President Madison, in 1809, rewarded him by a nomination for Minister to Russia. The Senate refused to concur, but Mr. Madison was firm, and Adams was sent. He proved to be an admirable minister and was very popular there. Through him the Emperor offered, in 1812, to act as mediator between England and the United States. England refused this offer, but later agreed to meet the United States commissioners at Ghent. Mr. Adams was one of these commissioners. While at Paris, Mr. Adams witnessed the return of Napoleon from Elba. Going next to London, he found there a commission as envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, which placed him in the highest diplomatic station.

Two years later Mr. Adams became Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President James Monroe. This brought him into still greater prominence, and his name was entered by his friends in the list of presidential candidates. As Secretary of State he defended General

Jackson in his invasion of Florida, then Spanish territory. During the discussion upon the Missouri Compromise, he declared, "Slavery is the great and foul stain upon the North American Union." In 1824 his name was placed before the people for President, but he refused to do anything toward his election. In the electoral college, Jackson received 99 votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Mr. Clay, who held the balance of power, was politically and personally opposed to Jackson. Mr. Crawford was in feeble health, and Clay threw his influence to Adams and elected him. In return, President Adams appointed Mr. Clay his Secretary of State. The charge of bargain and sale was made, which led to Clay's bloodless duel with John Randolph. Mr. Adams found the presidential chair altogether an uneasy one. Both houses of Congress were antagonistic, and bitter accusations were hurled upon him, yet the country prospered, for he signed more commercial treaties than any administration which had preceded him. He was untiring in the discharge of his duties, and refused to allow any side issues to distract him from his purpose to promote the welfare of the nation.

In 1828 Adams was defeated for reëlection, by Jackson. At the expiration of his term, in March, 1829, he retired to his home in Massachusetts. In 1831 he was elected to the House of Representatives, in which he served nearly a score of years, and where he became a power, winning the title of "Old Man Eloquent." Embittered by the many attacks that had been made upon him when he was in the presidential chair and could not reply, Mr. Adams now determined to throw down the gauntlet and fight for his principles, of which the dominating one was opposition to slavery. Absolutely without fear, he was a formidable antagonist. He was merciless in invective, and men winced and cowered before him. The conflict began with the struggle over the admission of Texas. Hundreds of petitions against slavery were sent to him and these he boldly presented to Congress, until the "gag law" of 1836 was passed, to cut off all such petitions. In debate, Mr. Adams said of this measure: "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rules of this House and of the rights of my constituents." But it was enacted and remained a law until 1844.

The questions embraced in that resolution were, first, that Congress could not constitutionally interfere with slavery in the states; second, that it ought not to interfere with it in the District of Columbia; third, that all petitions touching the abolition of slavery should be laid upon the table without debate and receive no further action. Petitions continued to pour in and Mr. Adams would not be baffled. In 1837 he received a petition from one hundred and fifty women,

his constituents, asking for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Adams rose and began to read the petition and, amidst cries for order and intense excitement, succeeded in getting it before the House. The Speaker decided that it was not in order to read the petition. Mr. Adams appealed from any decision that a member could not read what he chose. "If this is to be suppressed," he said "let it be a matter of record."

One month later, Mr. Adams presented a petition from a number of slaves in Virginia asking that slavery be *not* interfered with. This was a scheme of some of his opponents to catch him in a trap. He had been a great stickler for the right of the people to petition Congress and to have their petitions heard. Inasmuch as this one asked that slavery be not interfered with, it was thought that he would decline to present it and thus lay himself open to attack for inconsistency. True to the principle which he had so vigorously advocated, Mr. Adams laid the petition before the House. When the members heard that it was from slaves, cries of "Expel him!" "Treason!" rang throughout the hall. Mr. Adams turned the laugh when he called attention to what it asked.

In 1842 Mr. Adams presented a petition from forty-five citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, praying that Congress would immediately take measures to dissolve the Union of the United States. Mr. Adams then moved that the petition be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report an answer, showing the reasons why the prayer ought not to be granted. Immediate and wild excitement followed this petition. The next day there was an organized determination to crush him and his petitions, which culminated in a resolution offered by Mr. Marshall, of Virginia, to censure Mr. Adams. When the Speaker recognized Mr. Adams in his own defense, up rose that bold, venerable man, his hands trembling with age. Scorn and contempt greeted him on every hand. He gratefully acknowledged his infinite obligations to the great Virginians of the past, recounted the unsought honors heaped upon him by Washington and Monroe, burst forth in a touching tribute to the hallowed memory of the Marshall of other days, and then, giving a scornful glance at the Marshall of to-day, he cried out: "I call for the reading of the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. Read it, read it, and see what that says of the right of the people to reform, to change, to dissolve their government!" When the passage had been read which proclaimed the right of reform, revolution and resistance to oppression, Mr. Adams thundered out, "Read that again!" Looking proudly on the listening audience, he heard his triumphant vindication sounded forth in the glorious sentences of the nation's Magna Charta, written by Mr. Jefferson, a Virginian.

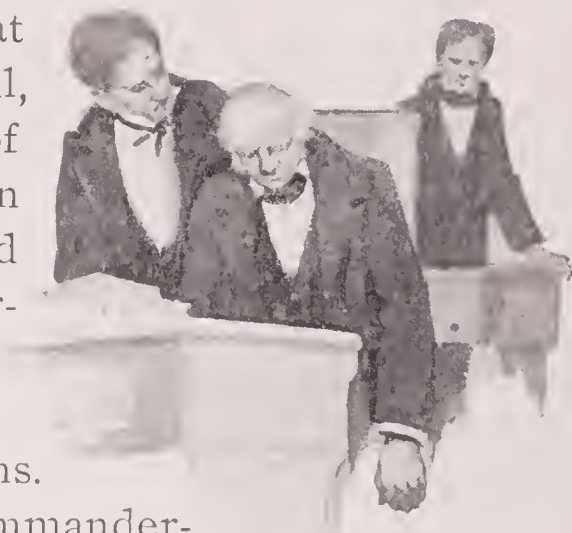
The revulsion of feeling was intense, and even his bitterest enemies paid tribute to the grand old man as he sat down.

But his greatest triumph was some time later when, at the beginning of a Congress, a fierce contest was being waged to elect a Speaker and secure the organization of the House, with all its power and patronage. There had been five days of bitter wrangling with no result, because the clerk had persistently refused to put a certain motion. His patience exhausted, Mr. Adams, contrary to all precedent, declared, "I intend to put the question, myself,"—and did so. Mr. Wise, of Virginia, as an evidence that the "Old Man Eloquent" had won over his enemies, exclaimed—"Sir, I regard this as the proudest hour of your life; and when you are gathered to your fathers, if I were asked to select words that best described your character, I would inscribe on your tomb the sentence—'I intend to put the question, myself!'"

Mr. Adams, during the many debates on the subject in the House, was the first to contend that slavery could be abolished by the power of the government. Said he: "From the instant that your slaveholding states become the theater of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of the Constitution extend to interfere with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with. When a country is invaded, and its hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory. I lay this down as the law of nations. Under such conditions, not only the President, but the commander-in-chief of the army, has the power to order universal emancipation of the slaves." It was this strong declaration of a man who had received the highest honors of his country, both abroad and at home, that supported President Lincoln in his Emancipation Proclamation.

Mr. Adams lived to see the day when all petitions would be received in Congress, and he could exclaim "God be praised, the seals are broken; the door is open!" He was stricken suddenly by death, in his country's Capitol, in the midst of his public duties, in 1848. The type of purity and patriotic devotion, the champion of the right of petition, his illustrious career shone brightly to the end. He received a paralytic stroke while in his seat in the House and fell over, saying, "This is the end of earth; I am content." A whole nation mourned his loss.

"Though aged, he was so iron of limb,
None of the youth could cope with him;
And the foes whom he singly kept at bay,
Outnumbered his hairs of white and gray."



ANDREW JACKSON

Whose official backbone gave him the name of "Old Hickory."



BORN on disputed ground, Andrew Jackson was most at home on disputed questions. His birthplace was in Union County, North Carolina, then supposed to be within the territorial limits of South Carolina. Jackson twice claimed the latter as his native state. It was a wild country, with no means of education beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. Young Jackson was sent by his mother to private schools kept by clergymen, but he never had the advantage of college privileges. A wild, impetuous, reckless youth, he cared little for books; yet he possessed physical and moral courage, backed by a resolute will, which, in after years, became a terror to his enemies, and gave to him the sobriquet of "Old Hickory." After the death of his mother, he became a teacher and studied law. More interested in cockfighting, horse racing and card playing than in study, he sowed and reaped a good crop of "wild oats." At twenty years of age, he stood six feet and one inch, very slender, but not awkward, with long thin face, a high, narrow forehead, a mass of sandy hair, and deep blue eyes that could blaze into the fiercest expression when aroused. His irritable temper made him liable to fits of ungovernable rage. He was a fine marksman and a fearless rider. In 1788 Jackson removed to Nashville and began a law practice, which soon became lucrative. Sent as the first delegate from Tennessee to the national House of Representatives, he heard Washington deliver his last message to Congress; opposed the Federal party; objected to Alexander Hamilton's scheme for a National Bank; fought against increasing the expenses of government.

At the age of twenty-four, Jackson married a woman who was believed to have been legally divorced, a few months before, by a special act of the legislature of Virginia. It afterward appeared that the separation did not become legal until 1793, when a divorce was formally granted by the verdict of a jury in Kentucky. Jackson and his wife were remarried at Nashville, in 1794. Although it cannot be doubted that this irregularity was without intent on the part of either, it was the cause of great annoyance to Jackson in after years. Half

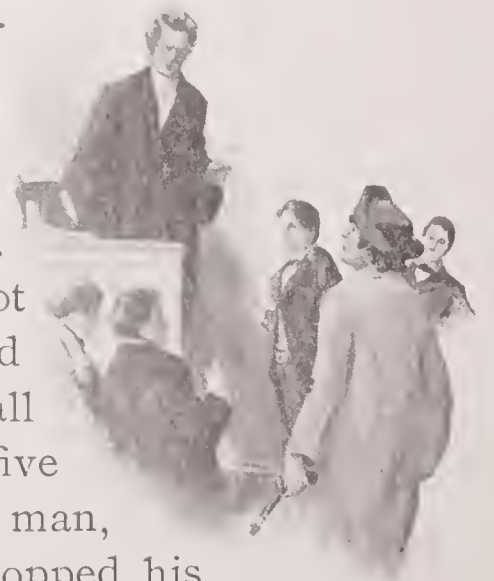
a century later, in his old age, the facts were misrepresented by his political enemies and grave charges against his morality were made. The evidence is abundant and satisfying that both Jackson and his wife acted throughout in perfect good faith, with the largest respect for the laws of God and man.

Jackson's life, in public as well as in private, was a stormy one. His temper often mastered him, and his rugged manners and methods gave frequent cause of offense, to associates and to strangers. He had the courage of his convictions to a degree that has been equaled in few public men; while an equally striking characteristic was his lack of tact and diplomacy in his intercourse with individuals. He was alike indifferent to the sensibility of others and to the effect of his hasty words and actions upon himself. That such a man should have many personal and political enemies, is not to be deemed a strange thing; scarcely could it have been otherwise. He fought several duels, in one of which, in 1806, he killed his antagonist, Charles Dickinson, and was himself severely wounded.

In 1797 Jackson entered the United States Senate. Jefferson said of him: "Jackson would choke with rage and could not speak a word." The dignity of the Senate was ridiculous and distasteful to him, and he relinquished his seat for the supreme bench of Tennessee, at a salary of six hundred dollars. He soon became involved in debt, and sold twenty-five thousand acres of land to pay his obligations. He established his home on a large estate a few miles from Nashville, which he named "The Hermitage," and there he lived until his death. While the mansion was in course of erection, he occupied a rude house of logs. He engaged largely in planting, and with success. He owned a great number of slaves, and it is said of him that he was kind and considerate in his treatment of them, while arrogant, dictatorial and quarrelsome with his social equals.

It is related of him that when on the bench, in a small settlement, a border ruffian, murderer and desperado, came into the room with brutal violence and interrupted the court. The judge ordered him to be arrested. The officer did not dare to approach him. "Call a posse," said the judge, "and arrest him," but the bystanders also shrank in fear. "Call me, then!" said Jackson; "This court is adjourned for five minutes!" He left the bench, walked straight to the man, and with his piercing eye actually cowed the ruffian, who dropped his weapons, afterward saying: "There was something in his eye that I could not resist."

Jackson was an intimate personal friend of Aaron Burr, and was openly charged by his enemies with connivance in the alleged treason-



able scheme which Burr attempted, in 1807, to carry out. So strong was the suspicion of Jackson's secret support of Burr, that many believed it, and Jackson was not relieved of the odium until he attested his loyalty by his distinguished military services in the War of 1812.

When hostilities began, Jackson was in private life, except that he was major-general of the Tennessee militia, the only position he would consent to hold. His friends believed he had military genius and that the war would afford opportunity for its exercise. Jackson had opposed Jefferson and was then in conflict with President Madison, yet he enlisted a body of volunteers and offered his services. The governor of Tennessee was requested to send troops to protect the forts on the Gulf of Mexico. Jackson had started, in obedience to the governor's directions, but the commander of the forts gave orders to wait. During the delay, his men, without provisions, suffered much from hunger and were reduced to subsisting upon acorns. When some threatened to return home, he rode before the rebellious line and soon quelled the spirit of mutiny. It was upon this occasion that one of his soldiers exclaimed, "Jackson is as tough as hickory!" and this gave him his popular sobriquet.

The march to the Gulf region was abandoned for the time, and Jackson was sent against hostile Indians in Florida. His operations there were very successful and clearly showed that he had in him the elements of a soldier. He supplemented his Indian campaign by the capture of Pensacola from the British in 1814, which was marked by much enterprise and skill. He was then ordered to New Orleans where, on the eighth of January, 1815, with an inferior force of raw volunteers, he overwhelmingly defeated the British army under Sir Edward Pakenham. The latter was among the mortally wounded. A striking feature of this battle was the exceedingly small loss sustained by the victors, when compared to that of the enemy. In this respect the battle of New Orleans has few parallels in history. It is an interesting fact that the battle took place two weeks after a treaty of peace between the two nations had been signed, tidings of which had not yet reached New Orleans. In these latter days, such an event would be known all over the world within a few minutes.

Jackson's victory over the British gave him great renown. On his return to his home, he was everywhere hailed as a hero. He was urged to enter the field as a candidate for President to succeed Madison, but decided not to do so. In 1817 he again drew his sword, as commander of an expedition against the Seminole Indians in Florida. During this campaign, he trespassed upon territory which belonged to Spain, and his imperious measures gave such offense to the government of that country that war was narrowly averted. It turned out

well, however, for a treaty resulted by which Spain ceded to the United States all of her possessions within the present limits of the state of Florida. Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, supported Jackson in his measures, while Clay and Calhoun were severe in criticism and strenuous in opposition. This was the beginning of a long and bitter feud between Jackson and his political rivals.

Jackson was appointed first territorial governor of Florida, but, after a few months, he resigned and returned to "The Hermitage." The luster of New Orleans had not yet grown dim, and the legislature of Tennessee elected him to the United States Senate. The legislature also formally nominated him for President, of which Jackson said:—

"I have been looking forward to a release from public office and its cares, thinking I would then attend to my religious affairs, and I dread the excitement likely to spring up if my friends persist. I do not want more honors; my country has honored me enough, and I prefer quiet, but having said that no one should seek the office, nor any patriot reject it when called to it, I can only say I could not refuse it, if tendered."

He was a presidential candidate in 1824, and led three others in the electoral vote, which resulted in throwing the election into Congress. Clay used his influence to elect John Quincy Adams, and Jackson's friends immediately organized for a renewal of the contest in 1828. His defeat aroused a feeling which, backed by the powerful influence of Martin Van Buren, caused Jackson's renomination in 1828, and he was elected. Before he had taken his seat, his wife died. It was a grievous blow to him, and, as he sat by her body, he exclaimed: "What are the world and its honors to me, since she is taken from me."

Upon Jackson's inauguration, he indicated his coming policy in these words:—

"In a country where the offices are created solely for the benefit of the people, no one man has any more intrinsic right to official station than another. Offices are not established to support particular men at the public expense, and no individual wrong is therefore done by removal."

This inaugurated his celebrated policy, "To the victors belong the spoils." He removed more officials than any other President had ever done and replaced them with political friends.

Jackson's next movement was against the National Bank. Its capital was \$35,000,000, including some \$7,000,000 of government funds. Every state and every civilized country was represented among its stockholders. It was the creation of Alexander Hamilton, and had

been ever since the pet measure of the Federalists. When the bill passed Congress to re-charter the bank, the President vetoed it, and it had not friends enough to pass it over his veto. This action led to

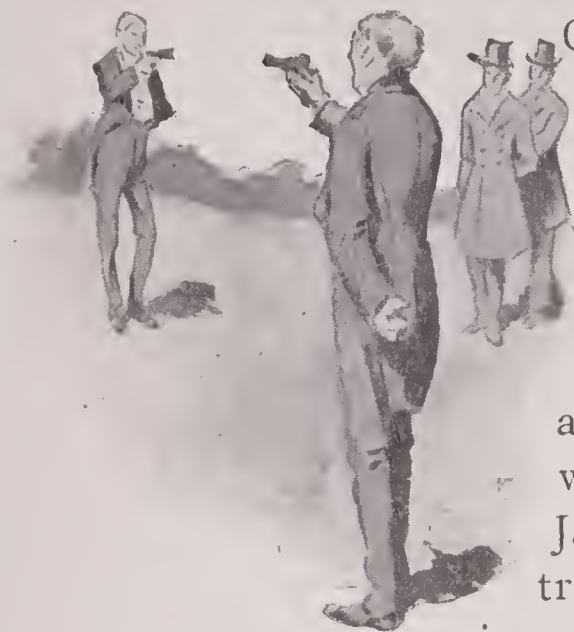
Clay's resolution of censure and Benton's fight for expunging it. Jackson's wisdom was later seen, when the bank finally failed and ruined thousands.

Jackson was also severely criticized for his "kitchen cabinet," consisting of political leaders; yet, amid all these criticisms, his administration was marked by ability and courage, and in 1832 he was reëlected, receiving a larger majority than before. His second term began with Calhoun's attempt to nullify the laws of Congress. Jackson's proclamation, based upon the Force Bill, electrified the country, and soon brought Calhoun to compromise. Upon his deathbed, President Jackson was asked what

he would have done if the nullifiers, led by Calhoun, had not yielded? "Hung them, sir, as high as Haman!" was the answer. "They should have been a terror to traitors for all time, and posterity would have pronounced it the best act of my life." It was Clay's compromise of 1833, gradually reducing the tariff, which poured oil on the troubled waters and calmed the storm in South Carolina. President Jackson reluctantly signed it.

Jackson was seventy years of age when he retired from his second presidential term. His health was shattered and he was an infirm old man. He died at "The Hermitage," June 8, 1845, leaving behind him his three great compeers, Clay, Calhoun and Webster. In a corner of the garden, above the remains of his wife and himself, stands a massive monument of Tennessee limestone. His loss was deeply felt throughout the country, as was shown by memorial meetings in all cities. New York set a special day for an imposing pageant, as a tribute to his memory.

Andrew Jackson was a man without fear and without secrets. "He never locked a door, nor concealed a paper." Yet upon the steps of the Capitol, in broad daylight, his life was threatened by an assassin's pistol. It was the first attempt at the assassination of a President in the history of the republic. The attack upon Jackson was the act of an insane man. In that supreme moment, with cane in hand, the brave-hearted President rushed upon his assailant, exclaiming, "Let me go, gentlemen; I am not afraid! They can't kill me; I can protect myself." He stopped not until the assassin was overpowered.



PRESIDENCY OF JACKSON, 1829-1837

That Jackson had traveled by legitimate roads from poverty and ignorance to the presidency, the foregoing summary of his public career attests. He was neither a demagogue nor a trickster; on the contrary he was conspicuously honest and straightforward all his life. The intense hatred Jackson inspired was due to his narrow-minded, bigoted, and wrong-headed disposition; his rash and reckless conduct; his disregard for the feelings and rights of others, and his violent, quarrelsome, and almost murderous temper. If, at some points of his career, he had been sentenced to imprisonment, hanging, or shooting, it would have been impossible to impeach the sentence for injustice, and that he escaped death at the hands of some private wielder of the knife, pistol, or rifle was his fortune and not his merit. Yet he had merit besides mere truthfulness and honesty, for he did not owe his popularity as a public man only to violence and fanaticism. Nor can his glaring and repulsive faults of temperament and behavior explain his troops of friends—few men had more and truer.

A man so unbalanced, so incapable of large views or sober reflection, so prone to act on impulse and to turn to the right when he ought to turn to the left, will, in moments of intensity, have his own headstrong way against friend and foe alike. But no man can be all or very much of the time intense, and when in relaxation, he must have a leader; yet must not know that he is being led. Jackson's leader, from the time that he became prominent for the President, was Martin Van Buren, of New York, by all odds the smoothest, nimblest, and cleverest politician of his time. Jackson, like men of his kind, was confiding, though relentless when he thought his confidence had been abused. He confided in Van Buren, he never lost confidence in him; it is but just to say that he seems to have had no occasion to distrust Van Buren, and if the latter eventually received the rich reward of the presidency because Jackson virtually had the naming of his successor, it was probably Van Buren that had enabled him to have his wild way unhurled from his acts with the proper masks of formality and decorum. Personal decorum and dignity he had no need to borrow from Van Buren. He had not reached 62 years, filling and standing before high places, habituated to professional and official etiquette, without acquiring the carriage and manner of a man of distinction. It was not a wild man of the bush that entered the White House as President. Jackson, as President, has been too often confounded with the picturesque but terrifying hordes that imagined they had come to their own in him.

Whatever Jackson believed he treated as a proved fact. His erroneous belief that he had been cheated out of the last election in the House of Representatives made him rancorous toward public men whom he might have personally esteemed to the advantage of everybody and everything. His erroneous belief that the Bank of the United States had been politically active against him led him to a savage warfare on it that formed the chief event of his presidency, and dragged down many innocent people in its ruin. In the late campaign, his early life and character had been dug from their graves and used as stalking horses to frighten people, with many lying additions. Villifications was a political game that he had played at himself, and a true statesman would have put all the evil memories of the campaign behind him and looked only at the future. Jackson's measure of statesmanship was contained in his closing retrospect of all his friends rewarded and all his enemies punished.

Jackson took over from his political friends of New York and Pennsylvania the "Spoils System" devised by his old friend Burr, under which public office and employment were attached to the party machine. Its gradual extension through all the ramifications of national, state, and municipal governments made government in the United States very expensive, corrupt, and inefficient.

Jackson was the inventor of the so-called kitchen cabinet, a clique of personal friends freed from the responsibility attaching to great office, possessed of a sinister influence to advance their own interest at the public cost, and whose function consisted in guarding and forwarding the political fortunes of their master in ways that responsible statesmen could not pursue.

The great act of Jackson's presidency was his dissipation of the cloud that hung over the Union when South Carolina sought to nullify the tariff acts that bore so oppressively upon her. Jefferson and Madison had supported the right of nullification by a majority of states, and the Federalists of New England had contended for the right of secession; so that the act of South Carolina was not revolutionary, however objectionable otherwise. Popular imagination likes to dwell on a supposed threat of Jackson to hang Calhoun, the leading advocate of nullification; but Calhoun was never in personal danger from Jackson's sentiment, and it was Jackson's own sacrifice of his friendship for Calhoun to his preference for Van Buren that prevented him from an intercourse with Calhoun which might have avoided the crisis. Jackson's firmness gained time for a surrender to South Carolina on the question of the objectionable tariff, and when that unquiet state next appeared as a dissenter, in 1860, it found nullification so dead that it logically resorted to the old New Eng-

land project of secession, as the only remaining means of controlling the Union.

Strict constructionists of the Constitution had originally been doubtful of Jackson, but his opposition to the appropriation of national revenues to internal improvements restored their confidence. Yet when he found large majorities in both Houses of Congress wedded to such appropriations he accepted Van Buren's advice and yielded, and there was no more trouble on that score.

Jackson was reëlected, over Clay, in 1833. In this campaign, for the first time, all nominations were made by national party conventions. A third party was in the field, the Anti-masons, whose stock in trade was the proposition that freemasonry was a lawless and dangerous secret society. This struck equally at Jackson and Clay, both eminent freemasons. Antimasonry made a great stir for a few years and gained some notable local successes. This is the common history of all third parties. The popular vote indicated that if all the opposition to Jackson could have been consolidated he would have been defeated. But a consolidated opposition would hardly have obtained so large an aggregate vote.

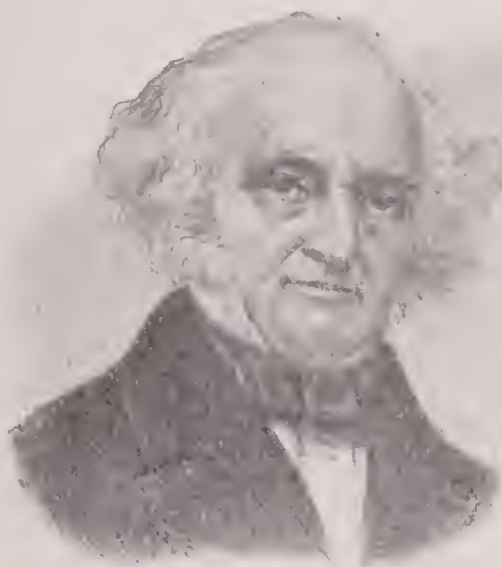
Nullification did not wholly fail in Jackson's time. In defiance of Federal treaties and a decision of the Supreme Court, Georgia had laid violent hands on the Cherokee Indian lands within her limits, and all that the general government could do was forcibly to tear the Cherokees from their home and settle them on the Federal domain in the far West. Even with Jackson at the helm, the Union was not under full control of the steersman.

The war on the bank, the excessive diversion of capital and industry to manufacturing under the stimulus of high tariffs, an eager speculation in unsettled western lands, the flooding of the country with the paper money issues of a swarm of "wild cat" banks, were preparing a great crash in the financial and commercial worlds. This was assured and hastened by Jackson's sudden policy of discontinuing the acceptance of bank bills in payment for public lands and of public dues, and requiring actual gold and silver, and by the ruinous losses of a great fire in New York. But Jackson got out before the storm actually broke, so that he left office the most powerful and popular of Presidents, and turned the succession over to Van Buren as easily as though the presidency had been his private property.

As the first man of the people to attain the presidency, and with his figure standing so strongly out from a lurid background, Jackson has taken hold of the popular imagination in a way not warranted by either the facts or results of his political career. It is a hard fate for Jefferson to have Jackson's name so often linked with his own as though they were the two apostles of democracy.

MARTIN VAN BUREN

He was famous as a political manager.



VAN BUREN, by the grace of Andrew Jackson and the votes of the Democratic party, eighth President of the United States, remains yet the ablest and most interesting example of a political manager that party life and action have produced. The son of a small farmer, and without other education than such as the village school afforded, the future "Little Magician" of the political world had, at fourteen, so favorably impressed a leading lawyer and politician of the day that he took the boy into his office, and so opened to him the vista of a professional and public career, beside which his original prospects must have looked small indeed. Seven years he spent with eminent lawyers who were also eminent as politicians, and though he had to wait his coming of age before his formal admission to the practice of the law, he had already attained great proficiency in it and in the closely related avocation of politics. He was already known as a promising young politician when he was admitted to the bar, and, returning from the last of his student days in New York to his native village of Kinderhook, there he began practice for himself. This was in 1803, in the midst of Jefferson's first term, and party feeling and spirit were running high between the Federalists, who had so rapidly worn out their strength during the administration of John Adams, and the Republicans, as the party of Jefferson was then called. Van Buren was a Republican, and so had the fortune to be in the ascendant, from his entry into active politics till his defeat for reëlection to the presidency, thirty-seven years afterward.

The young lawyer was never short of cases, and as the esteemed pupil of such noted lawyers as Francis Sylvester and William P. Van Ness, he obtained important employments beyond what otherwise would have been natural to his years and experience. At twenty-six he was elected surrogate, or probate judge, of his county, an important office which he could only have attained at that age by decided eminence, both as a lawyer and as a politician. Four years later he was sent to the legislature, a further step forward, politi-

cally considered, and one that enabled him to take his place among the foremost leaders of the Republican party in the state.

In 1815 he was appointed attorney-general of the state of New York and held the office for four years, during which time his fame became national as the genius of the so-called "Albany regency," the most powerful and successful political machine ever organized and worked since rival parties came on the stage. It was as the inspiration of the Albany regency that Van Buren won his title of "The Little Magician."

At the time of the formation of the regency under De Witt Clinton, Van Buren was but thirty-three years old: a short, well-formed man, with a large but shapely head; massive forehead; lustrous eyes; a long, prominent, but handsome nose; a small, really beautiful mouth; finely rounded chin; and smooth, but not over-full cheeks. He had an abundance of long, curling hair, which terminated at the sides in luxuriant curling whiskers, then very popular. His upper lip and chin were smooth-shaven, according to the fashion of the time.



In 1821, Van Buren, then in private life, but in full tide of political activity, was sent to the United States Senate, a real tribute to his public importance and his personal fitness, for no common man reached the Senate in those days. It was during his service in the Senate that the two factions of the Republican party became finally separated into Whigs, under Clay and John Quincy Adams, and Democrats, under Crawford and Jackson; the Federalists mostly going with the Whigs. In 1828 he was elected governor of New York, the highest office in the Union next to the presidency; an unquestionable proof that he was now regarded as the foremost leader of the Democracy in the state. But Jackson, at the same time, was elected to the presidency, and having large views ahead, insisted that Van Buren should take the first place in his Cabinet. It was a descent for the new Governor, but the relations of the two men had been very close ever since Van Buren, in 1827, by a marvelously successful tour of the South, had won over to Jackson, whom they did not like, the support of the Crawford men after the physical breakdown of their leader. Van Buren, too, was very anxious for the success and perpetuity of the Democratic party, and feared that Jackson, passionate, prejudiced and headstrong, might unwittingly deliver it into the hands

of its able and watchful enemies. Lastly, to be Secretary of State in a successful administration would make him the next in line at the end of the eight years for Jackson. He therefore resigned the governorship and went to Washington, where it became his chief function to lead Jackson, without letting the latter suspect that he was being led.

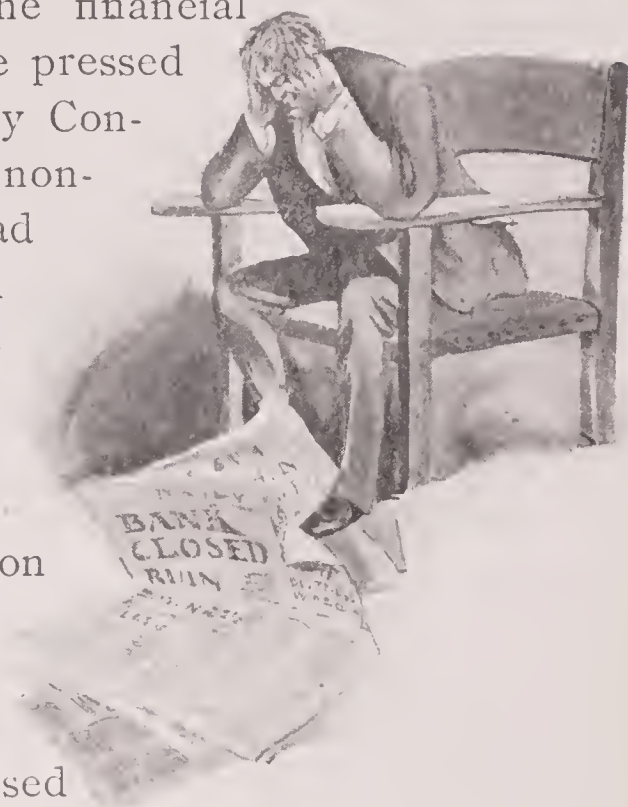
One of the five places in the Cabinet, Jackson had bestowed upon a politician and personal friend of his own state, of no particular character or ability, but who had stood by Jackson through evil as well as good report. This statesman had married the daughter of a tavern-keeper at Washington, captivated by her beauty and vivacity, and disregarding her too notorious reputation. She was, of course, blacklisted by society, and the blacklisting extended to the wives and families of the Cabinet officers. Jackson took up the cause of the woman, and determined that she should be received, but in the warfare with women he made no progress. Van Buren, being a widower, was not fettered like the other Cabinet officers, and showed "Mrs. Secretary" every possible attention, besides intimating to some of the foreign ministers, whose wives had publicly flouted her, that the conduct of their ladies had given the President great concern and might necessitate requests for their recall. Jackson, though defeated in the end, was grateful to Van Buren for his assistance, and under further obligation when Van Buren, to cover the objectionable woman's retreat, tendered his resignation in such terms as enabled Jackson to tell the four other members that a complete reconstitution of the Cabinet was a necessity. Thereupon they all resigned, an entire new Cabinet was appointed, and Van Buren was rewarded by being appointed minister to Great Britain. When the Senate afterward met, there was a prolonged and bitter debate in secret session over the nomination, resulting in a tie vote. Calhoun, who blamed Van Buren for his own rupture with Jackson, gave the casting vote for rejection and Van Buren came home in deep humiliation. Jackson then vowed that Van Buren should succeed Calhoun as Vice-president for the second term, and then succeed Jackson himself as President, and he made the vow good in both particulars. Van Buren was nominated to succeed Jackson by a convention largely composed of office-holders, and though the popular vote was uncomfortably close, he got a good majority of the electoral vote. He had a spectacular inauguration, arranged to please Jackson, who wrote of it as "the glorious scene of Mr. Van Buren, once rejected by the Senate, sworn into office."

The period of Jackson's presidency had been one of wild speculation and inflation, necessarily to be followed by panic and depres-

sion whenever the bubble should burst. The crash was already on the way when Van Buren assumed the presidency, and upon him the storm broke; the more severely because he was popularly identified with the policy and measures of Jackson's administration, which had both hastened and aggravated the crash in the financial and industrial world. A great variety of plans were pressed upon Van Buren, to be executed by himself or by Congress, but he held inflexibly to his policy of non-interference, contending that until the panic had spent itself, and speculative enterprises and inflated values had found their true level, there could be no revival of confidence or soundness in business, and that governmental palliatives could only make a bad situation worse and more prolonged.

All during his term, Van Buren pressed upon Congress the sub-treasury plan, under which the government, by its own officers, was to collect, keep, transfer and pay out its revenues without the agency of any bank. This plan had been proposed by the Whigs when Jackson removed the deposits from the Bank of the United States and gave them to his so-called pet banks. Toward the end of his administration, Van Buren got the sub-treasury bill through Congress. The system proved a wasteful one for the government, involving the expense of a small army of officials, with buildings and incidentals, and hurtful to the country in keeping all the time a large amount of money withdrawn from circulation and from the channels of business.

Van Buren was a good President, despite his antecedents, and was unanimously renominated by his party; but went down before the wild hurrah of the log-cabin and hard-eider campaign of 1840, that brought in "Old Tippecanoe" and the Whigs. In 1848 the Free-soil Democrats nominated him, with Charles Francis Adams second on the ticket. The nomination did its intended work of defeating Cass, of Michigan, the regular nominee, and the defection of the Free-soilers threw the election to Taylor, the Whig candidate. This campaign ended the public career of Van Buren. He lived fourteen years longer on his estate near his birthplace, Kinderhook, except for some two years spent in a leisurely and enjoyable tour of Europe, during the presidency of Pierce. He died in his eightieth year, in the midst of the Civil War. The eulogy passed upon him by President Lincoln, in making the formal announcement of his death, was a high tribute to his private and public worth.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Admiring people called him "Old Tippecanoe."

THE ninth President of the United States occupied the presidential office precisely one month. This period was too short to accomplish definite results, and yet he aroused a large measure of popular acclaim. A half century later, when his illustrious grandson was a candidate for the same office, the old campaign battle cry of the Whigs was again taken up, and the slumbering enthusiasm was awakened. Even though the zeal born of hero worship be in his case out of all reasonable proportion, still this great popularity is a fact that must be recognized, and it is entitled to a rational explanation. This explanation is not found in a single brilliant deed, or in any one marked talent of intellect, but in the general course of a spotless, well-rounded and useful life.



William Henry Harrison was the third and youngest son of Benjamin Harrison, and was born at Berkeley, Charles City County, Virginia, February 9, 1773. His father was a man of prominence in those stirring times, having been speaker of the Virginia house of burgesses, and a member of the Continental Congress. It was he who, as chairman of the committee of the whole, reported to Congress the resolution which declared the independence of the American colonies. Though the child was too young to understand much of the war of the Revolution, his early associations were such that they definitely molded his character.

During his boyhood, young Harrison was studiously inclined, and ardently read such books as came within his reach. He went to Hampden-Sidney College, which was hardly above the grade of the ordinary high school of to-day, and was duly graduated. He then engaged in the study of medicine. When he was about eighteen years of age, the Indian wars stirred the martial spirit which he had inherited from his father, and he determined to enter military life. His guardian opposed this and appealed to Washington. But Washington, who had been a friend of Harrison's father, encouraged the plan. This settled it, and in April, 1791, the youth received his commission as an ensign in the First Regiment, United States Artillery, stationed on the frontier where the city of Cincinnati now stands.

Ensign Harrison took with zeal to military life. Of him a comrade wrote:—

“I would as soon have thought of putting my wife into the army as this boy, but I have been out with him, and I find that those smooth cheeks are on a wise head, and that slight form is almost as tough as any one’s weather-beaten carcass.”

After about six months’ service, he was promoted to lieutenant, by General “Mad” Anthony Wayne. In 1793 he fought in the battle of Fort Recovery—the battle that redeemed General St. Clair’s previous defeat. On August 20, 1794, he was in the battle of the Miami, and General Wayne warmly commended him as his “faithful and gallant aid-de-camp.” The following year, at the close of the campaign, he was promoted to a captaincy of artillery and placed in command of Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. He was at this time twenty-two years old.

Like many another gallant young soldier, Captain Harrison, who had been inspired to deeds of valor as a devotee of Mars, was himself vanquished by the tender influences of Venus. He surrendered his heart to Anna, daughter of Judge Symmes of the Miami settlement. Her father opposed the match, but the daughter so arranged matters that the couple were quietly married in her home. It is gratifying to know that the disappointed father became reconciled to the military governor, and forgave his daughter for wedding a future President of the United States. This marriage was the means of identifying the groom permanently with the pioneer element of our population. He shortly resigned his commission in the army, and was appointed Secretary of that vast region then called the Northwest Territory.

In 1799 Harrison was elected to Congress from this territory. Though only twenty-six years old, he displayed a statesman’s ability and rendered efficient service. His experience as territorial secretary had taught him the conditions and needs of that country, which was being rapidly settled. He secured a revision of the land laws, so that all the territory west of Pennsylvania was divided into small tracts. This secured the settlement of a large number of small landholders, rather than a small number of large landholders. The effect on the future character of western civilization is obvious.

When the Northwest Territory was divided, that portion which now includes Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, was called Indiana Territory. Of this Harrison was, in 1801, appointed governor by President Adams, and was afterward reappointed by Jefferson and by Madison. The population was scant, but the extent of the domain was immense, and his autocratic powers were enough to excite

the envy of Czar or Sultan. He was land commissioner, Indian commissioner and commander of militia. As sole legislator, he had the power to adopt any law of any state. He appointed magistrates and all civil officers. He appointed all military officers below the rank of general. He had power to divide territory into counties and townships. He had power to judge of the validity of land grants—of which many were spurious—and from his decision there was no appeal. And he had pardoning power. All this authority to a youth of twenty eight, and he never abused it! He was a good judge of Indian character, and was successful in concluding over a dozen important treaties. He resisted every temptation to enrich himself. So sensitive was he to the honor of the public service, that he put aside opportunities for legitimate investment.

In 1811 the growing discontent of the Indians culminated in open rupture with the tribes led by the chief Tecumseh and his brother, the "Prophet." Governor Harrison wisely and patiently tried to pacify them. He succeeded twice in securing a friendly conference, but though he offered everything in reason to satisfy them, their clamors increased and it became apparent that sterner methods must be used. With a force of nearly a thousand men, he marched to the Indian village of Tippecanoe, near which he went into camp on the night of November 6, 1811. The next morning, the Indians made a sudden and fierce attack before daybreak, hoping to surprise and destroy their enemy. But Harrison was ready for them, and the Indians were so signally defeated that it ended the war. This was the battle of Tippecanoe. The legislatures of Indiana and Kentucky gave him votes of thanks, and President Madison, in his message to Congress, expressed his warm appreciation of Harrison's conduct.

The Indians along the border continued restless, and when, in 1812, war with England was declared, there was a general uprising of the various tribes, not so much to aid the British as to revenge themselves on the Americans. The people of the West looked to Harrison as their natural leader, and they enlisted under his command in large numbers. Such was their confidence in him that they refused to fight under any other commander. The adjustment of questions of rank and control caused some friction which need not here be recounted. The outcome was that Harrison was appointed to the supreme command of that army, with unlimited power, such as had never before been given to any general except Washington and Greene. The order, in part, read:—

"You will command such means as may be practicable, exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment."

It was at Harrison's suggestion that Commodore Perry's fleet was built; it was partly from his command that the fleet was manned; and to him, therefore, is due much of the credit of the battle of Lake Erie, which resulted in the capture of the entire British fleet. After that battle Harrison pushed the enemy into Canada. The British and their Indian allies made their last stand at the Thames, a small river that flows into Lake St. Clair. At the battle there fought, the Americans were completely victorious, the great Indian chief Tecumseh was slain, and the combined power of the British and their allies was completely broken in the Northwest. The chief practical significance of this victory was that it put an end forever to the fear that the Indians would ultimately drive back the white settlers. It need hardly be added, that the complete success of this campaign left Harrison with popularity almost unbounded, especially in the West, where he was known in common phrase as "Old Tippecanoe."

In 1816 Harrison laid down public duties and went to North Bend, Ohio, to settle down to quiet life. But his light could not long be hid. There came a vacancy in Congress from his district and he was elected by a thousand majority, over the combined votes for five competing candidates. In 1814 President Madison had appointed Harrison, Governor Shelby and General Cass, as Indian commissioners. The House of Representatives voted a gold medal to each of the three. But a dissatisfied contractor charged Harrison with a misuse of the public money in the Northwest Territory. Accordingly the Senate struck Harrison's name from the list of commissioners. This injustice was corrected in 1818, when Congress, after an investigation, ordered the medal, with a report which declared that "General Harrison stands above suspicion." The vote on the resolution was unanimous in the Senate, and there was but one adverse vote in the House.

Political honors continued to fall thick on Harrison. He was re-elected to Congress; in 1819 he was elected to the senate of the state of Ohio; and in 1824 he was advanced to the United States Senate. In 1828 President John Quincy Adams appointed him minister plenipotentiary to the new republic of Colombia, South America. Jackson became President the next year and he lost no time in recalling Harrison on a trumped-up charge. This was his revenge for Harrison's support of Clay. In his removal from office, no provision was made for his return to the United States, and as there was little or no commerce between the two countries, it cost Harrison three months of time and a considerable outlay of money, besides infinite annoyance, to get home. He went at once to North Bend where he again settled down to private life.

Jackson dominated the country and it was not worth while for Harrison to try to find political employment. He had a good farm, but it was hardly possible for him to make a living by working it. He had no profession or trade, and he did not understand mercantile life. At that time whisky was an article of almost universal consumption, and in some places it was not only a standard of value, but even passed as a substitute for money. He therefore built a distillery upon his premises. Though it was not an era of temperance, he was personally an abstainer, and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks so disturbed his conscience that he destroyed the plant. A year later he took occasion, in a public address, to enter an earnest plea against intemperance, and the manufacture of whisky. He said that he could so speak of the evil of turning the staff of life into an article so destructive of health and happiness, "because," said he, "in that way I have sinned, but in that way I shall sin no more." The period of Harrison's retirement lasted nearly ten years. His only public service during that time was as clerk of court. In 1836 the Whigs had no regular candidate for President against Van Buren, but the party conventions in certain states nominated Harrison, and he actually received seventy-three electoral votes, as against one hundred and seventy for Van Buren.

When the Whig convention met in Harrisburg, December 4, 1839, it seemed to be a foregone conclusion that the nominee of that party would be elected President. The spoils system, introduced by Jackson, and further applied by Van Buren, had produced so much corruption as to cause a popular reaction, while the financial panic of 1837 increased the general discontent. Clay was the logical Whig candidate,

because he had done more than any other person to make that party what it was. But he had been

prominent long enough to have many enemies within his own party, and they wanted any-

body to beat Clay. Harrison, having many friends and few enemies, met the requirements, and, by adroit manipulation, he was nominated. Then followed the most ex-

citing political campaign that the country had

ever known. According to the popular fancy, it was the aristocracy of Van Buren, symbolized by gold spoons, against the homely thrift of Harrison, symbolized by the log cabin; and plain hard cider was contrasted with expensive wines. Thus the emblem of the Whigs was the log cabin, and their war cry was hard cider. That famous song, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," was a type of the music of the campaign. The Whig party had a brilliant array of speakers, including



Clay, Webster, Corwin, Choate, Reverdy Johnson and Richard W. Thompson. But it was not a campaign of education. The mass meetings were not for deliberation or instruction, but for shouting, drinking hard cider, and singing alliterative doggerel. The country was excited beyond all precedent, and the result was a landslide. Harrison received two hundred and forty electoral votes, and Van Buren but sixty.

The pressure of office seekers upon President Harrison was great, but he made an attempt at civil-service reform. Through Webster, his Secretary of State, he issued a circular peremptorily forbidding political patronage or partisan assessment. He died April 4, 1841, exactly one month after his inauguration. The immediate cause of his death was said to have been pneumonia, brought on by a chill, but it is now believed that the remote and real cause was that he was worn out by the importunities of hungry politicians. So brief was his illness, that his wife was unable to reach his side before his death. He was buried in Washington, but his body was later removed to North Bend, where it now rests.

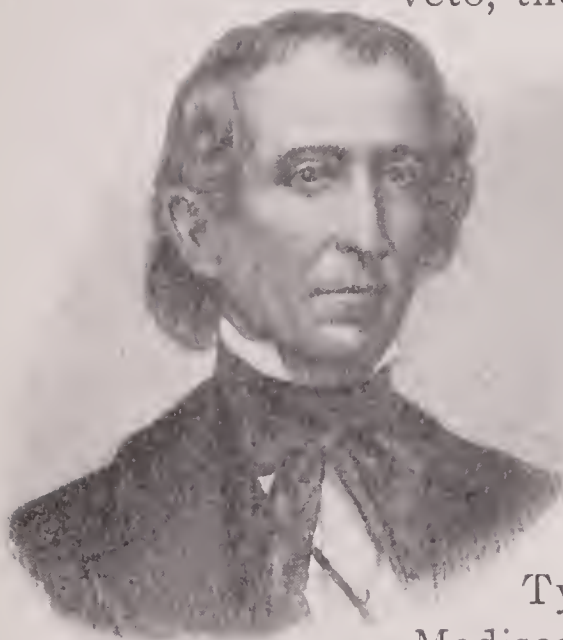
"Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them." Harrison belonged to all three classes. He was born great: his father was leader in that remarkable body of great men that composed the Continental Congress. He achieved greatness: his duties were many and diverse, but in every station he quitted himself like a man. He had greatness thrust upon him: he was nominated for the presidency, not from any desire of his own, not even because of his undoubted virtues, but solely because he was an available man to beat Henry Clay. He was the club used by the jealous politicians of his party to put Clay out of the arena; not that they loved Harrison, but that they hated Clay. Harrison did not share this spirit of envy and rancor. He accepted all his responsibilities, and did his work so faithfully as to leave an untarnished name and fame.

JOHN TYLER

A noted Virginian whom Death made President.

JOHN TYLER was the tenth President of the United States. He was the first of the so-called "accidental" Presidents. That is to say, he was not elected to the office, but, being Vice-president, became the constitutional successor of Harrison upon the untimely death of the latter. Henry Clay's words, in discussing Tyler's first veto, though bitter, were true:—

"It cannot be forgotten that he came into his present office under peculiar circumstances. The people did not foresee the contingency which has happened. They voted for him as Vice-president."



Tyler was born and nurtured, he lived and died, in the atmosphere of politics. He was born at Greenway, Charles City County, Virginia, March 29, 1790. His father, also named John, was a judge, and later came to be governor of the state. Judge

Tyler had been a college classmate of Jefferson and Madison. This explains the son's natural bias for political life, and his devotion to the formative principle of state rights.

Though a studious lad, young Tyler was not backward in action. At the age of eleven, he rebelled against the oppression of a despotic teacher. He was one of the ringleaders of the schoolboys who overpowered the master, bound him hand and foot, and locked him in the schoolhouse, from which he was released, late at night, by a traveler who chanced to pass by. Tyler stood well in William and Mary College, from which he was graduated in 1807. He began the study of the law, but his father's candidacy for the governorship brought him into politics at once. Though but eighteen years of age, he proved an effective stump speaker. He was admitted to the bar the next year. In 1811, or as soon as he was of age, he was elected to the legislature, and was reëlected for five successive terms. This continuous legislative experience was terminated in 1816, when he was elected to Congress to fill a vacancy, and the following year was reëlected. In 1820 he voted against the Missouri Compromise; not from hostility to slavery, but because he believed the measure

violated the principle of state rights, which was the fundamental article of his political creed. He deprecated slavery, and held that the best way to ameliorate the evil was to remove all territorial restrictions, and let it diffuse itself over the country.

In 1821 Tyler's health failed, and he retired to private life. Two years later, he was again in active politics, being elected to the Virginia house of delegates. About this time he was made first rector and then chancellor of his alma mater. During his administration, the college enjoyed signal prosperity. In 1825 he was elected governor of Virginia, and was unanimously reëlected a year later. He was then elected to the United States Senate, to fill the unexpired term of John Randolph, of Roanoke, who had resigned. Tyler was what is known as a strict constructionist; that is, he rejected the implied powers of the Constitution. In much he agreed with Jackson, who became President in 1829, but in many things he bitterly opposed him. He was no less earnest than Jackson in his hostility to the national bank. His words were:—

"I believe this to be the original sin against the Constitution, which, in the progress of our history, has called into existence a numerous progeny of usurpations. Shall I permit this serpent, however bright its scales or erect its mien, to exist by and through my vote?"

At the same time he disapproved, even more vigorously, of Jackson's method of destroying the bank. He opposed Jackson's "force bill," to enable the President to proceed against the South Carolina nullifiers, and he was the only one of the opposition who had the moral courage to record his vote. When the vote was taken, all the other opponents of the bill were conveniently absent, so that the ballot stood thirty-two to one.

Tyler had voted for Clay's resolution of censure on President Jackson. In 1836 the Virginia legislature instructed him to vote to expunge the censure from the records. He could not conscientiously do this, while he acknowledged the legislature's right to instruct him. He therefore cut the Gordian knot by resigning his seat. This same year, Tyler was, in a way, a candidate for the vice-presidency. The Whigs were divided into many factions, and no national convention was held. But, in a few states, the state-rights faction of the party nominated him, and he actually received forty-seven electoral votes. Van Buren, Jackson's candidate, was elected President by a heavy majority, but there was no choice of Vice-president, and that matter went over to the Senate.

When the Whig national convention met in Harrisburg in December, 1839, it was almost certain that the nomination would be

equivalent to an election. The most prominent candidate for President was Clay. But while Clay had a plurality, he did not have the necessary majority of the convention. His many opponents united on William Henry Harrison and secured his nomination. There was difficulty in finding one who would consent to take the second place on the ticket. Four men in turn declined the offer. Then it came to Tyler. Thurlow Weed, who was one of the leaders of the convention, said, "We could get nobody else to accept." Thus Tyler's nomination to the vice-presidency was accidental, as was his accession to the presidency. But it is true that Tyler, like Harrison, had many friends. He had shown great moral courage and had suffered for it. After he had been nominated, he was everybody's choice. The campaign which followed is historic. It is known as the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign. The Whigs marched on to a phenomenal victory to the tune of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too."

Harrison died just one month after his inauguration, and two days later, April 6, 1841, Tyler took the oath of office. As soon as the election was over, Clay imperiously assumed to control the administration. Harrison did not prove subservient. He said to Clay,

"You seem to forget, sir, that it is I who am to be president." After Harrison's death, Clay said, "Tyler dares not resist; I'll drive him to the wall." But Tyler retorted, "I pray you, believe that my back is to the wall, and that, while I shall deplore the assaults, I shall, if practicable, beat back the assailants." He did this; Clay's power was broken from that moment. The extra session of Congress, from May 31 to September 13, which had been called by Harrison, was dominated by Clay, but it resulted in nothing good. Tyler vetoed the bank bill. It was reconstructed so as to seem to meet the President's objections, though it did not. He vetoed this also. The Whig leaders were angered and publicly broke off all connection with

their President. The session was to adjourn on a Monday. Tyler had retained Harrison's Cabinet, and all of the members, with the sole exception of Webster, summarily resigned on the Saturday before adjournment. This was a coup intended to force the submission of the President. But on Monday morning he sent in a new list of nominations, which were duly confirmed by the Senate. So this crisis passed. About two years later, Webster resigned as Secretary of State. The condition of affairs was far from pleasant to the President. All of his Cabinet had left him. The Whig congress had been against him. The Democratic congress of



1843, under the lead of Van Buren, was against him. His Cabinet, as finally composed, consisted of state-rights Whigs and state-rights Democrats. The administration was one protracted wrangle, from the beginning to the end.

But despite these unenviable facts, the administration was not barren of results. The Ashburton Treaty settled the Northeastern boundary of the United States, fixing the line between Maine and Canada. Fremont, the Pathfinder, had explored the Rocky Mountain region and prepared the way for future settlement. The heroic Marcus Whitman had been encouraged to take his band of immigrants to the Northwest, thus saving Oregon, Washington and other rich states, to our country. Through Caleb Cushing, a treaty was secured with China. In spite of great financial difficulties, he left a treasury balance of eight million dollars. He was sincere and vigorous in furthering civil-service reform. There was but one defaulter in his administration, and that was for the insignificant sum of fifteen dollars. The most conspicuous achievement was the annexation of Texas. This has been unfairly credited to Calhoun. The fact is that the matter was substantially arranged before Calhoun knew about it. Tyler's acts indicate that it was his purpose to construct a new party, composed chiefly of state-rights men of both the old parties, and he, himself, would be the leader and would be elected to a second term. If he cherished such a purpose, he was destined to disappointment. His course had satisfied no one. Instead of rising, he sank. At the end, he had few supporters except office-holders. A machine convention assembled at Baltimore and nominated him, but it was so evident that he had no popular support, that he quickly withdrew his name.

Tyler was twice married: in 1813 to Miss Letitia Christian, and in 1844 to Miss Julia Gardiner of New York City. After the expiration of his term of office, he retired to his estate, "Sherwood Forest," near his birthplace, and there he lived quietly until the last year of his life. In December, 1860, he was president of the "peace conference" held in the city of Washington. He was a delegate to the state convention of Virginia, where he advised against secession. After the ordinance was passed, he was elected a member of the Confederate house of representatives, but did not live to take his seat. He died January 18, 1862.

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN TYLER, 1841-1844

The Whig policies were, a protective tariff, to diversify industry and build up seats of manufacture as home markets for the farmer; fishery bounties, to assure a supply of seamen to the navy in time of war; generous aid to interstate roads and canals, to facilitate traffic and trade, and help to populate the interior of the country; a national bank, with branches everywhere, to make the whole mass of money and credit available to business under safe conditions; a liberal construction of the Constitution in all matters of general welfare, and the keeping of the slavery question out of policies by adherence to the Missouri Compromise. The late victory was taken as an affirmation of these policies; but Tyler, the unexpected President, was a Jeffersonian in politics, and being an honest, conscientious man, he could neither go the pace nor follow the direction set for him by his nominal party.

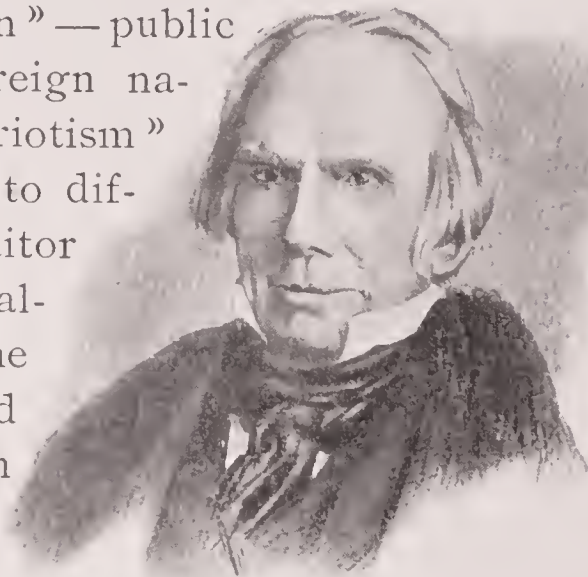
The Whigs repealed the independent treasury act, under which the public revenues were withdrawn from the uses of trade between the times of their collection and disbursement, and they got a small modification of the tariff law, in the interest of protection. They were not strong enough to pass their other measures against the resistance of Tyler, and spent the time in quarreling with him, a situation that enabled the lately prostrate Democrats to raise their heads.

Clay was the unanimous choice of the Whigs for the succession to Tyler, and Van Buren had a decided lead for the Democratic nomination. Tyler, who had been coquetting for that nomination, threw his trump card in the form of a treaty for the annexation of Texas, which was hailed with delight by the southern Democrats as affording material for several slavery states, by which to preserve their strength in the Senate. Van Buren took the same ground as Clay, that to filch from Mexico her filibustered province would be dishonorable, and could lead only to a dishonorable war. Cass, of Michigan, his rival for the nomination, was ready to swallow the dishonor in exchange for the nomination; but when Van Buren found that he could not be nominated himself he sprang the first "dark horse" of presidential nominations upon the convention in the person of Polk, of Tennessee. There was a stampede to Polk, and the news of his "enthusiastic" nomination was sent from Baltimore to Washington over the experimental telegraph line that Congress had paid for on the solicitation of Morse, the painter of congressional portraits.

HENRY CLAY

A great Kentuckian who just failed of the presidency.

"HARRY of the West," though far from the greatest, is, perhaps, the most interesting character in our political history. He was the first and the foremost of our magnetic statesmen—that is, of public men whose political importance is vastly increased by their personal fascination. He was not the first, but among the greatest, of what are now called "jingo statesmen"—public men who maintain a hectoring attitude toward foreign nations or governments, attach a label inscribed "patriotism" to their quarrelsome utterances and dare anybody to differ with them on pain of being branded as a traitor or a poltroon. In these days of vigorous journalism and the self-written newspaper interview, the "jingo" tribe has so increased in Europe and America that its members largely drown each other's noise and so give the quieter majority a chance of existence. But in the days when Clay appeared as a "jingo" or a "war hawk," as the phrase then ran, there was no such deafening competition, and the combination of jingoism and magnetism in the young Lochinvar, lately come out of the West, made him irresistible.



Clay's acts of statesmanship were compromises that settled nothing, and when the days of settlement came, with all their accumulated arrears, the compromises fell into discredit. Yet they were all successful in their one object of putting off an evil day, in hope that the time gained might become the means of putting it off forever. The Missouri Compromise, in Monroe's first administration—under which Missouri was admitted as a slave state, with the prohibition of slavery in all other territory north of a line substantially that of her southern boundary—quieted a dangerous sectional quarrel, and gave the Union twenty years in which to grow stronger. The compromise tariff of 1833, which put an end to the nullification movement begun by South Carolina, saved the Union in the only way by which it could then have been saved. South Carolina was in deadly earnest, and, despite Jackson's unofficial trumpetings, it is improbable that he could then have rallied a united North against a united

South. The slavery compromise of 1850 was less successful than its predecessors, because its fugitive slave law, violently executed in New England towns and streets, proved too much for the Puritan stomach. Yet it made California a free state, and put an end to the efforts to divide Texas, so as to increase the slavery representation in the Senate; and though it gave Utah and New Mexico to slavery at the option of their people, nature had already taken care that they should not so choose. Furthermore, it did away with the offensive sight of negroes for sale, in gangs or on the auction block, in the streets of the national capital. Clay had been originally an anti-slavery man, and though he grew tolerant of the great "institution" of the South, he never loved it. All his concessions to it were for the safety of the Union, to which he was sincerely attached, and the preservation of which he put before all other interests.

Even Clay's jingoism was not meant, as in these days it is too often meant, to tickle the ear of the mob, that the perfervid patriot may profit by the sensation. He believed that the Western Continent should be utterly free of political connection with Europe, and given up to republics organized on democratic principles, from Hudson Bay to Patagonia. He wished his own country to be the first in the world, and looked complacently upon the prospect of war upon war, if necessary to make her such. He favored what would have been a big army and navy for those days, much biting of the thumb at England and Spain, a stiffly protective tariff in behalf of the manufacturing industries, and lavish expenditure on a national system of roads and canals. His politics, had they been fully carried out, would have borne roughly on New England, whose interests were chiefly in foreign trade, and upon the South, where agriculture predominated. But they were popular in the West, which then consisted of Pennsylvania and Virginia beyond the Alleghanies, and Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. The West would have reaped the benefits of the roads and canals; its people were the immediate sufferers from those Indian raids alleged to be fostered in Canada, and the East and South would have been saddled with the cost of the exuberant foreign and domestic politics.

Clay had considerable success with his high tariff and internal improvement projects, and usually under adverse political conditions. This success was due to his influence over the masses, whose enthusiasm for Clay dragooned hostile or indifferent Presidents and Congresses into support of his measures. In Clay, more than in any other American politician, the man was everything, the principle nothing. His bright, handsome face, tall and animated figure, graceful and engaging manner, captivating voice and unlimited command

of words that charmed and stirred the hearer, made him the foremost of "spellbinders." As lately, in the north of England, the political creed of the populace was embraced in the name of Gladstone, so in our West the person of Clay was all the politics that tens of thousands knew or cared to know. The intense popular devotion to him and his fortunes surpassed anything else in our political history. Only in newspapers do strong men weep in these days, but strong men did weep over Clay's presidential misfortunes.

The subject of all this unrestrained and unselfish devotion was not unworthy of it. The beloved "Harry" had his faults, but he had also what the French call "a good heart." No one with a good heart can possibly be false, nor was Clay false. He was usually showy, and he was sometimes weak, but he was always true. What he advocated he believed, and his transparent sincerity was a great element of his strength. Had he been merely a demagogue, his abounding popularity would have shown our political fabric to be rotten, but such a disquieting conclusion may not be drawn from his example. Personally, he was a man of refinement and fond of cultivated society, but the poor and the untutored always had access to him. Like Lincoln, he understood and sympathized with the common people, and in his intercourse there was no condescension, because his feeling toward them was real and spontaneous. He was compassionate and impulsive, and for the friendless and deserving to gain his ear was to win his heart. In his time and by his class the public was served at whatever cost of personal interest or private fortune. The prizes of politics were strictly prizes of honor—governorships, seats in the Cabinet, the House of Representatives or the Senate, and, above all, the Presidency. In those days a statesman might become poor in the public service, as so many actually did,—but rich, never. Like Hamilton, he might scatter plenty o'er a smiling land, and then have to return to private life because his own means were exhausted. This is not to say that public life in the present day fails to call for and receive sacrifices of private interest, but in former days, a public career led so strictly to public honors only, that the professional and business advantages now open to the public man of distinction had no existence. Clay's public career could look only to the presidency as its crown, and for that he hungered. He was right in looking to it and justifiable in hungering for it, but it was a public misfortune in his case, as in so many others since his time, that in the pursuit of the presidency he lost so much of intermediate usefulness.

Clay was born in Virginia, in 1777, the son of a Baptist minister, rich in other things than the world's goods. Fatherless at the age

of five, he early began work as a farmer's boy, but the interest he personally inspired, together with respect for his late father's calling, procured him a petty clerkship in the chancery court at Richmond, in his fifteenth year. At nineteen he began the study of law, and a year later was admitted to the bar under the easy conditions then prevailing. Kentucky was the "Wild West" of Virginia, and there Clay went, taking up his residence at Lexington, which became his lifelong home.

As a lawyer, he was neither learned nor profound, but he was eloquent, and nothing told like his eloquence upon a jury of frontiersmen. Eloquence brought him professional success and, of course, carried him into politics. At twenty-six he was in the legislature, and gained such prominence that three years later he was sent to Washington for a few months to fill a vacancy in the national Senate.

The next year he was back in the legislature, and in 1808, the next succeeding year, he was elected Speaker of the Kentucky House of Representatives. A duel, growing out of a debate with a fellow-member, in which both were wounded, completed his popularity with the party to which he belonged, and thenceforward he was the foremost statesman in Kentucky.

The congressional election of 1810 turned on the question of war with England, or continued submission to her exactions upon American commerce. Kentucky was for war, from the double motive of having it out with the Indian tribes in alliance with England, and of a conquest of Canada, which seemed easy while British hands were tied by the struggle with Napoleon—so easy that Clay promised that Kentucky would annex Canada single-handed. He went to Congress from the Lexington district, and, a prominent leader of the war faction, though a new member, was made Speaker of the House of Representatives, in November, 1811. President Madison was much averse to war, and afraid of its consequences. He was making some progress by diplomacy, and Monroe, his Secretary of State, a French partisan and hostile to England, was hopeful of a peaceful adjustment. But the ant submissionists had come for war, and meant to have it. They were led by a triumvirate composed of Clay, Calhoun, of South Carolina, and Crawford, of Georgia. When the war faction had measured its strength in Congress, the triumvirate frankly told Madison that he must come over to it, or stand aside as a candidate for a second term and let the approaching nomination go to DeWitt Clinton, who had already made his agreement with the



war leaders. Madison yielded and got his renomination, against the revolt of Clinton, whom the Federalists took as their candidate, hoping to split the Republican party.

In pursuance of his bargain, Madison sent two special messages to Congress, upon the last of which war was declared on June 18, 1812. Clay certainly did his best to give success to the war of which he had been the chief promoter, but the war was sectional, and therefore not popular; money and men could not be had for its energetic prosecution, and the fall of Napoleon upset the calculations on which the war had been founded. Discontent and almost open rebellion were rife in the country, and especially in New England, which had prospered under the Jay Treaty, concluded in the presidency of Washington, and a renewal of which had been rejected by Jefferson and Madison. Corruption, jobbery and inefficiency were rampant in the administration, and when Congress refused to authorize conscription for the army and impressment for the navy, Madison was at the end of his resources. On an offer of mediation by the Russian emperor, which the British government promptly declined, peace commissioners had already been sent abroad, Clay unwillingly among them, and they were now informed that they must make peace on the best terms they could get. Owing to Clay, they got better terms than they had expected. The war had been made against the right of search of American vessels and the impressment of American seamen. Clay withdrew from his demand that those claims should be surrendered in the treaty, and the British commissioners gave up their demand for the creation of an Indian country as a buffer between the United States and Canada, and for the British right of navigation of the Mississippi as an international stream. Clay never could have become the idolized "Harry of the West" if these demands had gone into the treaty, and as the alleged rights of search and impressment died a natural death, the compromise was all clear gain. Clay was popular in Europe during his sojourn there, both among public men and in society; for he was already the magnetic statesman and man of the world. His political hostility to England neither then nor thereafter affected his personal relations, and he was all his life on terms of friendship with many Englishmen of distinction.

On his return to the United States, Clay was again chosen Speaker, to which office he was in all six times elected. The Republican party, to which he belonged, was opposed to a national bank, but chartered one very soon after the end of the war, so as not to be without funds for the next war. The war and the blockade had been protective of manufacturing industry, which had expanded

during the enforced absence of foreign competition, and being now in distress cried out for continued exclusion of the foreign products. Clay brought forward his famous "American system," under which tariff duties were to be carried as high as revenue results would permit; the duties, within revenue limits, to be adjusted in the interest of protection, and the surplus revenue, after providing for the public debt and ordinary expenditure, to be applied to internal improvements—roads, canals, rivers and harbors of national importance.

As the manufacturing was to be done in the East and the improvements made in the West, there was nothing in the scheme for the South, which naturally was dissatisfied with it. Nevertheless, Clay's eloquent pictures of the national grandeur and prosperity to flow from his system, overbore resistance. President Monroe was won over to moderate protection, and lightly protective duties were laid on cotton and woolen fabrics which had suffered most after the return of peace. Daniel Webster, a Federalist, denounced the so-called American system as one destined to make people dependent upon the government instead of upon themselves, to impede the natural and wholesome flow of industry, and to create classes of favored citizens at the expense of the unfavored. He predicted, and his prediction came quickly true, that whatever industry should once feel the stimulus of protection, would return again for more of the drug, and that business enterprise would be lost in dependence upon a tariff.

The Federalist party had long been in a decline, but the Republican party was also in process of rupture. Clay had become the leader of a strong faction which had broken away from Jefferson's principles of state rights, strict construction of the Constitution, and a small and economical national government, and had taken up with Hamilton's policy of liberal construction, a strong government, a protective tariff and a national bank. The new party was finally launched under the name of National Republican, afterward changed to Whig. Many Federalists joined it and the Federalist party then disappeared.

But before all this happened the slavery question sprang up suddenly, with an effect "like a fire bell in the night," as Jefferson wrote from his retirement at Monticello. The people of Missouri, which lay west of the Mississippi and mostly north of the line of the Ohio River, had adopted a slavery constitution, claiming that the prohibition of slavery north of the Ohio had no application beyond



the Mississippi. The House of Representatives would not admit Missouri as a slave state, and the Senate would not admit the free state of Maine unless Missouri should be admitted at the same time with slavery. The congressional and public discussion showed what an irreconcilable conflict there was ahead over the slavery question, but because it was irreconcilable, Clay sought to postpone it. He carried his compromise of admitting Missouri with slavery, but making the line of her southern boundary the northern limit of any future slave state. That effected, he went back to protective tariffs and internal improvements, which were taking up the most of his time.

For the succession to Monroe, who was serving his second term, there was no real party contest, for the Federalist party had lost its national character and the Republican party was in rival or hostile factions. National conventions to nominate presidential candidates had not come into use, and the nomination by congressional caucus had fallen into disrepute. In one way and another, Clay, Crawford, Jackson and the younger Adams were put in nomination, and as neither had electoral votes enough, the election went to the House of Representatives. As the selection was confined to one of the three highest in the electoral vote, and Clay stood at the foot of the list, no votes in the House could be given for him, and his friends voted for Adams. This was natural, as Adams was in sympathy with Clay's politics and the others were not. But Jackson and his friends were in a rage over the combination which defeated him, and when it became known that Clay was to become Secretary of State under Adams, and so be in what was then considered the line of the presidency, very hot words were used by Jackson and his partisans. John Randolph, who had aforetime given the name of "Doughfaces" to those who had voted for Clay's Missouri Compromise, denounced the Clay support of Adams as a corrupt bargain and intrigue. This caused a duel between Clay and Randolph, which resulted in no harm to either.

The election of 1824 completed the rupture in Jefferson's party. The Adams and Clay men became the Whigs, and the Crawford and Jackson men the Democrats. Crawford had suffered a stroke of paralysis, and his supporters went over to Jackson, who, as early as October, 1825, with Adams only seven months in office, publicly accepted a nomination for 1828, and began an open and continuous war upon Adams and Clay.

Clay's four years as Secretary of State were uneventful and unimportant. The tide was flowing with Jackson; and Adams, who had been a Federalist before going over to Jefferson, was a dead weight

on Clay, the real head of the new party. The latter's original plan of a large and coöperative system of Federal roads and canals, had to be given up in favor of single and independent improvements, as Congress could be got to vote for them, and this led to a great increase of "log-rolling" in legislation. A great convention of protectionists at Harrisburg, in 1827, brought many Northern Democrats into line for a high tariff, and in 1828 a tariff bill was passed that gave the manufacturers all they asked. The Southern response to it was the revival of Jefferson's Kentucky resolutions of 1798, declaring the Constitution a compact between the states and the Federal government, which reserved to each side the power to judge when the agreement was broken, and the manner of redress. In 1828 Clay, of course, had to promote the candidacy of Adams for a second term, and was so saved from the severe defeat that Jackson would have inflicted upon him if he had been the candidate. When Jackson became President in March, 1829, Clay went to the Senate and there led the Whig party.

Jackson came to the presidency angry and vengeful, headstrong and passionate. He had a personal hatred for Clay, and detested his American system and his national bank. Politicians as skilled and adroit as Clay were behind him, and the Whig leader had before him for the next eight years the battle of his life. To quiet the nullification movement, he modified the extreme tariff of 1828, and when the nullification failed, he brought in the tariff of 1833, which was at once a surrender of protection and a surrender to nullification, though it saved the Union for the time being. He made a long struggle for the national bank, but Jackson destroyed it. He carried through the Senate a resolution of censure of Jackson's conduct, but before Jackson ceased to be President the resolution was "expunged by order of the Senate." But he was successful in forcing his policy of internal improvements, and on these Jackson yielded by advice of his shrewd counselors. In 1832 Clay was the Whig candidate against Jackson's reëlection, but Jackson easily defeated him. After this defeat, Clay's party began to make gains, but in 1836 he was set aside in favor of General William Henry Harrison as a more available candidate; yet Jackson succeeded in placing his own choice, Van Buren, in the presidency.

Under Van Buren, the Democrats carried their independent treasury scheme, which Clay had long blocked. In 1840 the Whigs again set aside Clay, though with great reluctance, and this time they elected Harrison, with a rush and enthusiasm that surpassed Jackson's triumphs, and which were naturally bitter to Clay, to whom the fruits of victory rightfully belonged. A new tariff was passed in 1842,

but only to provide necessary revenue. The rest of the four years from 1841 to 1845 was spent in the Whig struggle with Tyler, who had succeeded Harrison on the latter's death, a month after inauguration, and who was really a Democrat.

Clay's last and best opportunity for the presidency was in 1844, when the Democrats were unpopular and factional, and his availability to his own party was unquestioned. But the Southern Whigs, anxious about slavery, were desirous to commit him to the annexation of Texas. He therefore wrote a letter in which he said he should be glad to see the annexation occur at some future time. His own opinion of the letter was that it would lose him no votes anywhere, and retain him the wavering votes in the South. But the abolition Whigs, preferring an open enemy to an uncandid friend, voted for the candidates of the Liberal party and so threw the election to the Democrats. Texas was thereupon annexed and war with Mexico followed, in which Clay's son—his namesake and expected successor in politics—lost his life.

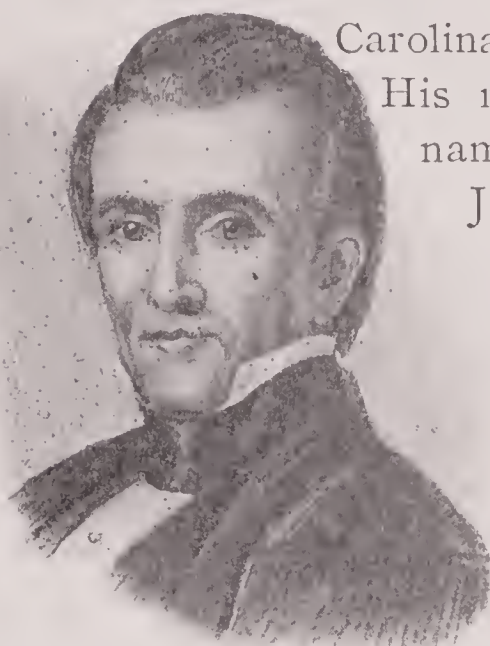
In 1848 there was no thought of nominating Clay or any other Whig leader. General Taylor was in the field as an independent candidate, on his military popularity and without any politics. Neither party wished him, but the Whigs took him into their camp and he won the election for them. He made a good Whig President during the sixteen months that he lived. Before his death, Clay had brought forward his last compromise on the slavery question. It permitted the division of Texas in the improbable contingency that Texas would consent to be divided; it enabled California to come into the Union as a free state, as its people desired; it retained slavery, but abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and it sent the whole power of the government northward for the capture and restoration of fugitive slaves. After this, declining health kept Clay much in retirement and on June 29, 1852, he died. The party he had founded and led had just made its last nomination in the person of General Scott, who was defeated, and before the time came for another nomination the party had vanished, like its enchanting but unlucky founder and leader.



Henry Clay's bed-
room as he was.

JAMES KNOX POLK

Who did much to bring on the war with Mexico.



THE eleventh President of the United States was descended from an honorable and patriotic ancestry. The family name was originally Polluck, but was shortened to Polk. The first of the name, a Scotch-Irishman, came to this country about the year 1700. An uncle of the President was the author of the famous Mecklenburg, North Carolina, declaration of independence, passed in May, 1775.

His maternal grandfather, James Knox, for whom he was named, was a captain in the war of the Revolution.

James was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 2, 1795. When he was eleven years of age, his father, who was for those days a fairly prosperous farmer, removed his family to what is known as the Duck River District of Tennessee. To the duties of farming he added those of surveyor, for the services of an accurate surveyor are always in demand in a rapidly growing frontier community.

As the boy never had robust health, the work of the farm, and the frequent and prolonged surveying trips with his father, were the best possible means of prolonging his life. He was early sent to school, but his health failed. He was then placed in a store, but he had no taste for commercial pursuits and this was abandoned. Finally, his father secured for him a private tutor, and he was enabled to enter the sophomore class of the University of North Carolina. He took a high stand for scholarship and was, in 1818, graduated with the highest honors of the class.

He went at once into the law office of Felix Grundy, who at that time stood at the head of the bar in Tennessee. On the completion of his studies, he established his office at Columbia, Tennessee. He sprang at once into an astonishing success and attracted attention from all parts of the state. He shortly began to make "stump" speeches, and these gave him additional fame. His method as a political speaker was entirely different from the prevailing habit of the day, for he appealed chiefly to the reason, and his efforts were models of cogent logic. In 1823 he was chosen to the Legislature, in which he served for two years. His most notable legislative act was to secure the

passage of a law forbidding dueling. What gave special interest to this law was the fact that he lived in the heart of the dueling district, where all men, from the highest down, were in the habit of settling their differences on the "field of honor."

In 1825 Polk was elected to Congress, and was continuously re-elected for fourteen years, when he voluntarily withdrew. His maiden speech was in support of a proposed amendment to the Constitution, providing that the President and Vice-president should be elected by the direct votes of the people, instead of by an electoral college. This speech was so able that it placed the new member at once in the front rank of debaters, which place he held during the whole of his legislative experience. Politically, he was an ardent antagonist of the administration of John Quincy Adams, as, later, he became a zealous and efficient supporter of that of Andrew Jackson. When he was a member of the ways and means committee, he aroused no little excitement among his friends by a minority report hostile to the United States national bank; for the bank had many supporters in Nashville, the capital of his own state.

In 1833 Polk was advanced to the chairmanship of the committee on ways and means, which made him the leader of the dominant party in the House. In 1835 he was elected Speaker, and was twice re-elected. Though the period of his legislative experience was one of great excitement and bitterness, through it all he held the esteem of opponents and friends alike. While he was Speaker, more appeals were taken from his decisions than had ever fallen to the lot of any previous occupant of the chair, but in every instance his decision was sustained. At the close of his service as Speaker, the various parties in the House expressed their feeling in a unanimous vote of thanks. He had opposed all federal legislation for internal improvements, the protective tariff and the national bank, but he held the unqualified respect of his associates.

In 1839 he withdrew from Congress to be a candidate for governor of Tennessee, and was elected. At the next election, in 1841, the political whirlwind connected with the presidential campaign of William Henry Harrison, the previous year, swept over the state of Tennessee, as it swept over many other states, and Polk was defeated for governor. A similar defeat occurred at the next election, two years later, so that he was out of office for four years.

As the presidential election drew near, it was plain that it would be of great interest and importance. Henry Clay was certain to be the nominee of the Whigs, and Van Buren was in the lead among the Democrats. The Democratic convention was to assemble at Baltimore in May, 1844. The burning question of the time was the

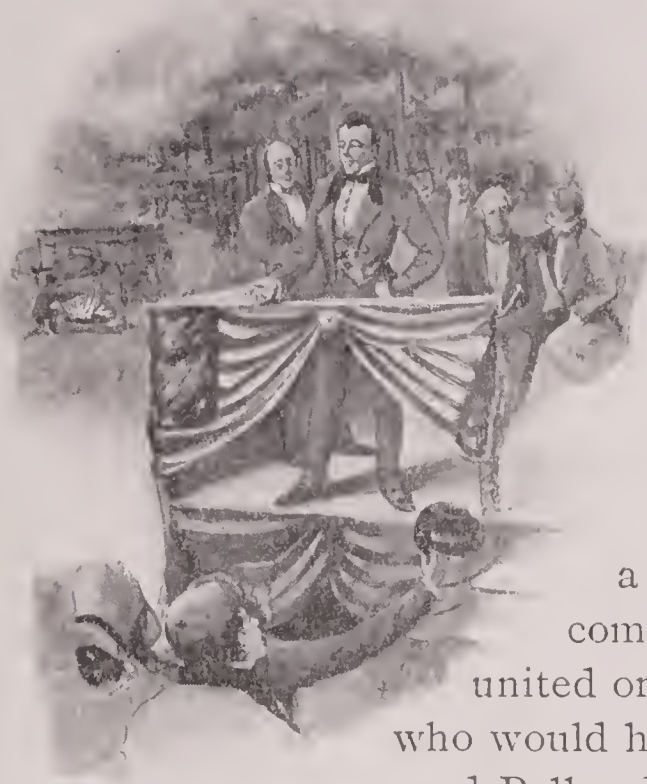
annexation of Texas. About a month before the convention, some citizens of Cincinnati wrote to Polk asking his opinion on the subject. He replied:—

“I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. . . . The proof is fair and satisfactory to my own mind that Texas once constituted a part of the territory of the United States. . . . The country now called Texas was, in 1819, most unwisely ceded away.”

This emphatic utterance contrasted strongly with Van Buren's hesitating phrases on the same subject, and had its influence at the convention. Van Buren had a majority of the convention at Baltimore, but could not command the necessary two-thirds vote. All factions finally

united on Polk, who was nominated. The Whigs nominated Clay, who would have been elected had he polled the full vote of those who opposed Polk. But New York state gave her vote to James G. Birney, the Abolitionist, and Ohio gave a plurality for Polk. Thus, by hostility to Van Buren on the one side, and hostility to Clay on the other, Polk became President. From the letter above quoted, it will be seen that one of the issues of the campaign was the annexation of Texas. Tyler, who was then President, was desirous of making a record, and, taking time by the forelock, he managed to secure the annexation, two days before the expiration of his term of office. Thus Polk missed the first honor he had coveted for his administration.

The most important event of Polk's presidency was the Mexican War. Though Texas was a part of the territory of the United States, there was a dispute as to the western boundary. There was a strip of land, about one hundred miles wide, lying between the Nueces and Rio Grande rivers, claimed by both countries. The cheaper and more reasonable way of settling such a dispute is by negotiation, arbitration or purchase. The more expensive but more popular way is by war. The President chose the warlike method. He sent General Taylor with an army to occupy the disputed territory. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1845, Texas was admitted as a state, but this did not settle the question of the boundary. General Taylor advanced to the neighborhood of the Mexican army, and it is not surprising that this resulted in open hostilities. Battles were fought at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in both of which the Americans were victorious over the Mexicans, who greatly outnumbered them. This made the victory “glorious.” Then the President communicated this to Congress declaring that Mexican troops had at last shed the blood of



American citizens on American soil, and asking for a declaration of war and an appropriation of \$10,000,000 to carry it on. The war came to a successful close and peace was declared February 2, 1848.

The territory of our country was much enlarged during Polk's term of office. New Mexico and California were acquired, and Texas, Iowa and Wisconsin were admitted to the Union. The boundary of Oregon was settled. The Americans had made large claims along the Pacific coast, demanding all the land as far north as the line of the Russian possessions, or the extreme southern point of Alaska. Their alliterative war cry was "Fifty-four forty or fight." But the acquisition of the immense tracts of land in the West and Southwest, which followed the Mexican War, so far appeased the public greed for domain, that the Oregon boundary was settled by compromise at the 49th parallel of latitude. Other important acts characterized this administration. One was the reorganization of the financial methods of the government and the establishment of an independent treasury system. By this the revenues of the government are collected in specie and without the aid of banks. It was this administration, too, that created the important department of the interior.

As Polk's term of office drew to a close, he held consistently to his preëlection determination not to be a candidate for a second term. Had he been a candidate, and been reëlected, he could hardly have benefited by it. He died June 19, 1849, at his home near Nashville. His friends, who were many, held him in the highest esteem. George Bancroft, the eminent historian, paid the following tribute:—

"His administration, viewed from the standpoint of results, was, perhaps, the greatest in our national history, certainly one of the greatest. He succeeded because he insisted on being its center, and in overruling and guiding all his secretaries to act so as to produce unity and harmony. Those who study his administration will acknowledge how sincere and successful were his efforts, as did those who were contemporary with him."

George M. Dallas, who served with Polk as Vice-president, and who must have known him somewhat intimately, testifies that he was "temperate but not unsocial, industrious but accessible, punctual but patient, moral without austerity, and devotional though not bigoted."

Clay was the most popular public man in the country; even Jackson had not known what popularity was in comparison with Clay. Polk was a respectable nonentity, whose name was first heard by tens of thousands of voters after he had been nominated. Yet he beat Clay; or rather the Abolitionists beat Clay by putting up a candidate of their own because he fenced with the slavery question, and their ticket drew enough votes from him to throw the election to Polk. Clay once said that he would rather be right than be President, but if he had said he would rather be right and also be President, he would have stated his position with a nearer approach to accuracy. His hunger for the presidency more than once obscured his notions of what was right.

The slavery interest carried the annexation of Texas after Polk became President. By Mexican law, slavery was prohibited; but all the anti-slavery men could extort was the extension of the Missouri Compromise to the new state, prohibiting slavery north of the line of the south boundary of Missouri. Mexico was too weak from civil war to do more than protest and break off diplomatic relations with her powerful despoiler. According to Mexican contention, the boundary line between Texas and Old Mexico was the river Nueces, but the annexationists claimed to the Rio Grande. Polk sent a military force to occupy the disputed territory, and so forced a war. If slavery was never to go north of the southern line of Missouri, it was only a question of time when the settlement of the almost boundless free territory would give the free states a preponderance, and then slavery would be doomed. So slave-holding eyes were turned to Spanish-America as a promising field from which to carve out more slave states.

The war with Mexico was ignobly conceived and, so far as the politicians were concerned, ignobly conducted. General Taylor's early victories made him too popular, so General Scott was sent to the seat of war, and Taylor reduced the inaction by transferring his troops to Scott. The latter was also successful, and as he was a Whig and dangerous, the administration devised a plan for making Senator Benton, of Missouri, a lieutenant-general and giving him the chief command. Benton was a man of coarse fiber, but the fiber was honest. He would not lend himself to a scheme designed only to assure the insignificant Polk a second term. The second term for a President is one of the crying evils of our political system. It puts a strain on human nature that is beyond the power of human nature to bear.

While the Mexican war was going on, a third war with England was invited by the Whigs forcing the Democrats, upon reproach of want of patriotism, to take extreme ground on the disputed question

of the Oregon boundary. War was averted by the unwillingness of southern politicians to force a doubtful claim simply to add more free territory to the already existing superabundance. A compromise boundary was fixed by treaty.

Under Polk a low tariff act was passed, and a bill appropriating money for river and harbor improvements vetoed as transcending the constitution, since it proposed to spend federal money within the boundaries of states.

Polk sought to end the war with Mexico, and so get rid of victorious generals, by payments of money. But the slavery question blocked the way and nothing was effected. The war was ended by American victories, the United States thereby acquiring New Mexico and California.

When Polk had obtained an appropriation from the House to put territory from Mexico, Representative Wilmot of Pennsylvania, had carried a proviso to exclude slavery from any territory so purchased. This had killed the bill in the Senate, where slavery was intrenched. But the Wilmot proviso survived and made its way into every question of organizing the new territory of the Union, whether Oregon, California, or New Mexico. In the press, at political meetings, and at party conventions, as well as in the congressional debates, the proviso was forever in evidence. The Democrats would have nothing to do with it, because they were under slavery influence. The Whigs flouted it, because it trenched upon the Missouri Compromise, their compact of eternal peace. But it went on with its work of gradually dividing the North and South sectionally on the slavery question. Northern Democrats became Free-soilers and Southern Whigs became regular Democrats. The regular Whigs, depleted at the South and making no gains at the North, disappeared as a party as soon as a new party, dedicated to freedom, arose in the North.

He was the candidate of the slave-holders and the "dough-faces," the latter being northern men with southern principles. The Free-soilers nominated Van Buren for the presidency and the Whig party, putting aside Clay and Webster, took up with Zachary Taylor, the popular hero of the Mexican War known as "Old Rough and Ready."

ZACHARY TAYLOR

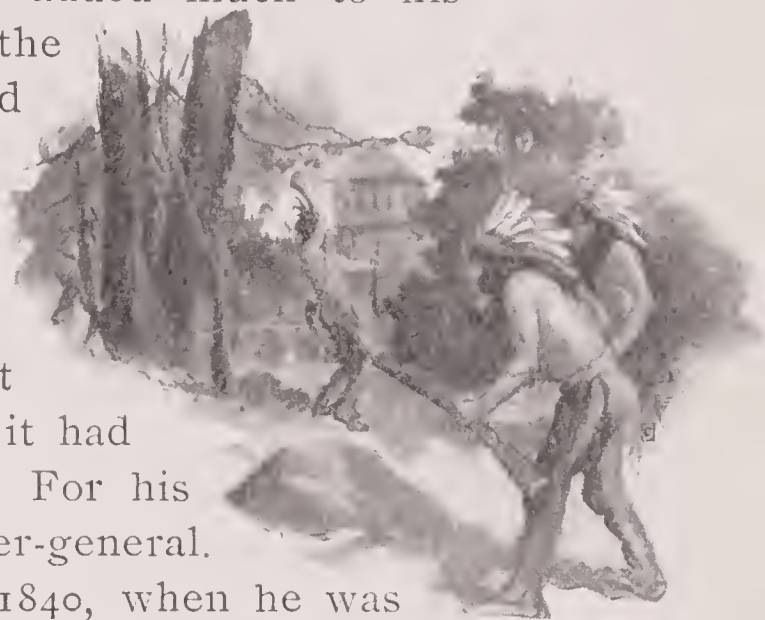
A President known as "Old Rough and Ready."



PRESIDENT TAYLOR's father, Colonel Richard Taylor, a member of a distinguished colonial family, served with marked zeal, patriotism and courage through the Revolutionary War. Zachary was born in 1784, and while he was yet a child, his father removed his family to Kentucky. Colonel Taylor was one of the earliest settlers in the section about Louisville, near the site of which he established a large plantation. Kentucky was then thinly peopled, and the scattered inhabitants were much harassed by Indians. Under such conditions, opportunities for education were extremely narrow, and the instruction received by young Taylor was limited to the simplest rudimentary branches. He worked on his father's plantation until he was twenty-four years of age, when the death of a brother, who was a lieutenant in the army, opened the door to his future career of renown. James Madison, then Secretary of State, was related to the Taylor family, and through his influence Zachary, although he had had no military training, was appointed to the vacancy in the army. He was commissioned a first lieutenant of the Seventh Infantry, in 1808, and two years later was made a captain. At the breaking out of the second war with Great Britain, in 1812, Taylor was placed in command of Fort Harrison, a blockhouse and stockade on the Wabash River, fifty miles from Vincennes. This was one of the most advanced posts on the frontier, and was the first object of attack by the savage tribes which, under the influence of the British, Tecumseh, a famous chief, had stirred up to make war upon the Americans. In the autumn the fort was attacked by an overwhelming force of Indians. Taylor had but fifty men, two-thirds of whom were ill with fever. The woodwork of the fort was set on fire by the assailants, but the little garrison succeeded in extinguishing the flames. Taylor and his men made a most gallant defense, and compelled the Indians to raise the siege. For the courage and capacity which he so conspicuously displayed, the rank of brevet major was bestowed on Captain Taylor, the first brevet in the history of the United States army. Until the close of the war, he

continued on duty along the northwestern frontier, and in 1814, reached the full rank of major.

After the war, Congress cut down the army, and Taylor was reduced to the grade of captain. This so displeased him that he resigned his commission and retired to the family plantation in Kentucky. Through the influence of friends, he was reinstated as major, and for several years was actively engaged in campaigns against the Indians, in various parts of the country. He added much to his fame during the Black Hawk War, and, after the capture of that famous warrior, Taylor conveyed him to Jefferson Barracks, at St. Louis. In 1836 Taylor, then a colonel, was sent to Florida, where the war with the Seminoles was in progress, with little prospect of a speedy termination. He inflicted upon the Indians so crushing a defeat at Okeechobee, after a desperate conflict, that it had a decisive effect to bring hostilities to an end. For his intrepid service, he was brevetted a brigadier-general. Taylor continued to command in Florida until 1840, when he was sent to the southwest. At this time he bought an estate on the Mississippi River near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and there established his home.



In 1845 Congress passed a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas. William L. Marcy, who was then Secretary of War, wrote a confidential letter to Taylor, telling him that he should hold his troops in readiness to defend Texas, in the event of an invasion from Mexico. Taylor demanded more explicit instructions, and, in reply, was directed to be governed by circumstances, to carefully avoid aggressive measures, but to protect the territory of Texas, to the utmost power of his command, if necessary. The Rio Grande was indicated as the western boundary of Texas, and Corpus Christi, on Aransas Bay, near the mouth of the Nueces River, was pointed out as the best place to concentrate his troops. Taylor embarked at New Orleans in July, 1845, with fifteen hundred men, and landed at Corpus Christi. By November, his force had been augmented to four thousand.

For several months before war was declared, the relations between the United States and Mexico were greatly strained. During this time, under the most embarrassing and perplexing circumstances, General Taylor conducted himself and the public affairs with great prudence, sagacity and discretion. The administration was marked by an excess of caution. It desired to force the Mexican question to a crisis, while studiously avoiding the responsibility of bringing on a war. President Polk and the Secretary of War sought,

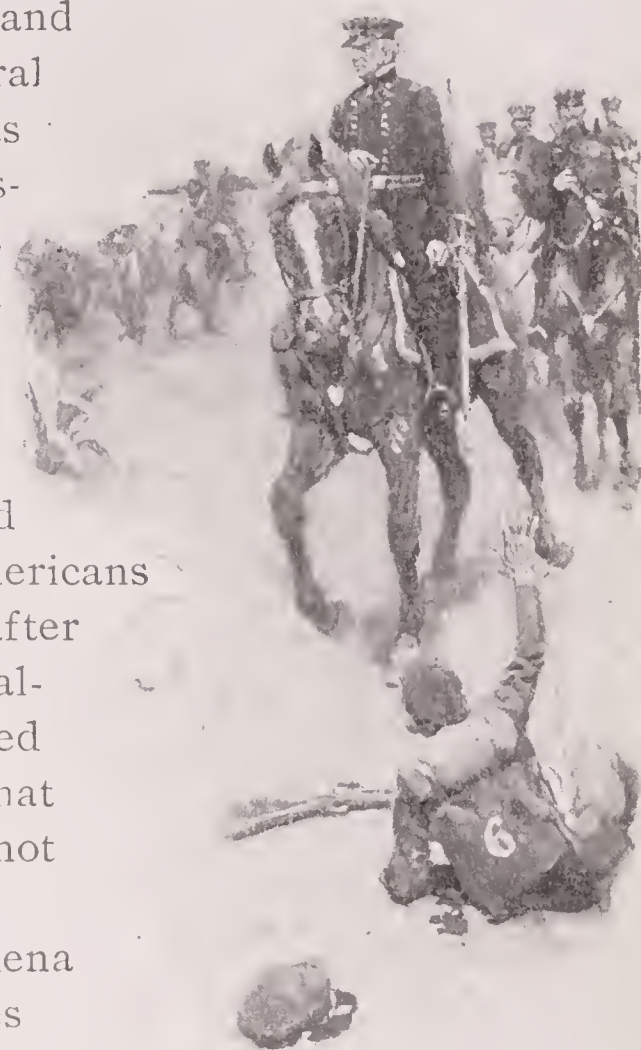
unofficially, to induce General Taylor to advance into the disputed territory, but the wary old soldier was determined that he should not be made a scapegoat. He disregarded the hints and refused to move without a direct and definite order to do so. A positive order at length reached him, and on March 8, 1846, his little army took up the march to the Rio Grande. On the twenty-eighth it reached the river opposite Matamoras, which was being fortified by the Mexicans. Taylor's troops went into camp and built Fort Brown. On the twelfth of April, General Ampudia, the Mexican commander, sent a note to General Taylor, giving him twenty-four hours to break camp and start on his return to the line of the Nueces River, "while our governments are regulating the pending question relative to Texas," and notifying him that non-compliance with this offer would be construed as equivalent to a declaration of war. Taylor replied that he was acting under instructions which would not permit him to return to the Nueces, and that if the Mexicans saw fit to begin hostilities, he would not avoid the conflict.

Soon afterward, Ampudia was superseded in command by General Arista, who crossed the Rio Grande, early in May, and on the eighth, with six thousand men, attacked the Americans at Palo Alto, near Matamoras. Taylor had but twenty-three hundred men to take into action, but they fought with such spirit and determination that the Mexicans were defeated and retreated to Resaca de la Palma, where they took up a strong position. Taylor followed, and the next day he attacked and completely routed them and drove them across the Rio Grande, capturing eight cannon, many colors and a large number of prisoners. This outbreak of hostilities precipitated an immediate decision of the question pending between the two countries. President Polk at once sent a belligerent message to Congress, setting forth that a Mexican army had invaded the territory of the United States, made war upon its government and shed the blood of its citizens. Two days later Congress adopted a resolution declaring that "by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that country and the United States." Another resolution authorized the President to call out fifty thousand volunteers. Taylor, who had been made a major-general, immediately crossed the river and occupied Matamoras. He established there his headquarters, and spent four months in organizing and drilling the raw volunteers that had joined him. He marched against Monterey, which he reached September 9, with six thousand six hundred men. General Ampudia was in command of ten thousand Mexicans. These were mostly seasoned troops, while not more than a fourth part of Taylor's men had ever been under fire. Taylor attacked with the

greatest vigor and, after three days of severe fighting, Ampudia surrendered.

General Taylor at once began to prepare for further operations, but, before the end of the year, he was badly crippled by the detachment of a large part of his army to General Winfield Scott. The latter had been directed to lead an expedition against Vera Cruz and a heavy draft for troops was made on Taylor. Friends of the latter openly charged that the leaders of the Democratic administration had a purpose in this; that they were jealous of the fast-growing popularity of Taylor, who was a Whig. Taylor was left with less than five thousand men, nine-tenths of whom were wholly raw and undisciplined. Intelligence was received that General Santa Anna, with twenty-one thousand Mexicans, was marching to attack the Americans. The great disparity of numbers would have appalled one who was not stout of heart, but Taylor marched straight toward the enemy. On the twenty-first of February, he took up a strong defensive position at Buena Vista, a mountain pass a few miles from Saltillo, and awaited an attack. With a confidence inspired by numerical strength, Santa Anna assailed the Americans with the utmost fury. He was signally defeated, after a sanguinary engagement, and fled with his demoralized army to San Luis Potosi. Taylor's repeated victories had a decisive effect upon the war in that part of Mexico, and the Rio Grande border was not again disturbed.

For several days before and after the battle of Buena Vista, communication with the United States forces was entirely cut off and the greatest anxiety and apprehension were felt. It was known that Taylor was heavily outnumbered, and rumors were current that his army had been cut to pieces and destroyed. When the truth became known, a wave of enthusiasm swept over the country. Words of extravagant praise for Taylor were upon every tongue, and he was the hero of the hour. His soldiers called him "Old Rough and Ready" and this sobriquet quickly caught the popular ear. Public admiration for him was in no small degree enhanced by the modest and dignified tone of his official reports. He was not again conspicuous during the war, as the subsequent operations were conducted by General Scott, in another part of the field, but his fame was assured, and already he was fast becoming the favorite of the people for the presidential nomination of the Whig party. By a number of popular



assemblages, he had been named, early in 1847, and during that year formal overtures were made to him. To them he answered that the country was at war, and, while the war lasted, he could think of nothing but doing his duty as a soldier in the field. This patriotic response, placing country above politics and personal preferment, intensified the feeling in his favor, and, after the war had closed, his candidacy was urged with such enthusiasm that he was induced to consent. He authorized the publication of letters to friends, in which he cautiously defined his position as "a Whig, but not an ultra Whig." When the convention of that party met, it was found that in the strong anti-slavery element there was much opposition to Taylor, because he was a slaveholder; it was feared that on this question he could not be trusted. Clay, Webster and Scott were also powerful candidates for the nomination. The contest was a warm one, but Taylor was successful, and at the ensuing election he carried the electoral vote by a majority of thirty-five.

General Taylor was inaugurated President, March 4, 1849. He lived only sixteen months thereafter, and his brief administration was a stormy one, owing to the agitation of the slavery question. Although he had been elected President as a Whig, at the same time the Democratic party secured the control of both houses of Congress. There was a bitter struggle over the admission of California and other territories with or without slavery. The people of California asked that it be admitted as a state with a constitution which prohibited slavery. This was violently opposed by the slavery leaders, as the slave states and free states were then equal in number, and free California would give a preponderance unfriendly to slavery in the United States Senate. President Taylor recommended that California be admitted with a free constitution, and that the people of the other territories should decide the question for themselves. This was not acceptable to the slavery leaders, who made open threats of secession if California were admitted a free state. A large Free-soil sect of the Whig party in the North, known as "Barnburners," also opposed Taylor because he favored slavery at all. While Congress and the people at large were in a ferment over the question, President Taylor fell suddenly ill on July 4, 1850, and died five days later.

Taylor was plain and simple in manner, and this, with his great kindness of heart, made him personally one of the most beloved of the Presidents. In his sturdy devotion to duty, there was a close parallel between him and Jackson.

PRESIDENCY OF ZACHARY TAYLOR, 1849-1850

During the little more than two years that he lived, Taylor proved a good President. Though a southern slaveholder, he kept free of sectionalism and class interest. He was an honest, straightforward soldier, and spoke his mind like a general-in-chief. His successor, Fillmore, was an anti-slavery man, but was willing to make concessions for the sake of harmony. Clay, the conjurer, carried through the last of his compromises. Texas was admitted as a single state, with slavery, and her debt assumed. California was admitted as a free state. The territories of New Mexico and Utah were organized, with slavery or no slavery left to their own inhabitants. Slavery was retained in the District of Columbia, but slave auctions abolished. A stringent fugitive slave law was passed.


The fugitive slave law proved too stringent. Negro chasing in New England streets was too much for New England blood, and led to riots. Clay having dispensed with jury trials for alleged fugitives, state laws provided them, and the juries were apt to side with the runaways. What Seward called the "irreconcilable conflict" was upon the country, and henceforth there were to be no national politics but the one issue of slavery.

General Cass was again the leading Democratic aspirant for the presidency, but Marcy, Buchanan, and Douglas had their friends. Matters were running favorably for the democracy, while the Whigs were going from bad to worse. They still had Webster, the grandest, most majestic orator that the country had produced, and one of the greatest orators of any place or time. Clay's retirement from mortal illness had given Webster his chance, but a notable speech intended to placate the southern Whigs turned the northern Whigs against him.

In the end the Democrats nominated a "dark horse," Franklin Pierce, and the Whigs nominated Winfield Scott, the commanding general of the army. Pierce won easily.

FRANKLIN PIERCE

A soldier and statesman from the Granite State.



FRANKLIN PIERCE, fourteenth President, came of a good New England yeoman stock, and was a son of one of the heroes of the Revolution. He was born, November 23, 1804, at Hillsborough, New Hampshire. His father was General Benjamin Pierce, an officer of the Continental army under Washington, and was governor of New Hampshire in 1827-29. Pierce was graduated from Bowdoin College, in 1824, after which he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1827. His first appearance as a pleader gave no indication of the oratorical ability that he developed later. Indeed, he had to admit, himself, that it was a "flat failure." But he was not discouraged. "I shall plead again," he told his friends, "and if I lose in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases, I shall plead the thousandth, if a client will intrust it to me, and the time shall come when my appearance in this court will not be a mortification to myself and my friends."

In 1833 he was elected to Congress as a Democrat, and in 1835 he was reëlected. During his term he rendered valuable service on the judiciary committee. He was chosen United States Senator, in 1837, but resigned in 1838, and went to live at Concord, where he resumed the practice of law. He was the youngest member of the Senate during the time he served in that body, as he was just barely past the age of eligibility. He favored the annexation of Texas from the beginning of the movement, and in doing so gave great offense to the feeling in New England. When the call for volunteers for the war with Mexico was issued, he was one of the earliest to enroll. In 1846 he joined, as a private, the first volunteer company raised in Concord, but on the passage of the bill by Congress for the organization of the army, he was appointed colonel of the Ninth Regiment. Shortly afterward he was made a brigadier-general. During the war he had little opportunity to display any remarkable qualities of leadership, but he distinguished himself by great personal bravery and physical endurance of a high order. His first detail was to report to

ALLEN, WILLIAM.—(1806-1879.) A lawyer and politician. He was a Democratic member of Congress from Ohio (1833-35); U. S. senator (1837-49) and governor of Ohio (1874-76). He was the leading expounder of the "Ohio Idea"—the payment of government obligations in "greenbacks."

AMERICAN SYSTEM.—See CLAY, HENRY, 118.

AMERICAN SYSTEM.—This phrase was probably first used by Henry Clay in the debates on the enactment of the tariff law of 1824, and it is now generally understood to denote the policy of protection to home industries by high duties on imports. In 1848 it had a wider meaning, and President Polk in his message opposed the system on the ground that it marked a departure from the earliest policy of the government and that it was not warranted by a just interpretation of the Constitution. It was claimed that one of its aims was the establishment of a great national bank; that it favored a tariff for protection rather than to raise needed revenues; that it involved a comprehensive scheme of internal improvements and the distribution among the states of the money received from the sale of public lands.

ANDERSON CASE.—Before the war, Anderson, a strange negro, was found wandering on the plantation of Seneca Diggs in Missouri. He had no pass and Mr. Diggs arrested him as a fugitive slave. Anderson killed his captor and fled to Canada, whence, under the extradition treaty, he was surrendered to the U. S. He was tried, but was discharged on a technicality.

ANDREW, JAMES OSGOOD.—(1794-1871.) An American bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The fact that he was a slave-owner led to a dispute in the church, resulting in the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1846.

ANTI-MASONIC PARTY.—Its origin may be attributed to the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan, who, in 1826, announced that, assisted by David C. Miller, he intended to publish an exposure of Free Masonry. Before the issue of the work, Morgan was imprisoned for debt at Canandaigua, N. Y., whence he escaped or was taken Sept. 12, 1826. He was never heard of afterward. His fate was never revealed nor was it ever proved that he had been foully dealt with by the Masons, of which order he was a member. The bitter opposition to the Society that resulted from the singular occurrence was crystallized by Thurlow Weed, who published the "Anti-Masonic Enquirer." The Anti-Masonic party cast 33,000 votes in N. Y. State in 1828; 70,000 in 1829, and 128,000 in 1830. The latter number, however, included many who were Anti-Jackson men, without reference to Masonry. In 1831 the party's candidate for President, Wil-

liam Wirt, carried only Vermont. In 1835 the Anti-Masons elected Joseph Ritner governor of Pa. and the party then vanished almost as suddenly as it had appeared. During the first campaign of this party it was vehemently asserted that Morgan had been kidnapped and murdered by the Masons, and public feeling was aroused to a high pitch. The body of a drowned man was found and it was claimed to be that of Morgan. Although its identity was never established, the Anti-Masonic crusaders made much of it. They said among themselves that the unknown body was "a good enough Morgan till after election." This phrase was adopted into the political literature of the time and has continued in use down to the present day.

ANTI-RENT PARTY.—In U. S. politics, a party in the state of N. Y. composed of men who, dissatisfied with the patroon system in the eastern part of the state, refused to pay rent in 1839, and a few years later carried their opposition into politics. The matter was settled by compromise in 1850.

APPLETON, JOHN.—(1815–1864.) An American politician and diplomatist. Democratic member of Congress from Me. (1851–53) and minister to Russia under President Buchanan (1860).

ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER, CASE OF.—Alexander Arbuthnot, a Scotchman, and Ambrister, an Englishman, were alleged to have been implicated in the Indian troubles in Fla. that Gen. Jackson was sent to quell. They were seized by Jackson's order, and tried by court-martial at Fort Marks, Fla., Apr. 26, 1818, charged with inciting the Creek Indians to an uprising against the U. S. Arbuthnot was sentenced to be hanged. Ambrister was first sentenced to be shot, but the sentence was commuted to 50 stripes on the bare back and confinement at hard labor, with ball and chain, for one year. Gen. Jackson disapproved the commutation and ordered the original sentence carried out, which was done. This arbitrary act of Jackson caused great excitement at the time, and the attention of Congress was called to it.

AROOSTOOK WAR.—A bloodless conflict that raged from 1837 to 1839, over the question of the boundary line between the state of Maine and the province of New Brunswick, now a part of Canada. The governor of Me. used troops to expel the intruders and built fortifications. Congress authorized the President to resist encroachments, and Gen. Scott went to the scene and arranged a truce whereby the country was jointly occupied by American citizens and British subjects, until the boundary was definitely fixed by the Ashburton treaty of 1842.

ASHBURTON TREATY.—A treaty concluded at Washington, Aug. 9, 1842, between Great Britain and the U. S. The present boundary

between Maine and Canada was established and provision was made for the suppression of the African slave trade and the mutual extradition of fugitives from justice. The commissioners were Lord Ashburton for Great Britain, and Daniel Webster for the U. S.

ASHMUN, JEHUDI.—(1794–1828.) A chief organizer of the colony of Liberia, western Africa (1822–28).

ASTOR PLACE RIOT.—May 10, 1849; between the partisans of the actors Macready and Edwin Forrest. Twenty-two were killed and a large number wounded.

ATHERTON, CHARLES GORDON.—(1804–1853.) An American politician. He was a Democratic member of Congress from New Hampshire (1837–43), and U. S. senator (1843–49). He introduced the so-called "Atherton gag," a resolution providing that all bills or petitions on the subject of slavery should be "laid on the table without being debated, printed, or referred," and which remained in force until 1845.

ATKINSON, HENRY.—(1782–1842.) An American general who defeated the Indians at Bad Axe River in the Black Hawk War (1832).

ATLIXCO (Mexico), BATTLE OF.—An action between Gen. Lane, American, and Rea, a commander of Mexican guerrillas, Oct. 19, 1847. The Mexican loss was 519 killed and wounded and the American loss only two.

AUSTIN, STEPHEN FULLER.—(1793–1836.) The founder of the state of Texas.

BAGBY, ARTHUR PENDLETON.—Born in Va., 1794; died at Mobile, Ala., 1858. An American politician; governor of Ala. (1837–41), and U. S. minister to Russia (1848–49).

BARBOUR, JAMES.—Born in Orange Co., Va., 1775; died near Gordonsville, Va., 1842. An American statesman. He was Secretary of War under President John Quincy Adams, and was minister to England (1828–29).

BARKER, JAMES NELSON.—Born at Philadelphia, Pa., 1784; died at Washington, D. C., 1858. An American politician, poet, and playwright. He was Comptroller of the U. S. Treasury (1838–58).

BARNARD, DANIEL DEWEY.—Born in Berkshire Co., Mass., 1797; died at Albany, N. Y., 1861. An American politician and diplomatist. Was U. S. minister to Prussia (1850–53).

BARRY, WILLIAM TAYLOR.—Born at Lunenburg, Va., 1785; died at Liverpool, Eng., 1835. An American politician and jurist; was post-master-general (1829–33) and the first incumbent of that office after it was raised to a cabinet position; was appointed minister to Spain in 1835.

BEARDSLEY, SAMUEL.—Born at Hoosick, N. Y., 1790; died at Utica, N. Y., 1860. An American politician and jurist; was associate judge of the supreme court of New York (1844-47) and chief-justice (1847).

BEAR FLAG WAR.—In June, 1846, American settlers seized several Mexican horses and took the town of Sonoma, where they raised a flag on which was the figure of a bear. This proceeding is supposed to have been instigated by Capt. John C. Fremont, U. S. A. In July the Mexican War began. Monterey fell, and a company known as the Bear Flag battalion actively coöperated in the conquest of California and the expulsion of the Mexicans from that territory.

BERNARD, SIMON.—Born in France, 1779; died, 1839. A French general and engineer in the service of Napoleon I. and of the U. S. The chief work executed by him in the U. S. was the construction of Fort Monroe; he took part in other important engineering works, notably the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Delaware breakwater.

BIDDLE, NICHOLAS.—Born at Philadelphia, 1786; died there, 1844. An American financier, president of the U. S. Bank, 1823-36.

BIDDLE, RICHARD.—Born at Philadelphia, 1796; died at Pittsburg, Pa., 1847. An American lawyer and author. He wrote a "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," etc.

BINNEY, HORACE, LL.D.—(1780-1875.) American lawyer. In 1843, he argued the case of *Vidal vs. The Mayor of Philadelphia*, an oft-cited case.

BIRNEY, JAMES GILLESPIE.—Born at Danville, Ky., 1792; died at Perth Amboy, N. J., 1857. An American politician, candidate of the Liberal party for President in 1840 and 1844.

BLACK CODE, THE.—The system of laws regulating the treatment of the colored race which prevailed in the southern states before the emancipation of the slaves.

BLACK HAWK WAR.—Arose from the refusal of Black Hawk, a powerful chief of the Indian tribe of Sacs and Foxes, to abide by a treaty made by them, July 15, 1830, by which they ceded all their lands in Ill. and Wis. to the U. S. Black Hawk opposed surveys of land at Rock Island, Ill., and in 1831 descended upon some villages in that state, but was repelled by the militia under Gen. Gaines. In the spring of 1832 he reappeared with a large force and massacred many whites. Gen. Scott with U. S. troops pursued him, and he was defeated by Gen. Dodge at Wisconsin River, July 21, and by Gen. Atkinson at Bad Axe River, Aug. 2, after which he was obliged to surrender.

BLACK WARRIOR, THE.—An American merchantman, seized and confiscated by the Spanish customs officials at Havana, Cuba, Feb. 28, 1854. Excitement against Spain ran high in the U. S. in consequence of this proceeding, and a messenger was sent to our minister at Madrid with instructions to demand immediate redress to the extent of \$300,000 indemnity to the owners. The evident unwillingness of Spain to comply with the terms led to the Ostend Manifesto (which see). Spain finally made compensation for the seizure; but the occurrence was used later as a pretext for filibustering expeditions to Cuba.

BONUS BILL.—Introduced in Congress by John C. Calhoun in 1816. It appropriated \$1,500,000 for building roads and canals and making water courses navigable. The first work contemplated, in the event of the passage of the bill, was a canal from Albany to the Lakes. It passed Congress, but President Madison vetoed it on the ground that the general government could not aid internal improvements without a constitutional amendment.

BOSTON CASE.—So-called from the fact that a runaway slave in Ga. took refuge on the "Boston," a vessel bound thence for Me. The captain of the ship accused of stealing the slave, refused to surrender the fugitive to the executive of the former state, and its legislature later petitioned Congress to compel the governor of Me. to restore the negro. Congress did not act in the matter.

BOWIE, JAMES.—Born in Burke Co., Ga., about 1790; killed at Alamo, Tex., 1836. An American soldier, notorious from a duel in 1827 which resulted in a general *mêlée*, in which he killed Major Norris Wright with a weapon made from a large file or rasp. After the fight, it was made by a cutler into the kind of knife which is still known as a bowie-knife. He was engaged in the Texan revolution and became a colonel in 1835.

BRADFORD, ALDEN.—Born at Duxbury, Mass., 1765; died at Boston, 1843. A historical writer and journalist, originally a Congregational clergyman; was Secretary of State for Massachusetts (1812-24), and edited the "Boston Gazette" in 1826. His chief work was a "History of Massachusetts."

BRAZITO (Mexico), BATTLE OF.—An engagement Dec. 25, 1846, between 500 Americans and 1,220 Mexicans, the latter were completely defeated and lost heavily, their commander, Gen. Ponce de Leon, being among the slain. The Americans formed a part of the army of the West which was organized in June, 1846, and was composed of 1,658 men and 16 pieces of ordnance under command of

Col. Philip Kearny. His orders were to go to New Mexico, seize Santa Fé and formally place the entire territory and California under the jurisdiction of the U. S. Aug. 18, 1846, after a march of 883 miles in 50 days, Kearny took the capital and upon establishing civil rule, started for California, Sept. 25, with 300 U. S. dragoons and a few topographical engineers. The main supply train and 200 dragoons were left at Albuquerque. Col. Doniphan, with his regiment and Weightman's artillery, were ordered south to join Wool in Chihuahua. The whole force then numbered 856 effective men. It was the advance guard of this body that engaged the Mexicans and routed them at Brazito, or Bracito.

BREAD RIOTS.—Violent disturbances by the poor in New York City during the panic of 1837, when flour warehouses were sacked. Rents and all the necessities of life were exorbitant and multitudes were unemployed. Militia suppressed the riots.

BROAD SEAL WAR.—This was precipitated by the action of a clerk of Middlesex County, N. J., who, on account of the defects in the returns, rejected the vote of South Amboy in the Congressional election of 1838. As a consequence the Whigs were declared elected, and the candidates of that party were given certificates under the broad seal of the state. When Congress met, Dec., 1839, it was found that, exclusive of the N. J. delegation, there were 118 Whigs and 119 Democrats. The clerk of the House, amid great excitement, refused to recognize the N. J. Whigs. John Quincy Adams was chosen speaker *pro tem.*, Dec. 5, and Dec. 17, R. M. T. Hunter, of Va., was elected permanent speaker. The contested seats were finally given to the Democrats.

BRODERICK, DAVID CALBRETH.—Born at Washington, D. C. 1820; killed in a duel in Cal., 1859. A noted lawyer and politician. He went to Cal. in 1847 and in 1849 was a member of the constitutional convention of that state. He served in the state senate, and was later elected to the U. S. Senate. In 1859 he became involved in a personal conflict with David S. Terry, chief-justice of the supreme court of Cal., growing out of political antagonism. Broderick accepted Terry's challenge to a duel and they fought Sept. 13. Broderick fell at the first fire, mortally wounded. He died three days later at Merced.

BROOKS, PRESTON SMITH.—Born in Edgefield County, S. C., 1819; died at Washington, D. C., 1857. An American politician, notorious for his assault on Charles Sumner in the Senate Chamber at Washington, May 22, 1856. He was a member of Congress from S. C. (1853-57). (See CHARLES SUMNER.)

JOHN BROWN

He died on the scaffold, but his soul went marching on.

IN DECEMBER, 1859, a little more than a year before the Civil War began, an old man mounted the scaffold, at Charlestown, Virginia, with a firm step and a face that did not blanch in the presence of an ignominious death. It was "Old John Brown of Ossawatimie." He had consecrated his life to a crusade against a great wrong, and in his blind, mistaken zeal he had violated the law of his country. The law demanded the penalty, and he paid it without a murmur of regret. It cannot be doubted that he believed he was doing God's service in fighting slavery—believed that he was the chosen instrument to set free them that were in bondage. However much one may decry him as a crazy fanatic, one must pay tribute to his sincerity, his devotion and his courage.

John Brown came of the ruggedest Puritan stock. He was a direct lineal descendant of Peter Brown, who stepped from the deck of the "Mayflower" to Plymouth Rock. In every generation of the long line there was a John. Both of his grandfathers served in the Revolutionary War, and one of them died in a barn from a wound received in one of the battles. John was born in Torrington, Connecticut, May 9, 1800, a son of Owen and Ruth Brown. There the family lived, "about a mile northwest of the meetinghouse," till John was five years old, when his father removed to Ohio and settled in Hudson. Owen Brown was greatly respected and esteemed for his sturdy probity. He was a member of the board of trustees of Oberlin College, and died in 1853, at the age of eighty-seven.

There is extant an autograph letter in which John Brown gives a sketch of his life, particularly during his boyhood days. He states that when he was four years old he stole "three large brass pins" from a girl who lived in the family. When he had been detected, his mother administered to him a sound whipping. He also says that he was much addicted to "telling lies," for which he was often subjected to severe discipline in the way of corporal punishment. The journey to the West was a long one, for traveling was tediously



slow in those days. Most of the distance was made in wagons drawn by oxen. Ohio was then a wilderness, with only a few spots here and there where settlements had been made and towns started. Owen Brown and his family cleared an opening in the forest and established a home. It was amid such surroundings that John spent the formative period of his life. He grew up a strong, self-willed boy, decided in his opinions, and bent on carrying out whatever he undertook. When he was thirteen years old he chanced to be thrown for a time into the society of a slave boy, who had accompanied his master from the South. Young Brown learned something of slavery, and there was formed in his mind an aversion which grew into a bitter hatred. This feeling increased with his years and became the absorbing, dominating idea of his life. This accidental association with a negro boy gave to his mind the direction that shaped his future course, and led, long afterward, to the building of the famous log cabin at Ossawatimie, in Kansas, and, a few years later, to the culminating tragedy at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, which shook the republic to its very foundation.

At twenty, Brown married a young woman of whom he says in his autobiographical sketch that she was "remarkably plain." These uncomplimentary words are softened by the further statement that she was "neat, industrious and economical." We may well believe that these characteristics of mind and habit were of far more value to the wife of John Brown than mere external beauty. She bore him seven children, when death took her from him. A year later he married Mary A. Day, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, by whom he had thirteen children—twenty in all, several of whom died in infancy or early childhood. He instilled into the minds of his sons and daughters his own detestation of slavery, which he declared to be the sum of all abominations. As they grew up around him, father and children formed a most unique and extraordinary group.

Before his marriage, Brown had determined to enter the ministry, and with that end in view went East and began his studies. A severe inflammation of the eyes compelled him, however, to abandon his studies, and he returned to his home in Ohio. He learned the trade of a tanner and pursued it for five years. As an illustration of his honesty, it is said of him that he never would sell a pound of leather until it was thoroughly dry; the added weight of the moisture from the vat would have been to his own profit, but to the loss of the buyer. At the age of twenty-six he left Hudson, and during the next twenty years he was something of a rover. He changed his place of residence several times. He lived at other points in Ohio, and then in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. In 1849 he settled at North

Elba, New York, and there the family home permanently remained. During this time he engaged in various occupations. At one time, in company with others, he dealt largely in wool, and visited Europe as selling agent for the company. This venture proved disastrous, and Brown lost nearly all the money he had previously saved.

With the passing years, Brown grew more and more intense in his hatred of slavery. As the agitation in the North increased and began to take organized form, none were more earnest in the movement than he. But his zeal was intemperate and fanatical, and was not tempered by sound judgment. He was conspicuous in the school of Garrison and Phillips and Giddings and Gerrit Smith and a host of others, but he lacked the education, the balance, the discernment, and the sagacity of these leaders of public opinion. Inexorable to the last degree, he was utterly opposed to all compromise. He had no patience to await the course of events; he would throttle the giant wrong and crush it to earth by brute force. In spirit, he was the St. George to slay the great dragon. As early as 1839 he conceived a plan to liberate the slaves in the South. He disclosed it to a few trusted friends, but received no encouragement from them. While they freely shared his passion, their better judgment decided that the "fullness of time" had not yet come, and that to attempt such an impossible scheme as that proposed by him would be the height of unwisdom. When Brown visited England, in 1848, he divulged his plan to emancipationists in that country, but they declared it visionary and wholly impracticable, and gave him no sympathy or promise of assistance.

During the decade from 1850 to 1860, events moved rapidly. The abrogation of the "Missouri Compromise" and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill by Congress, in 1854—which opened those territories to slavery, provided a majority of their people should so decide—caused the smoldering fire throughout the North to burst into a fierce and what proved to be a consuming flame. At once there was a rush of "free-state" settlers to Kansas, and among these were four of the sons of John Brown—Jason, John, Owen and Frederick. They settled in Pottawattomie County, near the southern line of the territory, where the conflict with the adherents of slavery was hottest. At a public meeting in Essex, New York, called by the opponents of slavery, Brown made a fiery speech in which he said that he had four sons already in Kansas fighting for freedom, and three others who wanted to go, but were deterred by want of means. He asked for assistance in arming his sons. All the money needed was promptly supplied by contributions, and in a short time Brown had seven sons in Kansas, equipped and ready to do battle. The next year the father

followed. He did not intend to make his permanent home there and left his family at North Elba, New York. He felt that the battle between freedom and slavery had begun, and letters which he received from his sons fired him with an uncontrollable desire to be with them and have a part in the momentous struggle. To have an opportunity to fight slavery would be a realization of the one all-pervading desire of his life. Brown built a cabin at Ossawatimie, where he lived about a year and a half. Foremost in resistance to the slavery propagandists, and a born leader, he organized a company of free-state men, arms and ammunition for which were bought with money contributed by friends of the cause in the East. He commanded this company in several encounters with the "border ruffians"—as they were called in the phrase of the time. In one of these engagements at Ossawatimie he won a decided victory, putting his adversaries to rout, with considerable loss in killed and wounded on both sides. He was thrown into a condition of frenzy by the brutal murder of one of his sons, Frederick, and he took a solemn vow that he would devote his life to the extirpation of slavery.

Near the end of 1856, Brown and four of his sons returned to the East, for the purpose of still further arousing public feeling and securing assistance, in men and means, to prosecute the war—for the condition in Kansas was little short of actual war. Along the eastern and southern borders the country was overrun with men from Missouri and Arkansas, who were bent upon the establishment of slavery in Kansas. There they were met by the free-state men and the greatest turbulence prevailed. Violent outbreaks were of daily occurrence; lawlessness ran riot, and life was in constant jeopardy. Every man was forced to declare himself on the one side or on the other, for in such a contest none could be neutral. During his stay in the East, Brown made a number of fervid speeches at Boston and other places. Fresh from the scene of conflict, he told of what his own eyes had seen, what his own ears had heard, and his passionate vehemence—for he put no bridle on his tongue—greatly intensified the excitement that existed. In 1857 Brown and his sons returned to Kansas and again plunged into the conflict.

Although the facts are not clear, it would seem to be true that at this time Brown was already engaged in perfecting his long-cherished scheme to free the slaves. During the autumn of 1857, he organized a small body of men whom he knew he could trust, as a nucleus for future operations, and gave them military instruction. During the next year little progress was made, but there was evidence that Brown had not relaxed his purpose and that he was quietly and in secret preparing to carry his plan into execution. In May, 1859,


he called a convention of the "True Friends of Freedom," to meet at Chatham, in Canada. This was the first open manifestation of the enterprise, and he chose a meeting-place on foreign soil, to avoid possible molestation in his own country. Strange as it may seem, Brown evidently contemplated the organization of a complete government, though by what means he expected to carry out his plan can only be surmised. At the Chatham meeting—which was attended by only a few of his personal adherents—he submitted the draft of a "Provisional Constitution and Ordinance for the People of the United States." It was adopted, and under it Brown was elected commander-in-chief; Richard Realf, secretary of state; J. H. Kagi, secretary of war; George B. Gill, secretary of the treasury; Owen Brown, treasurer. There is much connected with this enterprise that is mysterious and unexplained. No doubt many of the secrets of that visionary scheme were buried in the breasts of Brown and his followers, for soon afterward death came to nearly all of them in the mad attempt to accomplish their design.

It is more than probable that at the Chatham convention it was fully determined that a descent upon the South should be made for the purpose of freeing the slaves, and that the attack should be made in Virginia. The arrangement of the details was left in the hands of Brown. He and his men separated after leaving Chatham, but they kept in close touch during the summer, ready to assemble whenever and wherever they might be ordered to do so. Brown spent some two months in traveling about the country. He made speeches at various places; one in Cleveland attracted public attention to a notable degree. Of course he said nothing in public of his plan to invade Virginia with an armed force and proclaim freedom to the negroes, but he did privately unfold the details of his scheme to many persons in whom he had confidence. He was obliged to do this, for he was without means and needed assistance to procure arms, ammunition, and supplies, and to pay other expenses incident to such a project. He found many who lent willing ears and opened their purses to his needs. Few believed he would succeed, but he was so persistent and so sanguine that they cheerfully gave him aid and encouragement. For obvious reasons, he did not disclose to any the place at which the irruption would occur, if, indeed, he had yet reached a decision on this point. He endeavored to secure part of the arms that had been provided for the free-state people in Kansas, but in this he failed. It was his desire to secure a supply of weapons in addition to those required for his men, to be put into the hands of the slaves and thus give immediate momentum to the insurrection. He obtained muskets, revolvers, and long-handled

pikes, though the number was small in excess of the needs of his party.

As early as June, Brown went to Hagerstown, Maryland, from which point he thoroughly observed the situation and surroundings of Harper's Ferry. This is a romantic place, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, fifty-seven miles northeast of Washington, at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. Brown settled upon this as the scene of his operations and proceeded to the preparation of the details. Five miles from Harper's Ferry, among the mountains of Maryland, he found an unoccupied place known as the Kennedy farm, and leased it for a term of months. This he made his headquarters, and there he secretly gathered his supplies of arms and stores. Suspicion was aroused, and in August the Secretary of War was notified of Brown's whereabouts, but it was not deemed necessary to take any steps in the matter, unless Brown should develop

a purpose to commit unlawful acts. During September he was quiet and the flutter of excitement that the discovery of his presence had caused gradually disappeared.



In the early part of October, Brown summoned his men—seventeen whites and five negroes, twenty-two in all, with which to challenge and defy the power, not only of the state of Virginia, but of the United States Government. At early dawn, on October 16, Brown led his men across the long bridge spanning the Potomac and quickly took possession of the town. A number of slaves were told to join the party, the purpose of which was quickly explained to them, and some of them did so. The invaders seized and held for a short time the United States arsenal buildings, took possession of railroad trains, and picketed the streets as far as their small number would allow. The wild panic that prevailed among the people may be imagined, but no language can adequately describe it. Brown had instructed his men not to kill unless necessary in protecting their own lives. Bloodshed soon occurred on both sides. The citizens took measures for defense, and fatal encounters were inevitable. Several citizens, including the mayor, and two or three of the invaders were killed, and many more were wounded. Telegrams were sent in all directions. Virginia was in a paroxysm of excitement and alarm, and the entire country was thrown into a ferment. A detachment of United States troops was at once sent from Washington, under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee—soon, himself, to command an armed force in insurrection, on a vastly

larger scale than that of Old John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Such are the wonderful changes wrought by the swiftly-revolving wheels of time!

Brown knew that he must soon be overpowered, and that it would be but a question of a few hours. He drew his little force within a small brick building which had been used as a fire-engine house, and here he proposed to fight to the death. The doors were secured by barricades and the walls were pierced at various points for the use of muskets. As soon as the troops arrived, the building was surrounded and a surrender was demanded. This was refused and fighting was continued for hours. Brown had taken within the engine house a number of citizens whom he used as hostages. Their presence prevented the use of artillery. At length, thirty hours after the town had been taken by the "raiders," a breach was made in the wall and the troops rushed in and overpowered the garrison, of whom but four remained, who had not been killed or disabled by wounds, Brown, himself, among the latter. The captives were taken to the county jail at Charlestown, where they were guarded by a company of cadets commanded by one who afterward became famous as "Stonewall" Jackson. Brown and six of his men—fifteen had been killed or had died of their wounds—were tried and convicted of insurrection and murder and were executed on December 2.

On that day many memorial meetings were held in the North. While most persons characterized the enterprise as rash and foolhardy to the uttermost, yet to millions slavery had become a thing most abhorrent, and their hearts melted in sympathy for poor, misguided old John Brown, while their admiration was kindled by his courage and devotion. In the South he was looked upon as a malefactor, who richly deserved the gallows. For similar acts committed in any other state in the Union, North or South, there could have been no escape from conviction and punishment. But the influence of his "invasion" of Virginia was powerful and far-reaching. No other one thing did so much to precipitate the mighty conflict of the Civil War. And during those four years of fire and blood and death, two million men who followed the Union flag felt the quickening inspiration of the words that were sung in camp and on the march, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande:—

"John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on."



BUCKSHOT WAR.—Upon the result of the election in Philadelphia, Oct. 9, 1838, depended the control of the legislature which was to elect a U. S. senator. The Democratic legislative ticket was successful by narrow majorities, but the congressional candidate of that party was beaten, whereupon the election judges of the latter threw out 5,000 Whig votes, alleging fraud. The Whig judges retorted by granting certificates of election to all of their candidates, and these certificates were accepted by the Whig Secretary of State. When the legislature met, Dec. 4, 1838, armed friends of the contestants were present. Whigs controlled the state senate, which was overawed by the mob and adjourned. The Whig governor called out the militia and vainly sought federal aid. The Democrats organized the house, Dec. 25. A remark when the excitement was greatest, that the mob would feel "ball and buckshot before night," gave the political incident its name.

BUENA VISTA (Mexico), BATTLE OF.—Fought, Feb. 22 and 23, 1847, between Gen. Taylor with less than 5,000 men, and Gen. Santa Anna with 21,000. Taylor held the pass of Angostura, in the Sierra Madre Mountains on the road to San Luis Potosi, where he was attacked by Santa Anna. The fighting was very severe, particularly on the second day, toward the close of which the Mexicans fled to Agua Nueva, with a loss exceeding 2,000, while that of the Americans was 740. In the second day's engagement Jefferson Davis, then colonel of a Miss. regiment, determined the result by forming his riflemen in a V and repelling a charge of the Mexican lancers.

BULWER-CLAYTON TREATY.—A treaty between Great Britain and the U. S., concluded at Washington, Apr. 19, and ratified July 4, 1850, by which both parties pledged themselves to respect the neutrality of the proposed ship-canal across Central America. Sir Henry Bulwer represented Great Britain and John M. Clayton, the U. S. Sir Henry Bulwer was the British representative at Washington and Mr. Clayton was the Secretary of State of the United States. The United States requested the British government to relinquish any claim to the coast so as to permit the construction of the canal under the joint auspices of the United States and Nicaragua. The British government declined to do this and the treaty was drawn up so that the canal was to go forward under the joint protectorate of the governments of the United States and Great Britain. A great deal of controversy has taken place between the two governments over the correct interpretation of some of the principal clauses of the treaty, and in 1884 the claim was made by the United States that the treaty either is void or is voidable at the option of the United States on account of Eng-

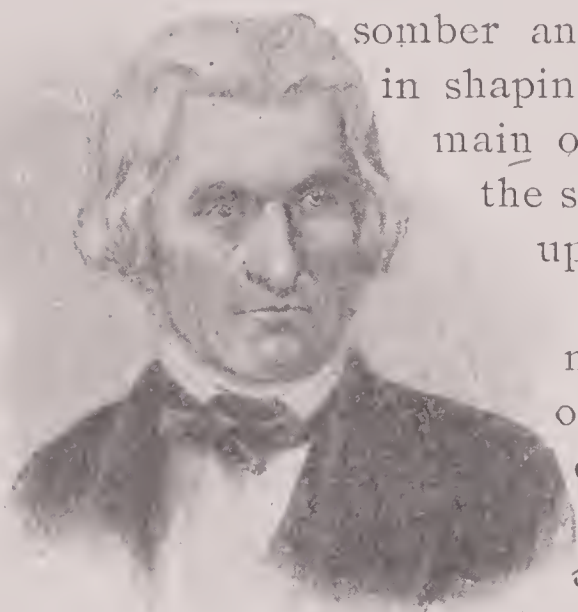
land having retained jurisdiction over the territory of British Honduras. This is held to be indirect violation of the first articles of the treaty, whereby the governments of the United States and of Great Britain declared that neither one nor the other would ever obtain, nor maintain for its own exclusive control, over the said ship-canal, nor erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof or to occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume, or reserve, any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, or Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America, nor will either make use of any protection which either affords or may afford, or any alliance which either has or may have to or with any state or people for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonizing any part of Central America, or of assuming, or exercising dominion over the same. Mr. Frelinghuysen, secretary of state, in a dispatch dated July 19, 1884, stated that the treaty had become void or voidable because, first: that the consideration of the treaty having failed, the United States did not receive that for which they had covenanted, and second: that Great Britain has persistently violated her agreement not to colonize the Central American Coast.

BUNCOMBE.—Spoken language designed to impress people at a distance without reference to the immediate audience. The phrase "to talk Buncombe" dates from the debate on the Missouri Compromise in the 16th Congress. Felix Walker, a member from N. C., part of whose district included Buncombe Co., persisted in speaking while the House called "Question." When expostulated with, he replied that "the people of his district expected that he would be heard from and that he was bound to make a speech for Buncombe." Another explanation of the origin of the expression states that Edward Buncombe, a soldier born in St. Kitts, West Indies and who died in Philadelphia in 1777 gave rise to the expression. He fought through the Revolutionary War and became a member of Congress. It is stated that at one time he was engaged in speech-making and when an effort was made to cut him short, he replied that he was talking only for Buncombe. The expression is used when one is talking only for effect, or from a desire to please one's constituents.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN

The exponent of the doctrine of State Rights.

WHEN the sorrowing South Carolinians placed on the great marble slab above the grave of their prophet, priest and king, the one word "Calhoun," they believed that in that simple epitaph they had epitomized all that the man had been, all that his work had been, better than any legend or eulogy that might have been carved on the ample surface of the stone. Their judgment was not wrong; for as in his life Calhoun was a man apart, marked out by those qualities of mind and temperament that made up his somber and pathetic individuality, so his part and influence in shaping the course of history toward what must ever remain one of the greatest of our epochs, make it sure that the sound of his name will not for many generations fall upon untutored ears.



The life of a nation cannot be viewed or estimated by such narrow periods as compass the life of the individual, and though Calhoun has been dead more than fifty years, his era is still too close to that great upheaval in the national life, largely due to himself, and following shortly after his death, to enable us yet to judge where history will finally place him. Already we see the steady movement of opinion toward the final conclusion that the Civil War, and all the conditions and influences that led up to it, were inevitable; that they had their origin in causes and circumstances too deep and broad for control by any individual, or group or succession of individuals, and that we may not, for all time, use the slavery agitation, secession and the war which thereby was caused, as tests by which to concede or deny to our statesmen the name of patriots, if their motives were pure and their acts conformable to their motives. If the Revolution had failed, the name of Washington would have been long under a cloud; yet his just fame would have come at last, and his claim to it would have been as good at the beginning as at the end. As the future would have judged the men of the Revolution if it had not succeeded, so must the future be the judge of the men who brought on the war of 1861-65.

Calhoun was one of the ablest and most influential statesmen of the country, during the period which began with the last war with England and continued till his death, nearly forty years afterward. In the various high positions to which he was called—Representative in Congress, United States Senator, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Vice-president—he was always and everywhere a leader, and filled a large space in the history of his time. He was an earnest and powerful champion of the South, and especially of his own state; most notable for his devotion to the doctrine of state rights to the extreme point of nullification, in his application of which he evoked the personal and official wrath of President Andrew Jackson, by defying the power of the national government. Calhoun was a unique and striking figure in American politics, the originator of the doctrine which, eleven years after his death, was carried to its consummation in the secession of eleven states from the Federal Union.

John C. Calhoun was a native of South Carolina, the state which was his home, and to which he bore true and steadfast allegiance, during his whole life. He was born in 1782, in the closing days of the War of the Revolution. His father, Patrick Calhoun, was born in Ireland and was brought to America at the age of six years. His mother was also Irish, the daughter of a Presbyterian emigrant from the "Emerald Isle." Born of such stock, it is not difficult to understand that John had, by inheritance, an implacable hostility to Great Britain; and when he became an influential factor in the government, he was unyielding and aggressive in his resistance to the encroachments of the mother country. His father had been an ardent champion of the patriot cause during the war for independence. As a boy, John was ambitious and studious, but his pursuit of an education was checked by the death of his father, who left to his family means barely sufficient for existence. He was at length able to attend a private academy, and afterward to enter Yale College, from which he was graduated at the age of twenty-two. His own preference was not a professional life, but that of a plain planter. At the urgent solicitation of friends, however, he entered upon a thorough course of law study. At the same time he cultivated his marked talent for public speaking. He never won a reputation at the bar, because he did not try to do so; in his early manhood he entered public life and stayed there. His aptitude for politics and his great natural ability were supplemented by his law study and his practice in speaking, and he stepped into the public arena thoroughly equipped to achieve success and fame.

The year 1811 was an eventful one in the life of Calhoun. It marked his marriage—to a second cousin, who brought him a com-

fortable property—and his entrance into Congress, at the age of twenty-nine. That body had been called, by proclamation of President Madison, to convene in extraordinary session a month earlier than the regular time of meeting in December. A critical emergency in the career of the young republic had come, and this gave to Calhoun the opportunity to leap into immediate prominence. For three or four years a struggle had been in progress within the administration party, between those who were in favor of war with England for the redressment of grievances, and those who counseled compromise and peace. The question had been the leading one in the election of members of the new Congress, and the war party had gained a complete triumph. Among the new members were several ardent, impetuous young men who were determined to force the administration to adopt a war policy. Conspicuous among these was Calhoun. Madison and his Cabinet were for peace, and the two factions joined issue on the election of Speaker of the House of Representatives. The war party was successful, by an emphatic majority, and thereafter events moved rapidly. Mr. Calhoun was made a member of the committee on foreign relations, and a belligerent report, drawn by him, was speedily submitted to the House. It clearly outlined the policy which the majority had determined to pursue, and declared that the time had come for choosing between tame submission, and resistance by all the means which Providence had placed within the Nation's reach. By the retirement of the chairman of the committee, Mr. Calhoun became its head, and in that capacity introduced in the House a bill for an embargo of sixty days, preliminary to a declaration of war. President Madison was unable to withstand the pressure upon him and sent in a war message. Calhoun submitted, from his committee, a vigorous report in favor of immediate action, and followed it up by a bill declaring war against Great Britain. He was a potent influence in securing its passage, and during the continuance of the war he was unchanging in his advocacy of its vigorous prosecution.

On every important governmental question of his time, Mr. Calhoun had decided opinions, and was always on one side or the other, never in a neutral position. He was influential in carrying out the project of a United States bank, which grew out of the financial necessities of the government in consequence of the large expense of conducting the war with England. Public men were divided on the question of a government bank. It was strongly opposed by many because they believed it to be unconstitutional, while others, who sought to relieve the government from its financial embarrassments, were confident that a way could be found to evade the constitutional

questions involved. The bank was established, in the face of fierce opposition, although the scheme devised by Calhoun was much changed and modified as to its details. The bank did not become permanent, and during the time of its existence it was the cause of endless trouble, personal and political, and official scandal. But Mr. Calhoun believed in it at the time, and in after life he always defended it as an emergency measure. He was wont to say that the bill never would have carried but for him, and this is probably true.

Another important topic in which Mr. Calhoun took a lively interest was that of internal improvements, to afford better facilities for transportation to meet the needs of commerce. The necessity for this had been shown by the great cost and difficulty of transporting troops and supplies during the war. The President, in a message to Congress, had recommended a system of roads and canals which he believed might properly be established by the national authority. The President admitted that there were objections to such a measure on constitutional grounds, but he urged that it was necessary to the public welfare, and expressed the belief that the legal obstructions could be overcome. Mr. Calhoun was the champion of this enterprise in the House, and secured the passage of a bill by the narrow margin of two votes. It also passed the Senate, but President Madison, notwithstanding the fact that he had recommended such a measure to Congress, killed it by a veto. Mr. Calhoun was greatly mortified and humiliated, and spared not in his denunciation of the President. This occurred just at the close of Madison's second term, with which also ended Calhoun's service in the lower branch of Congress.

Mr. Calhoun was immediately called into the Cabinet of President Monroe, as Secretary of War. He found the department in a greatly disorganized condition, with outstanding and unsettled accounts amounting to fifty millions of dollars, and much confusion in every branch of the service. He entered with the utmost energy upon the work of bringing order out of chaos. He took measures for the speedy adjustment of all claims against the department, introduced systematic methods for the transaction of public business, and drafted a bill for reorganizing the staff of the army. The long and bitter hostility between Calhoun and Andrew Jackson had its origin at this time. Jackson was a major-general of the army, with the laurels yet green which he had won at the battle of New Orleans. He commanded the Southern department, and was sent to lead in person the forces operating against the Seminole Indians, under orders drawn by Mr. Calhoun himself. Jackson gave to these orders a wide and perhaps unjustifiable interpretation, by which he took to himself a large dis-

cretionary authority. He afterward claimed that he was also influenced by an intimation, privately conveyed to him, that it would be in accord with the wish of the administration if he would take possession of the territory of Florida, which at that time belonged to Spain. With impetuous zeal, Jackson severely punished the Seminoles and then proceeded to make war on the Spaniards. This called forth a vigorous protest from the Spanish government, through its minister at Washington. In a Cabinet council, called to consider the subject, Calhoun maintained that Jackson had exceeded his orders and that he should be brought to trial. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, took the opposite view, and his opinion prevailed with the President, so that Jackson was sustained. A rupture followed between Calhoun and Jackson which was far-reaching in its consequences, and which, when Jackson became President, caused great annoyance and embarrassment to Calhoun.

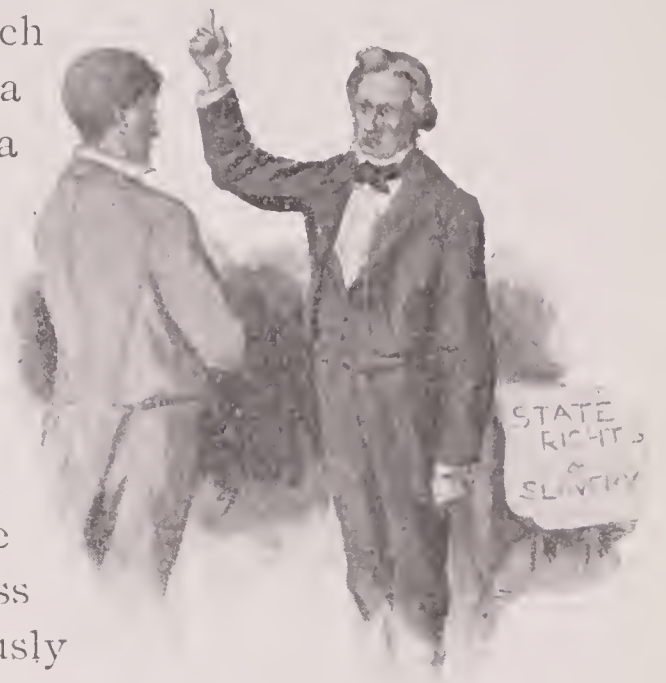
For eight years Mr. Calhoun filled the position of Secretary of War with marked ability, and his reputation as a man of affairs grew steadily. He was yet young, scarcely more than forty, but already he was much talked of as a candidate for President, to succeed Monroë. But there was a number of other prominent candidates, and as a matter of expediency it was determined that Calhoun should be a candidate for Vice-president and that his friends should support Jackson for the presidency. At the election there were four tickets in the field, nominated by as many parties and factions, for the politics of the country was then in a greatly disturbed condition. The electoral vote was divided between John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Clay and Crawford. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Adams was chosen President and Calhoun, Vice-president. A coalition between the supporters of Jackson, Calhoun and Crawford resulted, four years later, in the election of Jackson as President, and the reelection of Calhoun as Vice-president.

At this time the tariff was a leading question in public affairs. The Eastern and Middle states were almost unanimous for a protective tariff, while the Southern states, and especially those of the cotton belt, were equally united for free trade. Calhoun was the leader of the free-trade section of his party, while Mr. Van Buren, then a member of the Senate from New York, was the champion of protection. It was by the latter's adroit management that the tariff bill of 1828, so obnoxious to the South, was passed. It was then that Mr. Calhoun began his great battle for the supreme sovereignty of the states, as individuals. He pushed forward, in the most aggressive manner, the dogma of state rights and, carrying this to its extreme limit, he originated and preached vehemently the doctrine of nullifi-

cation—that is, that any state had the right to prevent within her limits the execution of such Federal laws, enacted by Congress, as she might judge to be unconstitutional. He embodied this doctrine in an elaborate and carefully prepared paper, which was approved by the legislature of South Carolina and published to the world as the “South Carolina Exposition.” At the next session of Congress, the first under the Jackson administration, the doctrine of nullification was brought forward in the Senate by Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, to whom Mr. Webster made his famous reply, in which, though in direct answer to the speech of Hayne, he struck through him at Calhoun, who was the author of the heresy. In 1831 Calhoun published a second address on the question of state rights, in which he vigorously maintained the right of the states to judge of infractions of the Constitution, and when necessary to protect themselves by non-obedience of the laws and resistance to their enforcement.

In 1832 another tariff law was passed which, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Calhoun and others for its modification, was, in the opinion of the people of the South; as oppressive and unjust to them as had been the bill passed four years before, and this brought matters to a crisis in South Carolina. It was now the end of Jackson's first presidential term and Calhoun retired from the vice-presidency. The legislature of South Carolina immediately elected Hayne Governor and Calhoun a United States Senator. It also passed an ordinance to nullify the Federal tariff acts of 1828 and 1832. At its next session it enacted additional legislation to aid in carrying out the nullification ordinance. The matter had thus assumed a grave aspect, that seriously menaced the peace of the country. President Jackson issued his famous proclamation in which, after entreating the people of South Carolina to reconsider their position and their action, he declared his purpose to sustain the authority of the United States Government and to compel obedience to its laws, by force if necessary. He also sent to Congress a special message asking for further legislation to assist him in enforcing the laws and collecting the revenue. Such a bill was passed, largely through the influence of Mr. Webster. It was very warmly opposed by Mr. Calhoun and his friends, by whom it was stigmatized as the “Force Bill.” South Carolina chose the part of discretion and abstained from opposition to the general government, pending an effort to secure a modification of the tariff laws.

The fangs of these obnoxious measures were drawn by a compromise bill, drafted by Mr. Clay and passed in 1833. Thus, for the



time, the threatened storm was averted; but Mr. Calhoun introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions, which he supported with an elaborate speech, in which he maintained in the strongest possible manner the right of nullification. He wished it to be clearly understood that South Carolina had not receded an inch from the position she had taken, but had consented to the compromise in the interest of peace. Had he been living thirty years later, it cannot be doubted that he would have justified the ordinance of secession that precipitated the war between the sections. Mr. Calhoun had a comparatively small following of those who were outspoken in their advocacy of his doctrine. For a time they held themselves aloof from the regular political parties, and were derisively characterized "South Carolina Nullifiers"; but Mr. Calhoun did not hesitate to apply to himself this term of reproach. He had the courage of his convictions, and in one of his speeches he declared that he had voluntarily put himself in the very small minority to which he belonged, to serve the gallant state of South Carolina, nor would he turn on his heel to be placed at the head of the government.

While Calhoun was Vice-president, during Jackson's first term, a formidable movement was started which had for its object the election of Calhoun to succeed Jackson. This gave serious offense to the latter, who was an avowed candidate for reelection, and the breach between them, which had been made years before, when Calhoun was Secretary of War and Jackson was a major-general, was reopened. Their personal antagonism was revived and intensified, and their official relations were greatly disturbed. But Jackson was too strongly intrenched in the popular favor and was easily reelected. Under the circumstances, Calhoun was not to be thought of, even had he desired it, for another term as Vice-president with Jackson, but, as has been said, he at once entered a sphere of much greater activity, in the Senate, where he was a thorn in the side of "Old Hickory." Calhoun served continuously in this body for eleven years. He was always alert, active, aggressive, and a giant in debate. Naturally he maintained an attitude of uncompromising hostility to the fast-growing Abolition party in the North, and resisted to the uttermost its assaults upon the institution of slavery.

In regard to petitions from the Northern people, asking the abolition of slavery in the territories and in the District of Columbia, Mr. Calhoun strongly opposed their reception by Congress; he insisted that Congress had no jurisdiction over the subject of slavery, and that all petitions of the character indicated should be rejected. In a letter written in 1847, he said that he was in favor of forcing the slavery issue on the people of the North, in order that it might be

permanently settled, as he believed that the South was then relatively stronger, both morally and politically, than she ever would be again.

Mr Calhoun served as Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Tyler, after the office had twice been made vacant, first by the ejection of Mr. Webster, and again by the sudden death of Mr. Upshur. He was credited with the origination of the scheme to annex Texas to the United States. He was not retained as Secretary of State by President Polk, but was offered the position of Minister to England. This he declined and was returned to the Senate by the legislature of South Carolina. He strongly favored the war with Mexico and continued the champion of slavery and state rights. His health soon gave way under the strain of his long and active public life, his advancing years and a severe pulmonary disease.

He prepared a powerful speech against the continued aggressions of the Abolitionists, in which he declared that the states of the South would be justified in resorting to any measure for their protection. He was physically unable to deliver this speech, and it was read by another Senator. A few days later, though very ill, he was in his seat and made a brief speech on a passing question. He fell back exhausted and was taken to his lodgings. He did not again leave his bed, and died March 31, 1850. Many of his colleagues in the Senate, among them some who had been his bitterest opposers in debate and in politics, paid lofty tribute to the high character, the earnestness, the steadfastness, and ability of Mr. Calhoun and his zeal for the public welfare. After his death, his writings and speeches were collected and published in six volumes.



“CAROLINE,” THE.—In 1837 revolutionists in lower Canada seized the Canadian navy yard in the Niagara River, inaugurated a provisional government and got possession of the steamer “Carolina.” Dec. 26 the Canadian loyalists crossed the river, after they had killed several rebels in an action, and burned the vessel, which was then within the jurisdiction of the U. S. The incident caused much temporary excitement. President Van Buren demanded the strict observance of the neutrality laws and Gen. Scott took command of the N. Y. militia. The matter was finally adjusted, after much parleying, without a rupture of the friendly relations between the two governments.

CERRO GORDO (Mexico), BATTLE OF.—Occurred, Apr. 17 and 18, 1847, between Santa Anna, who had 15,000 men, in a strong position on the heights of Cerro Gordo, and 8,000 Americans under Brig.-gen.

Twiggs. Vera Cruz had fallen and the vanguard of Scott's army no longer needed there was on its way to the City of Mexico. Three days after it began its march it faced the enemy, who outnumbered it two to one. Twiggs cut a new road around the mountain and gallantly charged the Mexicans simultaneously in front and rear. Many of the Mexicans were obliged to surrender, but Santa Anna escaped with about 7,000 of his troops. The American loss was 63 killed and 398 wounded, while 1,200 Mexicans were killed and wounded. Between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners, with as many stand of arms, 43 cannon and much fixed ammunition, were captured.

CHAPULTEPEC (Mexico), BATTLE OF.—After the capture of El Molino del Rey and Casa de Mata, Gen. Winfield Scott advanced upon Chapultepec, a formidable citadel fully garrisoned and guarded by mines which still protected the City of Mexico. A strategic assault was made Sept. 13, 1847, and the walls were scaled in the face of a terrible fire. The two causeways or elevated roads between Chapultepec and the City of Mexico proper were crossed under the enemy's fire, and the divisions of Worth and Quitman entered the seat of the Montezumas. The Mexican army of 30,000, strongly fortified in the vicinity of the capital, lost 10,743 men, and Santa Anna, president and commander-in-chief of the army, became a fugitive. The American force consisted of 7,180 men, and its loss was 862.

CHOATE, RUFUS.—Born at Essex, Mass., 1799; died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1859. A distinguished American lawyer, orator, and statesman. He was elected representative to Congress from Mass. in 1830 and became the successor in the Senate of Daniel Webster, who had become Secretary of State under President Harrison. Mr. Choate set out on a voyage to Europe for his health. He was taken violently ill on board ship soon after leaving New York, and died as stated above.

CHRISTIANA CASE.—Takes its name from Christiana, Pa., where in 1851 Edward Gorsuch and others tried to retake a fugitive slave. A riot, in which Gorsuch was killed, resulted. Castner Hanway, a Quaker, was arrested charged with treason, riot, and bloodshed, because he had refused to aid a marshal in restoring peace, but no indictment was found. The tragedy produced much temporary excitement, but had no other consequence.

CHURUBUSCO (Mexico), BATTLE OF.—A sharp engagement, Aug. 20, 1847, in which the Mexicans lost 3,300 and the Americans 1,015. A few hours after the battle of Contreras, Churubusco, a strongly fortified position near the City of Mexico, was charged by the Americans under Generals Worth and Twiggs. There were only 8,000 Ameri-

cans to overcome 25,000 Mexicans; but the former gained an early advantage by routing the garrison of San Antonio. The fighting was fiercest on the Rio Churubusco and at one time the Americans were in danger of defeat. The conflict resulted favorably to the Americans through the almost simultaneous fall of several strategic points.

CILLEY, JONATHAN.—Born at Nottingham, N. H., July 2, 1802. He was a lawyer of ability, and was elected to Congress in 1837. His opposition to slavery made for him many enemies. He was challenged to a duel by Congressman Graves, of Ky., Feb. 23, 1838. They fought the following day near Washington with rifles, and Cilley was killed on the spot.

CLAYTON, JOHN MIDDLETON.—(1796–1856.) An American jurist born in Dagsboro, Delaware. He graduated from Yale in 1815. Shortly after his admission to the bar he was elected to the legislature and became United States Senator in 1829–35. He was Secretary of State under President Taylor. He returned to the Senate, being reëlected in 1845 and again in 1851. He was a prominent American orator of high rank, and his name is intimately connected with the Foote resolution and the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty.

COGSWELL, JOSEPH GREEN.—Born at Ipswich, Mass., 1786; died at Cambridge, Mass., 1871. He was professor of mineralogy and geology at Harvard (1820–23); became superintendent of Astor Library, New York, in 1848. With George Bancroft he founded the Round Hill School at Northampton, Mass.

COMPROMISES, POLITICAL.—The South, feeling that it was at a disadvantage under the high tariff duties of 1828 and 1832, carried its opposition to such lengths that at a convention held at Columbia, S. C., Nov., 1832, an ordinance was passed declaring the tariff acts cited to be null and void. This at once made the question of nullification a great national issue, and to placate the South, Congress enacted a new and compromise tariff in 1833. It was virtually the same measure that was introduced in the Senate by Henry Clay, and provided for a gradual scaling of duties until, at the lapse of ten years, a free-trade basis should be attained. This compromise was offered as a substitute for the low-tariff measure that had been introduced in the House, and provided for a gradual diminution of duties so that a 20 per cent. standard should be reached in 1842. (See NULLIFICATION.) The compromise of 1850 was effected to appease the southern states, which considered the institution of slavery in peril from the growing anti-slavery sentiment in other parts of the country. By the compromise, Tex., was paid \$10,000,000 for N. Mex. and the area of the latter was

reduced; Cal. entered the Union as a free state; territorial governments with slavery-option clauses were established in Utah and N. Mex.; the fugitive slave law was so amended that arrested negroes were denied trial by jury and redress to free colored seamen imprisoned in southern ports was prohibited. (See MISSOURI COMPROMISE.) The important compromises made by the Constitutional Convention in 1787 pledged Congress to the enactment of a fugitive slave law and to non-interference in the slave trade before 1808; to the non-imposition of taxes on imports, and to the arrangement by which each state has an equal representation in the Senate and a proportionate representation in the House. Compromise may, in a general way, be defined as a settlement of differences by mutual concessions or the compact in which such settlement finds expression. The Crittenden Compromise was another effort to settle the slavery question by peaceful means. Senator John J. Crittenden, of Ky., was its author. In 1860 he offered a constitutional amendment to divide the country into slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections and suggested 36° and 30' as the line of division, the U. S. to reimburse the owner for every fugitive slave captured. The amendment was never submitted to the states, as the Civil War soon followed and settled the questions at issue.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY.—Was founded by members of the disrupted Whig party, who early in 1860 nominated John Bell, of Tenn., for President and Edward Everett for Vice-president. Twenty states sent delegates to the nominating convention, which denounced the platforms of the other parties as fostering political divisions and avowed the dominant principle of the Constitutional Union Party to be "The Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws." In Nov., 1860, it carried Va., Ky., and Tenn. It was also called the American party, and among its members were many of those who had previously been styled "Know-nothings."

COVODA (N. Mex.), BATTLE OF.—A brief but brisk engagement in Jan., 1847, between Col. Sterling Price with 400 troops and 1,500 Mexicans, whom he quickly routed. Price's expedition was undertaken to suppress the uprising that had taken place on Jan. 15, and which had resulted in the assassination of Gov. Bent, Sheriff Elliot, and twenty others at San Fernando de Toas and seven others at Turley's.

COVODE INVESTIGATION.—Two "Anti-Lecompton" Democrats declared that President Buchanan had tried to persuade them, by corrupt means, to vote for the Lecompton bill. (See LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.) The investigating committee consisted of three Democrats and two Republicans. The former voted to exonerate the

President and the latter to sustain the charges. Congress took no action beyond the appointment of the committee.

CRAWFORD, WILLIAM HARRISON.—(1772-1834.) An American statesman and lawyer, born in Nelson County, Va. He was admitted to the bar in 1798 and appointed to revise the laws of Georgia. In 1806 he was elected to the United States Senate. President Madison offered him the position of Secretary of War in 1813, but he declined it. He went instead to France as minister, where he became intimate with the Marquis de Lafayette. He returned to the Senate in 1815 and was Secretary of the Treasury for both terms of Monroe's administration. He was a candidate for the office of President and received the support of four states in the contest between Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams. He became judge of the northern circuit of Georgia in 1827 and held the position until his death.

CREOLE CASE.—On the trip of the brig "Creole," laden with slaves and bound from Hampton Roads to New Orleans, in November, 1841, the negroes mutinied, killed one of the owners and made sail for Nassau, New Providence, where all, except those charged with murder, were liberated by the British authorities; the United States demanded that the slaves be returned to its custody, but Great Britain refused and the matter remained in dispute until settled by a treaty in 1842. While this treaty was pending, Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, offered in Congress resolutions embodying the principles of the Anti-slavery party. The House censured him and he resigned, only to be returned by an overwhelming majority, and with instructions again to present the resolutions.

CRITTENDEN, JOHN JORDAN.—(1787-1863.) An American statesman, born in Woodford County, Ky. After his graduation from William and Mary College in 1807 he began the practice of law and became a celebrated criminal lawyer. He became United States Senator in 1817; attorney-general of Kentucky (1827); secretary of the state of Kentucky in 1834; United States Senator in 1835 and was a zealous supporter of Henry Clay. President Harrison appointed him attorney-general in his cabinet, which position he retained through that administration and that of Fillmore. He succeeded Henry Clay in 1842. He opposed the annexation of Texas but supported the war with Mexico. In 1848 he was governor of Kentucky, and reëlected to the United States Senate in 1855, where he opposed the slavery policies of Pierce and Buchanan. In 1861, J. C. Breckenridge took his place in the Senate, but Crittenden was elected to the House of Representatives in that year. He supported Lincoln, opposed the negroes in the army and the formation of West Virginia as a separate state.

CROCKETT, DAVID.—Born at Limestone, Tenn., 1786; killed in Tex., 1836. A noted American pioneer and politician, was member of Congress from Tenn. (1827-31) and took part in the Texan War. He published his autobiography in 1834.

CUSHING, CALEB.—Born at Salisbury, Mass., 1800; died at Newburyport, Mass., 1879. He was a member of Congress from Mass. (1835-44), attorney-general of the U. S. (1853-57), counsel before the tribunal of arbitration in Geneva (1871-72), and minister to Spain (1874-77).

DALLAS, GEORGE MIFFLIN.—Born at Philadelphia, 1792; died there, 1864. He was U. S. Senator from Pa. (1831-33), minister to Russia (1837-40), Vice-president of the U. S. (1845-49), and minister to England (1856-61).

DAYTON, WILLIAM LEWIS.—Born at Baskingridge, N. J., 1807; died at Paris, France, 1864. He was associate judge of the supreme court of N. J., was Republican candidate for Vice-president in the first national campaign of that party, in 1856, on the ticket with John C. Fremont; was minister to France (1861-64).

DEARBORN, HENRY ALEXANDER SCAMMELL.—Born at Exeter, N. H., 1783; died at Roxbury, Mass., 1851. He became a state senator in 1830, and was elected to Congress in 1831; in 1835 he was appointed adjutant-general of Mass., but because he had furnished arms to R. I. during the Dorr Rebellion, he was removed in 1843. He wrote "Internal Improvements and Commerce of the West."

DEPOSITS, PUBLIC, REMOVAL OF.—President Jackson, in 1833, determined to discontinue the practice of depositing the public funds of the government in the Bank of the U. S., and to deposit them in state banks, while those already deposited in the Bank of the U. S. should be withdrawn as needed. William J. Duane, Secretary of the Treasury, was opposed to the removal of the funds, particularly before the meeting of Congress. The President therefore requested his resignation, which was given, and on the same day, Sept. 23, 1833, Roger B. Taney, the attorney-general, was appointed in his place. Taney promptly gave the desired orders. The Senate passed a resolution of censure of the President and rejected the nomination of Taney. The President, in a paper which he read before his Cabinet, gave his reasons for removing the government funds from the Bank of the U. S. Two or three years later, after a long and acrimonious debate, the resolution of censure was expunged.

DORR REBELLION, THE.—A revolutionary movement in R. I., that originated through dissatisfaction with the laws relating to the suf-

frage. In 1840, a party, calling itself the Suffrage party, was organized by T. W. Dorr. A mass meeting was held at Providence and authorized the calling of a constitutional convention which met Oct. 4, 1841. It drew up a new form of constitution which was submitted to the people, Dec. 27, of the same year and received a majority of the popular votes. A government was elected under the leadership of Dorr, Apr. 28, 1842, which, after making an unsuccessful attempt to seize the arsenal at Providence, was subsequently dispersed, June 25, 1842.

DORR, THOMAS WILSON.—(1805–1854.) He was a member of the assembly of R. I. (1833–37) and the leader of Dorr's Rebellion. Elected governor by the "Suffrage" party in 1842, he was convicted of high treason and sentenced to perpetual banishment in 1844, but subsequently was released and restored to his civil rights, under an amnesty act (1847).

DOUGHFACE.—A term first applied by John Randolph, of Va., to northern congressmen who supported the Missouri Compromise of 1820. It was intended to apply to those who were easily influenced by personal or unworthy motives to forsake their principles. It was generally applied to northern people who favored slavery, but was also sometimes used to stigmatize those southern citizens who opposed the prevailing sentiment of their section on the slavery question.

DOUGLAS, STEPHEN ARNOLD.—(1813–1861.) A statesman and politician. While young he learned the trade of a cabinet-maker but afterward studied law. In 1841 he was elected a judge of the supreme court of Ill.; was a member of Congress from Ill. (1843–47) and U. S. Senator (1847–61). He originated the doctrine of popular or "squatter" sovereignty in relation to slavery in the territories, and reported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854. In 1860 he was unsuccessful as the candidate of the Democratic party for the presidency. Mr. Douglas was short of stature and was popularly known as the "Little Giant," so called for his power of mind.

DRED SCOTT CASE.—A celebrated Supreme Court case, decided in 1857, important from its bearing on the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave, and, upon being taken into territory covered by the Missouri Compromise, sued for his freedom. He was then sold to a citizen of another state, and transferred his suit from the state to the Federal court, under the power given to the latter to try suits between citizens of different states. The case went on appeal to the Supreme Court of the U. S. Chief-Justice Taney, for the court, delivered an exhaustive opinion, holding that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and void; that one of

the constitutional functions of Congress was the protection of property; that slaves were recognized by the Constitution as property, and that Congress was therefore bound to protect slavery in the territories. Scott was put out of court on the ground that he was still a slave, and being such could not be a citizen of the U. S., or have any standing in the Federal Court. Associate-Justices Curtis and McLean filed dissenting opinions. The decision aroused great excitement throughout the country, particularly in the North, and did much to increase and intensify the fast growing anti-slavery sentiment in that section.

DUANE, WILLIAM JOHN.—(1780–1865.) Secretary of the Treasury under President Jackson, in 1833, but was dismissed for refusing to remove the government deposits from the U. S. Bank without authority from Congress.

EARLE, THOMAS.—Born at Leicester, Mass., 1796; died at Philadelphia, Pa., 1849. He practised as a lawyer in Philadelphia many years and was an influential member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1837; was the vice-presidential candidate of the Liberal party in 1840.

ELLSWORTH, WILLIAM WOLCOTT.—Born at Windsor, Conn., 1791; died at Hartford, Conn., 1868. Son of Oliver Ellsworth, and governor of Conn. (1838–42).

ENGLAND, JOHN.—Born in Ireland, 1786; died at Charleston, S. C., 1842. He was the first appointed Roman Catholic bishop of Charleston, 1820.

ERA OF GOOD FEELING.—The period from 1817 to about 1824 in U. S. history, so called on account of the absence of strong party feeling which then prevailed.

EXPUNGING RESOLUTIONS.—March 28, 1834, the Senate passed a resolution censuring President Jackson and declaring that in removing the Federal deposits from the Bank of the U. S., he had assumed authority not conferred by the Constitution and the laws. Through the efforts of Senator Benton, of Mo., an "expunging resolution" was passed, Jan. 16, 1837. A black line was drawn around the resolution of censure in the Journal, and across it was written "Expunged by order of the Senate, this 16th day of January, 1837." The expunging resolution was strenuously opposed by Webster, Clay, and Calhoun.

FENIANS.—A semi-military organization of Irish-Americans and Irish revolutionists pledged to the liberation of Ireland from British rule, and the establishment of an Irish Republic.

The Fenian Brotherhood was founded in New York in 1857, and one of its charter members was Michael Corcoran, who was later, during the Civil War, a brig.-gen. in the U. S. army, and died in the service.

Coeval with the Fenians and with much the same object, was the Phoenix Society, whose head, James Stephens, when in the U. S. in 1858, reported that in Ireland alone it had an enrolled and disciplined membership of 35,000. John O'Mahony was the first president of the American order, which in 1863 had a national congress in Chicago, at which the claim was made that of the 15,000 men on its rolls, half were then in the Union army.

After declaring Ireland an independent nation, and James Stephens its head, the Congress adjourned to meet at Cincinnati in Jan., 1865. By this time the "circles," as the Fenian subdivisions were called, had increased fivefold.

The Congress that met in New York in Jan., 1866, planned, and with Gen. Thomas W. Sweeny, formerly of the U. S. army, as executive officer, conducted an abortive invasion of Canada. The U. S. authorities, informed of the details of the plot, seized about 3,000 stand of arms that had been collected at Eastport, Me., Rouses Point, N. Y., and St. Albans, Vt.

Notwithstanding the loss of these weapons, 1,200 Fenians, commanded by Col. O'Neill, May 31, 1866, crossed the Niagara at Buffalo, and took possession of Fort Erie, which they were obliged to evacuate two days afterward. On their way back to the U. S., they were intercepted by troops of the latter and were later released upon their promise to go to their homes.

Other invaders were caught on the Vt. border, and similarly dealt with. The government instructed Gen. Meade to keep vigilant watch on the Canadian boundary, and President Johnson, in a proclamation, warned the citizens of the U. S. against participating in the raids.

Almost simultaneously with the so-called invasion of Canada, outbreaks in Ireland occurred. In the U. S., the aggressive movements of the Fenians were soon paralyzed by the arrest of their leaders.

A second attempt to invade Canada was even less successful than the first. In 1867, the Fenian riots in Ireland resulted in imprisonments and executions. The Fenian organization, as such, no longer exists in the U. S.

FIELD CODES.—A series of codes embodying all the general laws of the state of N. Y., which were prepared by a commission appointed in N. Y. (1857), under the presidency of David Dudley Field. Among the chief reforms outlined were the substitution of a

single procedure in place of the technical forms and distinctions of common-law actions and equity suits, and the admission of parties and interested persons to testify as witnesses.

"FIFTY-FOUR FORTY OR FIGHT."—An alliterative campaign cry raised by the Democrats in the national election of 1844. Between the parallels 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$ north lay what is now Ore., claimed both by Great Britain and by the U. S. Many American settlements had already been made in the territory and Americans had surveyed as far north as 49° . English fur traders had passed below 49° , and in 1846, by a treaty between the two countries, that parallel was agreed upon as the boundary. In the meantime, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight," had served its political campaign purpose, as Mr. Polk had been elected President.

FILIBUSTER.—From the Spanish word *filibustero*, which means free-booter or buccaneer, and was originally applied to the adventurers who plundered the coast settlements of North America in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was revived about the middle of the last century, when Narciso Lopez, a Venezuclean, who had been identified with the revolutionary element in that country, landed at Cardenas, Cuba, May 19, 1850, with an expedition of 600 men, capturing the town which he soon evacuated to return to New Orleans. Here he organized another expedition and accompanied by Col. William L. Crittenden, of Ky., disembarked at Bahia, Hondo, west of Havana, Aug. 3, 1851. Leaving 130 men at this point, he marched to Laz Pozas, with more than 300 followers. He appealed to the inhabitants to rise in revolt, but they did not respond, and on Aug. 28, he was obliged to surrender to the Spaniards. Convicted of high treason, as he had once served in the Spanish army, Lopez was garroted three days after his capture. Col. Crittenden tried to make his way back to New Orleans, but was intercepted and, with 50 others, was shot. Gen. William Walker, who invaded Sonora, Mexico, in 1853, was more successful than Lopez, as in 1855, he procured his election as president of Nicaragua. The U. S., of which he was a citizen, soon compelled him to retire from this office and surrender with his forces; but he was not otherwise punished. In 1857, the U. S. frustrated a second Walker expedition to Nicaragua. In 1860, Walker with a force of followers, landed in Honduras, but was captured, and on the order of the president of that country, was shot.

MILLARD FILLMORE

Who filled a vacant chair at the White House.

MILLARD FILLMORE, who, by the death of Zachary Taylor, July 9, 1850, became thirteenth President of the United States, was born in Cayuga County, New York, February 7, 1800. He was descended from a good English family, which had been for some generations settled in America, but at the time of his birth the Fillmore fortunes were at a low ebb. His father, Nathaniel Fillmore, had lost a considerable portion of his property, and had taken up his residence on an unimproved farm. Then began a combat with nature for the bare necessities of life, and the boy grew up to take a full share in the fight.

In his boyhood, Millard worked nine months of the year on the farm and in the clearing; the remaining three months he spent attending such schools as the place afforded. Education was a difficult fruit to pluck in those days. His father and mother taught him the rudiments of learning, but the Fillmore library consisted of but two books, a Bible and a hymn book. With the exception of a dictionary, which he acquired when he was fourteen years old, not another book of consequence came under his eye until he was a youth of nineteen. Shakespeare, history, and all the vast realm of literature, were unknown to him. Not even a map of the United States did he see until that time. And it was this man who afterward became remarkable for his love and reverent appreciation of all that was best in books.

Nathaniel Fillmore's meager success in farming caused him to cast about for a more promising occupation for his son. Too poor to fit him for a profession, he sent him, when fourteen years of age, to learn the trade of carding wool and dressing cloth. Millard was apprenticed for a term of years, but an unjust master caused him to suffer so greatly that one day the young apprentice, having had a bitter quarrel with his master, packed his little belongings in a bundle and started to walk to his father's home, through one hundred miles of primeval forest. Later he resumed his trade, and it was at this time that he bought his dictionary, which he propped open before him and studied as he worked.



At nineteen he formed a determination to study law. With a promissory note for thirty dollars, and agreeing to forego the wages of his last year, he bought the balance of his "bound" time from his employer and then gave his services to a lawyer in exchange for board and such knowledge as he could pick up. In the evenings he taught school to earn money for books and other necessities. In 1823 he was admitted to the bar and began practice at Aurora, whither his father had moved. In 1829 he was admitted as a counselor in the Supreme Court. In 1830, with a view to enlarge his sphere, he moved to Buffalo, and there founded the famous firm of Fillmore, Hall and Haven.

At the formation of the Whig party, Fillmore allied himself with the movement; with its extinction he, too, went out of politics. In 1828 he was elected, from Erie County, to the legislature of New York, and served for three years. There he laid the foundation of a reputation for ability, integrity and conscientious discharge of public duties, which remained with him throughout his political career. The act abolishing imprisonment for debt was drafted by him, and it was to his strenuous advocacy that the passage of so just and humane an act was due.

In 1832 Fillmore was elected to Congress. He did not return in 1834, but in 1836 he was again elected and continued to sit until 1842, when he declined a renomination. During his service in Congress, he favored the abolition of the slave trade between states, and of slavery in the District of Columbia, and was the author of the tariff of 1842. In 1847 he was elected comptroller of the state of New York. The following year the Whig party made him its candidate for Vice-president, on the ticket with Zachary Taylor. He was elected, and was inaugurated on March 4, 1849. As president of the Senate during his official term, he was conspicuously successful. His moderation, his wisdom, his judgment and his absolute impartiality won admiration from all sides. His accession to the presidential chair was marked by an absence of all pomp and ceremony. It was his wish, owing to the sad circumstance of President Taylor's death, to have the oath administered in the simplest manner, with only the bare legal and formal requirements.

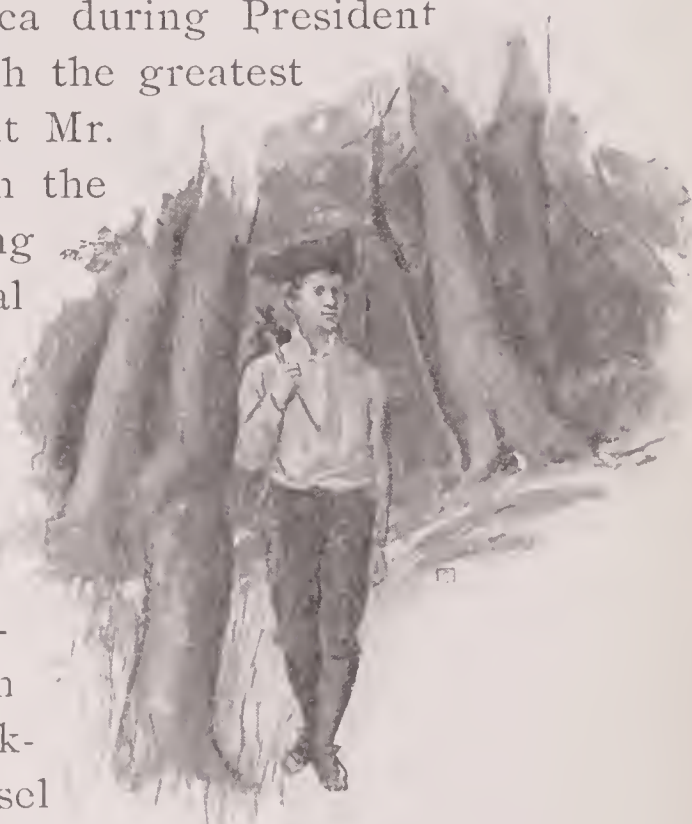
More brilliant men, and men of greater parts, than Millard Fillmore have filled the post of chief magistrate of this nation, but there has been none who administered the office with greater tact and moderation, or displayed a greater zeal, fidelity and earnestness in the discharge of public duties. He was in the peculiar position of a President with a majority hostile to his party, in both branches of Congress. As a result, many measures, the enactment of which he

desired, were rejected, and many of which he did not wholly approve, were presented to him for ratification. Thus he felt it to be his duty to the majority, and to his oath of office, to sign the fugitive slave act, at the cost of becoming unpopular with his own party.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, his administration was marked by progress and had much that was good to distinguish it. Perry's expedition, which resulted in a treaty, sailed for Japan in 1852. To Fillmore we are indebted for the abolition of flogging in the navy, and for many post-office reforms, including cheap postage. Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, visited America during President Fillmore's term, and was everywhere greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. He was received in Washington, but Mr. Fillmore frankly told him of the neutral position the United States was compelled to maintain. During Mr. Fillmore's term the extension of the National Capitol was begun.

The numerous filibustering expeditions to Cuba at this time gave serious concern to the authorities at Washington, and the President strove vigorously to suppress them. In his attempt to do so, he ordered a war ship to North Carolina, where at the governor of that state sent to Washington an angry note resenting the interference and asking by what right the President had sent a vessel of war to the coast of North Carolina. Fillmore replied by saying that he did so by his right as President and because he was, by the Constitution, commander of the army and navy of the United States.

When his term of office expired, Mr. Fillmore returned to his home at Buffalo, New York, and resumed his law practice. In 1855 he was the candidate of the American party for President, but was not elected. He sailed for Europe and made a tour of the principal countries. On his return to America, he practically held aloof from politics. He busied himself with books and historical research and became president of the Buffalo Historical Society. On March 8, 1874, a few days after the death of his lifelong friend and partner, Judge Hall, he died, and the two were buried side by side, in Forest Lawn Cemetery.



FISCAL BANK OF UNITED STATES.—The Whig majority in Congress, after the repeal of the sub-treasury act in 1841, passed a bill chartering the Fiscal Bank of the U. S. President Tyler vetoed the bill, as well as a measure to establish the fiscal corporation of the U. S., which it was supposed he would favor.

FOOTE'S RESOLUTION.—(Dec. 29, 1829.) A resolution introduced into the U. S. Senate by Senator S. A. Foote, relative to the sale of public lands. It gave rise to the famous debate between Webster and Hayne, 1830.

FORCE BILL.—This name has been given to various bills introduced in Congress. The "Force bill" or "Bloody bill" of 1833 was enacted for the purpose of enforcing the tariff act of 1828, the execution of which S. C. had attempted to prevent by the Nullification Act. The two bills passed in 1870 and 1871, to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and protect negroes in the South in the exercise of the suffrage, were known as "Force bills." The term was also applied to the similar bill introduced in the House by Mr. Lodge, of Mass., in the 51st Congress, "to amend and supplement the election laws of the U. S. and to provide for their more efficient enforcement." This bill passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate. (See CALHOUN, JOHN CALDWELL, 28.)

FORT BROWN (Tex.) ATTACK.—The annexation of Texas, it was believed in Washington, would precipitate war with Mexico, and to provide for this contingency the government sent all of its available troops to the frontier. In Nov., 1845, Gen. Zachary Taylor had concentrated 4,000 men at Corpus Christi on the Nueces, with whom on Mar. 25, 1846, he occupied Point Isabel on the Gulf of Mexico. In April he led his army up the Rio Grande and camped opposite Matamoros, then held by Mexican troops under Gen. Arista. Here the Americans under the direction of Maj. Brown erected a fort to which they gave his name. Taylor's supplies were still at Point Isabel and when he learned that the Mexicans intended to destroy or capture these he fell back, May 1, to protect them. Two days later, when the Mexicans heard of his departure, they began a bombardment of Fort Brown, which lasted for a week. Maj. Brown, who was killed with Captains Hawkins and Mansfield, made a splendid and successful defense. Sergt. Weigert also fell and 13 privates were wounded.

FRANKLIN, Sir JOHN.—(1786-1847.) An Arctic explorer, who made exploring journeys in 1818; 1819-22; 1825-27; and 1845, from which latter he never returned. Thirty-nine relief expeditions were sent out from England and America in search of him and his party. From papers found it was learned that Franklin died June 11, 1847.

The farthest point reached by him was within 12 miles of the northern extremity of King William's Land.

FREE BANKING SYSTEM.—Apr. 11, 1838, 'the N. Y. legislature passed the free bank act, under the provisions of which any person or persons might establish a bank by depositing stocks, bonds, or mortgages as security for its circulating notes. This law was afterward amended, requiring at least half of the securities to be N. Y. state stocks. Previous to the passage of the free banking law of N. Y., charters were granted by special act of the legislature of various states, and their circulating medium was often far in excess of their capital. This caused heavy losses to note-holders. The action of the N. Y. legislature was followed by similar legislation in many other states and was made the basis of the national banking act of 1863.

FREE NEGROES.—The first census taken in the U. S. showed nearly 60,000 free colored population. Of this number about half were in the southern states. The fact that they were considered a dangerous element led to a movement for colonizing them in Liberia, and they were put under certain disabilities, especially in the southern states. By the Dred Scott decision it was held that they were not and could not be citizens. Political rights equal with those of the whites were conferred by constitutional amendments after the war.

FREE SHIPS, FREE GOODS.—The Declaration of Paris, 1856, holds that "neutral goods in an enemy's ships and an enemy's goods in neutral ships, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture." As the U. S. refused to surrender the privilege of privateering, it could not subscribe to this declaration of the leading nations. The U. S. Government has always held to the doctrine that in time of war all goods, whether belonging to neutrals or to belligerents, are, if carried in neutral vessels, thereby exempted from capture unless they are by nature contraband of war. During the war between England and France (1793-1815), the U. S. contended for the recognition of this principle. England, on the other hand, always maintained that the ownership of the property itself should determine the question of seizure. This was a contributory cause of the War of 1812. The Treaty of Ghent did not settle the question. The motive for privateering, which once existed, has been obviated by the addition of numerous fast cruisers to the navy.

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT

The "Pathfinder" through the region beyond the "Rockies."

"THE PATHFINDER" is the fanciful and romantic sobriquet which has been appropriately given to John C. Fremont, whose career was one of the most interesting and picturesque in the long line of those who are identified with the exploration of our country and the development and growth of its civilization. No other man did as much as Fremont to secure to the United States the great domain west of the Rocky Mountains, whose fertility and mineral resources have contributed so bountifully to the prosperity and wealth of the nation. Five times during the decade between 1840 and 1850, Fremont plunged into the trackless wilderness, with only the sun, the stars and his compass to direct his course, and gave to the world the geography of plain and mountain and lake and river, which before had been a sealed book. Study of Fremont's life and of his services for his country, his persevering effort, patient endurance and intrepid zeal, kindles the warmest admiration. We think of him, not in his later years, but as he made his toilsome way through those wild solitudes, which had been trodden only by feet of savages.



Fremont was born at Savannah, Georgia, in 1813. His father was a French immigrant, of a Huguenot family. John was left an orphan at the age of four, but he was well reared by friends and was given a good education. At the early age of fifteen he was able to enter the junior class at Charleston College, and for a time he was successful in his studies to a marked degree, particularly in mathematics. But he appears to have been peculiarly susceptible to the tender passion, and one of his biographers naïvely says that he made excellent progress at college until there came across his pathway "a beautiful West Indian girl, whose raven hair and soft black eyes interfered sadly with his studies." Although this statement may excite sympathetic emotions, it is painful to learn that young Fremont was so completely made captive that he was expelled from college on account of his absence and inattention. But he had acquired such

a reputation as a mathematician that he had no difficulty in securing a position as instructor on the U. S. sloop of war "Natchez." After a two years' cruise on the South American coast, he returned to Charleston. He had carried himself so well that the college authorities repented his expulsion, and he was duly graduated, with the degree of Master of Arts.

On the recommendation of the officers of the "Natchez," Fremont was sent with a government expedition to survey portions of the Mississippi Valley. He had turned his attention to engineering and had especial qualifications for this work. He proved to be singularly efficient, and his services elicited the highest commendation. He was ordered to Washington, where for two or three years he was engaged in making maps of the region which had been visited by the expedition. In the meantime, Fremont had been made a lieutenant of engineers in the United States army. The flame of ambition was kindled within him, and in 1858, when but twenty-five years old, he proposed to the War Department to penetrate the unknown wilderness west of the Rocky Mountains and explore that mysterious region.

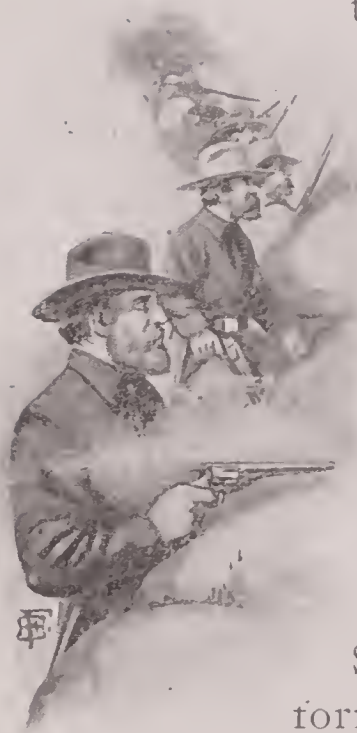
While this enterprise was under consideration by the authorities, Lieutenant Fremont, during his stay in Washington, had become again ensnared in the bonds of a lover's knot. The "West Indian maiden" seems to have disappeared from his life, but he lost his heart to Jessie Benton, a daughter of Thomas H. Benton, for thirty years a United States Senator from Missouri, and in the forefront among the statesmen of his day. At this time Jessie was but fifteen years of age, although her mind and character were developed beyond her years. Her parents looked with favor upon the young lieutenant, who gave bright promise of a useful career, and they sought only to restrain the ardor of the lovers and delay the marriage, on account of their daughter's youth. Senator Benton was a man of commanding influence, and so it was that there came, without a moment's warning, an order for Fremont to take command of an expedition to survey the Des Moines River, in Iowa. It is not likely that there was any pressing need for a survey of this stream, but it was important to the Benton household that the lovers should be separated for a time, and the Senator induced the government to become a co-conspirator in the scheme. Fremont promptly obeyed his orders, did the work with which he had been charged in a wonderfully short time, and within a few months was back in Washington. The lieutenant and his fiancée were not dull of comprehension: They perfectly understood why the order had been issued which had torn them asunder for a time, and they showed their

spirit by an elopement and a clandestine marriage. When they found that they had been outwitted, Colonel and Mrs. Benton gracefully surrendered and gave to their son-in-law a cordial welcome into the family circle. The circumstances of this courtship and marriage were known all over the country, and the pretty romance of Fremont and Jessie was read and told from Maine to the Mississippi. Mrs. Fremont developed into a woman of extraordinary force of character, yet tender and womanly, and few women have attracted to themselves so large and devoted a circle of friends. She was a fitting companion and helpmeet for her husband, during his years of privation and trial, sustaining him at all times and under all circumstances, with the purest and highest wifely loyalty. The name of Jessie Benton Fremont, clothed with its drapery of romance, has been enshrined in song and story.

Official approval was given to Fremont's proposition to explore the Western country, and in 1842 he set forth upon his first expedition. This was followed by four others in succeeding years. The story of these need not be told in detail. He penetrated the mountain passes and the great region that lay beyond. He first gave to the world the chart of Great Salt Lake, in the state of Utah. He extended his explorations to the far-off territory which now comprises the state of Oregon. He opened the door to California and, indeed, to the empire that lies between the mountains and the sea, and extends from south to north a distance of twelve hundred miles. He fixed the geography of the far West. During these campaigns in the wilderness he experienced the most severe hardships and privations. More than once he and his men were compelled to live for days upon horse meat, and at one time no food of any kind was taken for forty-eight hours.

It was Fremont's expedition in 1845 that gave California to the United States. At that time the territory belonged to Mexico, and the government of that country was negotiating for its sale to Great Britain. It was rumored that General de Castro, commanding the Mexican army, had planned the destruction of the American settlements on the Sacramento River. Indeed, when Fremont arrived in Cali-

fornia he found that De Castro was already on the march with a strong force, evidently bent on mischief. The settlers in the Sacramento Valley flew to arms and joined themselves to Fremont. The latter acted with great energy, and in June, 1846, captured the Mexican post at Sonoma Pass, with nine cannon and two hundred and fifty small arms. A month later he engaged De Castro and completely routed him. The settlers declared themselves independent



of Mexico and elected Fremont governor of the province. Meanwhile the government at Washington had acted promptly. War with Mexico had just been declared, and a naval force under Commodore Stockton had arrived at Monterey, with authority to "conquer California." This had already been virtually accomplished by Fremont, who at once attached his forces to those of Stockton. The latter, by virtue of his rank, assumed command. About the same time General Philip Kearny arrived with a force of soldiers, which it was intended should coöperate with Stockton. In rank, Fremont was several grades inferior to either Stockton or Kearny. He felt, however, that he had been a large factor in the conquest of California—for which he may well be pardoned—and was disposed to assume more authority than could be justified by the regulations of the army and the navy. The result was a serious clash between him and the officers named. Fremont was high spirited, and was no doubt indiscreet in some of his words and actions. Charges of insubordination were preferred against him and he was placed in arrest and ordered to Washington. He was tried by a court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from service. President Polk approved the finding of the court, but disapproved the penalty. He appreciated the great services Fremont had rendered the country, and offered to remit the punishment and to restore Fremont to his rank. The latter, however, insisted that he had been guilty of nothing to deserve the punishment and declined to accept the proffered clemency of the executive, because his acceptance would be a virtual confession of guilt.

Stung by the disgrace of his dismissal from the army, Fremont at once entered upon another exploring expedition. The government, anxious to repair in some measure the virtual wrong that had been done him, gave him its full support and assistance. He was equipped with men and supplies and fully carried out the enterprise which he proposed—to survey a road from the Mississippi River to San Francisco. He pierced the hitherto unknown country of the Apaches, defeated the savages in battle, and in one hundred days after leaving Santa Fé he reached the Sacramento River. This achievement added much to his fame, and in no small degree counteracted the odium that had been cast upon him by the court-martial proceedings. In the opinion of the people at large, however, Fremont had been greatly wronged. Their admiration for the "Pathfinder" was boundless, and they had little patience with the army "red tape" which had entangled him in its coils. When on his way from California to Washington, while under arrest, he had made a brief stop at St. Louis and had been received with great popular



acclaim. A public dinner was tendered him, but he declined the honor, because of the cloud that then rested upon him.

Fremont had determined to make his home in California, and thither he now went with his family. He had entered a claim for a large tract of land in what is now Mariposa County, southeast of San Francisco. He had much difficulty in establishing his title, but it was finally confirmed by the United States Supreme Court. When California was admitted as a state, he was unanimously elected by the Legislature as one of the first United States Senators, and took his seat in 1850. His service in that body was brief, as in the drawing of lots the short term had fallen to him. Although he had never been active in politics, he had clearly defined his position on the slavery question, which was already overshadowing all others. He had declared himself unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery beyond its then existing boundaries. At the first national convention of the Republican party, in 1856, the recognized leaders of the movement were chary of the presidential nomination. They did not believe the party would be successful in its first campaign and they wished to avoid the humiliation of defeat. Fremont was a popular idol and the choice fell upon him. He accepted the nomination and entered the contest with the same energy that had marked his Western enterprises. He was not elected, but he received over thirteen hundred thousand votes of the people, and one hundred and fourteen votes in the electoral college. James Buchanan was elected President.

Fremont lived quietly at his home in California until 1861, when the Civil War brought him again into the service of his country. His previous military standing and his long experience in commanding men gave him immediate prominence. Very soon after the outbreak of hostilities, he was commissioned a major-general and was assigned to the command of the Department of Missouri, with headquarters at St. Louis. His administration of affairs, military and civil, was not satisfactory to the authorities at Washington, and quickly incurred their displeasure. Imperious and strong-willed, he "took the bit in his teeth," to use a homely phrase, and was a law unto himself. He gave his own interpretation to his orders, and this, in some cases, amounted to absolute nullification. He often exceeded his authority in matters which were not properly within his control—notably in a proclamation which he issued as early as August 31, 1861, declaring his purpose to set free the slaves of all those within the limits of his department who were in arms against the United States or who gave "aid and comfort" to the rebellion. This utterance evoked a tempest of applause from the Abolitionists of the North, but it proved his undoing,

for the President lost no time in annulling the proclamation, and soon thereafter he relieved General Fremont of his command. It cannot be doubted that at this time Mr. Lincoln foresaw that if the war continued, the emancipation of the slaves would be decided upon as a military necessity, but in his judgment the time had not yet come. Furthermore, such a question was not within the jurisdiction of a subordinate, but must be decided by the President, himself. But to the day of his death, Fremont was proud of the fact that, although in advance of his time, he had been the first to proclaim freedom to the slave.

The administration never regained its confidence in Fremont. In the spring of 1862, he had a subordinate command in the Shenandoah Valley, and in conjunction with General Banks conducted a series of operations against "Stonewall" Jackson, with but indifferent success. He did no more important field service and resigned his commission in 1864. That year he permitted himself to be nominated for President by a radical faction, in opposition to Mr. Lincoln, but he withdrew his candidacy before the election.

Fremont repaired to his home in California, where he passed the remainder of his life in retirement. In 1890, when he was seventy-seven years of age, Congress placed him on the retired list of the army, with the rank of major-general, in recognition of his great services to the country half a century before. A few months later, July 13, 1890, he died while visiting friends in New York City. His wife, devoted and faithful to the last, survived him.

FREE-SOILERS.—An anti-slavery political party that came into existence in 1848. It was composed of the Liberty party, the "Barnburner" Democrats of New York, and a number of northern Whigs who favored the Wilmot Proviso to the appropriation bill to conclude the treaty of peace with Mexico. Wilmot's amendment provided that there should be no slavery in the territory acquired under the appropriation. It passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate. In the next session it failed to pass either house. Resolutions of the same import as the Wilmot Proviso were introduced in the Whig and Democratic conventions of 1846, but were rejected. Upon this many prominent men of N. Y., Mass., and Ohio withdrew and formed the Free-Soil party. At Buffalo, in 1848, they nominated Martin Van Buren of N. Y., and Charles Francis Adams of Mass., for President and Vice-president. These candidates received no electoral votes, and only 291,000 popular votes. At Pittsburg, in 1852, they nominated John P. Hale of N. H., and George W. Julian of Ind., but their vote only reached 156,000. In 1856 the Free-Soilers joined the Republican party.

GADSDEN PURCHASE.—The treaty, concluded Dec. 30, 1853, through which the United States obtained from Mexico 45,000 square miles of land which is now included in southern Arizona and New Mexico. The negotiations were conducted by James Gadsden, the United States minister to Mexico, and the price paid was \$10,000,000.

GAG RULE.—May 26, 1836, Congress passed a resolution providing that thenceforth all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way to the subject of slavery, should be laid upon the table without being read, printed, or referred. John Quincy Adams led a strong and bitter opposition to this infringement upon the right of petition. The cry of "gag rule" was raised in the North and served to increase the exercise of the right of petition in that section. December 3, 1844, the rule was abolished.

GOODYEAR, CHARLES.—(1800–1860.) A noted American manufacturer of India rubber goods. After years of experimenting he discovered the process of vulcanization for which he took out his patent in 1844.

GRAHAM, SYLVESTER.—Born at Suffield, Conn., 1794; died at Northampton, Mass., 1851. An American vegetarian, best known as the advocate of the use of Graham flour.

GRAHAM, WILLIAM ALEXANDER.—Born in N. C., 1804; died at Saratoga, N. Y., 1875. He became U. S. senator from N. C. in 1841, governor of N. C. in 1845, Secretary of the Navy in 1850, and Whig candidate for Vice-president in 1852.

GRANGER, FRANCIS.—Born at Suffield, Conn., 1792; died at Canandaigua, N. Y., 1868. He was the son of Gideon Granger and postmaster-general in 1841.

GRANGER, GIDEON.—Born at Suffield, Conn., 1767; died at Canandaigua, N. Y., 1822; was postmaster-general (1801–14).

GRINNELL, HENRY.—An American merchant, born in 1799 and died in 1874, who fitted out at his own expense, in 1850, an expedition sent in search of Sir John Franklin, the lost Arctic explorer. The two vessels of the expedition were under the command of Lieut. De Haven; but neither this expedition, nor one subsequently sent out under Dr. E. K. Kane, and also fitted out by Mr. Grinnell and Mr. George Peabody, was successful. In the earlier voyage, land was reached as far north as lat. 80°, which has since been known to geographers as "Grinnell Land." Mr. Grinnell also contributed to the expedition of Dr. Hayes and to Hall's "Polaris" expedition of 1871. The Franklin expedition sailed from England in 1845, and was last spoken off the entrance to Lancaster Sound in July of that year. Of the 39 relief expeditions sent out from England and America in search of Frank-

lin, in the ten years between 1847-57, only one, that of Capt. McClintock, found traces of the missing explorers, and learned from an entry in the journal of one of the party that Franklin had died in June, 1847, having penetrated near to the northern extremity of King William's Land.

GURLEY, RALPH RANDOLPH.—Born at Lebanon, Conn., 1797; died at Washington, D. C., 1872. He was agent after 1822 of the American Colonization Society.

GUTHRIE, JAMES.—Born near Bardstown, Ky., 1792; died at Louisville, Ky., 1869. He was Secretary of the Treasury (1853-57).

HALE, JOHN PARKER.—(1806-1873.) An eminent American statesman.

HARPER'S FERRY.—A town at the extreme northeastern point of West Va., at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers—of small commercial importance, but of much historic interest. It was the scene of John Brown's "raid," in Oct., 1859, for the purpose of inciting a servile insurrection. It was the site of a large U. S. arsenal and manufactory of arms and ammunition. Immediately upon the breaking out of the Civil War, the governor of Va. sent Col. Thomas J. Jackson—afterward "Stonewall"—with a force of militia to seize the arsenal, Apr. 18, 1861. At his approach the commandant withdrew his small force and set fire to the works. Jackson's men extinguished the flames and saved most of the arms and machinery, and these were at once removed to safe points in the South, for the use of the Confederate government. Harper's Ferry was soon occupied by a strong Federal force and was the base of military operations in the Shenandoah Valley. In Sept., 1862, just before the battle of Antietam, the place was captured, with nearly 12,000 prisoners, by "Stonewall" Jackson. It was held by the Confederates but a short time. Lee retreated to Va. after his brief campaign in Md., and Harper's Ferry again passed into the hands of the Federals. It continued during the war to be a point of great strategic importance.

It is picturesquely located at the bottom of a great funnel formed by the high hills which surround it—Maryland Heights on the north, Loudoun Heights on the south, and Bolivar Heights on the west—and is a popular summer resort. Pop. (1900), 896; 62 less than in 1890.

HARRY OF THE WEST.—A popular name given to Henry Clay by his political and personal friends.

HAYES, ISAAC ISRAEL.—(1832-1881.) A distinguished Arctic explorer. In 1853 he accompanied E. K. Kane as surgeon to the second Grinnell expedition. In 1860 he commanded an expedition whose object was the discovery of the open polar sea.

HELDERBERG WAR.—Demonstrations made at various times between 1839 and 1845, by the Anti-renters of Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia, Green, Delaware, Schoharie, and Otsego Counties, N. Y., and the efforts of the state government to suppress them. Large tracts of land in these counties had been granted by the government of Holland to the early Dutch settlers or patroons. The patroons sublet the land in perpetuity to tenants, who agreed to pay the rent in produce. On the death of Stephen Van Rensselaer, in 1839, his tenants, who had long been dissatisfied, refused to pay rent to his successor. Men disguised as Indians terrorized the region. A sheriff and posse who attempted to collect the rents, were outnumbered, and their efforts proved futile. In 1844 there was again armed opposition to the payment of rent. In 1845 an officer named Steele was shot while trying to collect rent in Delaware Co. Gov. Wright proclaimed the county in a state of insurrection. Two persons were convicted and sentenced to death for this murder, but they were afterward pardoned. The court of appeals, in 1852, rendered a decision, which in the main sustained the tenants and practically ended the movement.

HENDERSON, JAMES PINCKNEY.—Born in N. C., 1808; died at Washington, D. C., 1858. He was secretary of state of Tex. (1837-39). governor of Tex. (1846-47) and U. S. senator (1857-58).

HERNDON, WILLIAM LEWIS.—Born at Fredericksburg, Va., 1813; died, 1857. A naval officer. Along with Lieutenant Lardner Gibbon, he explored the Amazon River and its Peruvian tributaries, the results of which exploration were published by the U. S. Government as "Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon." Subsequently he became connected with the Panama mail S. S. Co. and perished in the wreck of the "Central America" which foundered in a cyclone.

HUNKERS.—A name applied to a faction of the Democratic party of N. Y., and later to the conservative element of that party in other states. The name came into use in 1844. The Hunkers in N. Y. opposed the Locofocos, the Barnburners, and the Radicals.

JOHNSON, HERSCHEL VESPASIAN.—(1812-1880.) He became U. S. senator from Ga. in 1848, governor of Ga. in 1853; Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency in 1860, and Confederate senator.

JOHNSON, RICHARD MENTOR.—(1780-1850.) He became member of Congress from Ky. (1807-19 and 1829-37), U. S. senator (1819-29). He was elected Democratic Vice-president in 1837, but was defeated in his candidature for the vice-presidency in 1840.

KANE, ELISHA KENT.—A physician, scientist, and Arctic explorer; born at Philadelphia, Pa., 1820; died at Havana, Cuba, 1857. He accompanied the first Grinnell expedition in search of Sir John Frank-

lin (1850-51); led the second Grinnell expedition (1853-55); wrote two volumes descriptive of his Arctic voyages.

KANSAS AID SOCIETY.—An organization formed in the northern states, in 1854, to promote the emigration of Free-state men to Kansas. Under the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, passed by Congress in May, 1854, the question of slavery in those territories was left to the will of the people, on the principle of local option, or "squatter sovereignty." An association, which had already been formed in Mass., began sending anti-slavery settlers into the territory to forestall its settlement by slaveholders. Similar societies were organized in N. Y. and Conn. Meantime slavery advocates from Mo. and Ark. passed over the border and preëmpted large tracts of fertile lands. For four years the conflict for supremacy raged between the two parties. The anti-slavery party finally prevailed and Kansas was admitted as a free state.

KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.—By the Missouri Compromise of 1820 slavery was prohibited in all territory lying north of lat. $36^{\circ} 30'$, with the exception of the state of Mo. By the Kansas-Nebraska Act, passed by Congress in 1854, Kan. and Neb. were separated and organized into two distinct territories, and the question of slavery was left to the people for settlement. As both these states lie north of the line above which slavery was prohibited by the Missouri Compromise, the passage of the bill abrogated that measure. The status of Neb. as a free state was soon determined, but the struggle in Kan. was long and bitter. It disrupted the Whig party and led to the establishment of the Republican party, and was an important link in the chain of events that brought on the Civil War. (See KANSAS.)

KEMPER, REUBEN.—Born at Va.; died in Miss., 1826. A soldier. He commanded in 1812 a force of Americans coöperating with the Mexican insurgents against Spain. In 1815 he served under Gen. Jackson, against the British at New Orleans.

KENT, JAMES.—Born at Philippi, N. Y., 1763; died in New York City, 1847. A noted jurist. He was chief-justice of the supreme court of N. Y., 1804-14; his principal work is "Commentaries on American Law."

KING, WILLIAM RUFUS.—Born at Sampson Co., N. C., 1786; died in Dallas Co., Ala., 1853. A noted statesman. He was member of Congress from N. C. (1811-16); U. S. senator from Ala. (1819-44); U. S. minister to France (1844-46); U. S. senator from Ala. (1846-53); was elected Democratic Vice-president in 1852, taking the oath of office at Havana in 1853.

KITCHEN CABINET.—A name applied to a group of intimate political friends of Andrew Jackson, who, it is charged, had more influence

over his official acts than his constitutional advisers. They were Gen. Duff Green, editor of the "United States Telegraph," published at Washington as an organ of the administration; Maj. William B. Lewis, of Nashville, Tenn., second auditor of the Treasury; Isaac Hill, editor of the "New Hampshire Patriot"; and Amos Kendall, of Ky., fourth auditor of the Treasury.

KNOW-NOTHINGS, or KNOW-NOTHING PARTY.—A name applied to an American party which advocated the control of the government by native citizens. Its members received the name of "Know-nothings" because from the time of the organization of the party in 1853 till 1855 it was a secret fraternity, and when questioned as to its objects or workings, its members professed to know nothing about it. The party was powerful for several years. In 1856 it nominated Millard Fillmore for the presidency. In 1855 a society called the "Know-somethings," was formed to oppose the "Know-nothings." Both disappeared in a few years and their adherents were merged into other parties.

KNOW-SOMETHINGS.—A short-lived political sect, organized in 1855 in opposition to the Know-nothings. (See KNOW-NOTHINGS.)

LANDS, SWAMP.—In 1849 and 1850 Congress passed resolutions granting large tracts of land to the various states for their disposal. Agents of the states selected such land as was unfit for cultivation, and title to the same was confirmed in the states by an act approved March 3, 1857. It was estimated at the time that such lands would not exceed 21,000,000 acres. Millions more were, however, listed as swamp lands, and this led to an investigation by which gross frauds were unearthed. Under various acts, lands were given to Ala., Ark., Cal., Fla., Ill., Ind., Iowa, La., Mich., Minn., Miss., Mo., Ohio, Ore., and Wis. Florida received the largest share—22,500,000 acres—and Ohio the least—117,000 acres.

LATIMER CASE.—The first of a series of fugitive slave trials which took place in Boston. George Latimer was seized in 1842, without a warrant, and was kept in custody of the city jailer awaiting evidence against him. A writ of *habeas corpus* was denied. A writ of personal replevin securing trial by jury was also denied, and in consequence of the indignation aroused by this case, the legislature in 1843 passed an act forbidding state officers to aid in the capture of fugitive slaves, and forbidding the use of state jails for their imprisonment. The penalty for violation of the law was a fine not exceeding \$1,000, or imprisonment not exceeding one year.

LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.—During the struggle in Kansas over the question of its admission as a free or a slave state, the pro-slavery

party held a convention at Lecompton, Sept. 5, 1857, and adopted a constitution sanctioning slavery and forbidding the enactment of emancipation laws. It was provided that the constitution as a whole should not be submitted to the people of the territory, the vote being taken only on the main question of a constitution with slavery or a constitution without slavery. Free state advocates refused to vote, and the constitution sanctioning slavery was adopted. Later, the territorial legislature ordered a vote on the constitution as a whole. The slave-state settlers abstained from voting and it failed of adoption.

Locofocos.—The radical faction of the Democratic party in New York in 1835-37. The equal rights faction was opposed to the granting of bank charters and special privileges to favorites of the government, and the Tammany men supported the administration. At a meeting held in Tammany Hall, N. Y., Oct. 29, 1835, the regular Tammany Democrats tried to gain control, but finding themselves outnumbered, they turned out the lights and left the hall. The equal rights men produced candles and lighted them with "Locofoco" matches and continued the meeting. The phrase, at first used in derision of this faction, was later adopted by the Democratic party as an emblem of promptitude in an emergency. The name was also applied sometimes to the party in derision by their opponents.

LOG CABIN AND HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN.—The presidential campaign of 1840, when William Henry Harrison was the candidate of the Whigs and the campaign cry was "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!" It was a time of extraordinary political excitement.

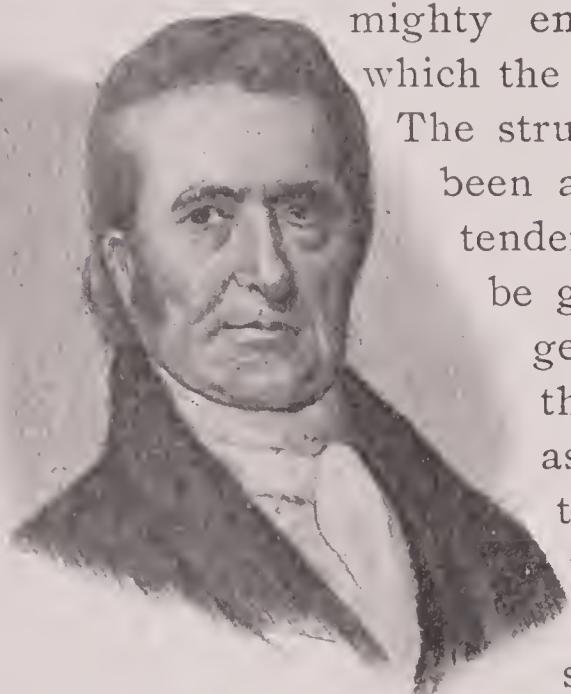
MAHAN, DENNIS HART.—(1802-1871.) A military engineer. He was professor of engineering at West Point from 1832 until his death, and was dean from 1838. He committed suicide by drowning while temporarily insane. His writings include "Treatise on Field Fortifications" and "Military Engineering."

MARIPHOSA ESTATE.—A large tract of land in Mariposa County, Cal., that was acquired by John C. Fremont soon after the conquest of that territory by the U. S. He had a long and celebrated litigation growing out of his possession, but his title was at length confirmed by the Supreme Court of the U. S.

"MARMION CASE."—The S. C. legislature in 1822 passed a law providing that any free negroes entering the ports of that state on ships could be imprisoned until the departure of the vessels. This was done in the case of negroes on board the "Marmion." The district court of the U. S. in 1823 decided that this law was contrary to the Constitution and incompatible with the international obligations of the U. S. The attorney-general rendered a similar opinion in 1824.

JOHN MARSHALL

A Virginia jurist who reached the pinnacle of fame.



"MARSHALL gives the reason and Story finds the law," was one way of describing the inner workings of the Supreme Court in the days of the great chief-justice. It conveys an idea of the process by which were framed those great decisions that not only put the yet insecure Constitution on a solid foundation, but made it a mighty engine for nationalizing the government under which the people of the United States had elected to live.

The struggle for any kind of efficient government had been a severe one, and the majority against separatist tendencies was discouragingly small. So much had to be given up by the friends of nationality in order to get anything, that the Constitution, as it came from the hands of its makers, was not inaptly described as "A quiver full of blunt arrows." One by one the arrows were pointed, as the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the new government became organized and began to operate, and state-rights men shuddered when the Federal Con-

gress passed laws to levy taxes for the payment of debts incurred by the states in the war of independence. This was carrying the taxing power too far, but when a national bank was chartered as a fiscal agent of the central government, to operate throughout the Union free of taxation or control by the states, the state-righters fairly shrieked.

It fell to Marshall, as case after case came before the Supreme Court, to ascertain and declare what the Federal Constitution was, and what were the powers of the national government under it. Both Constitution and government had received a severe blow from Madison, one of the chief constructors and expounders of the Constitution, when he averred that instrument to be a mere compact between the states, which were at liberty to treat as void any act of Congress they deemed contrary to or in excess of the Constitution. He had induced the legislature of his own state to declare void certain acts of Congress, with an invitation to the legislatures of other states to make the same declaration. Jefferson came to his assistance, but, happily for the Union, the states did not respond. As so many efforts have been made since the Civil War to exonerate Madison and Jefferson

from the primary responsibility for nullification and secession, it is well to remember that, according to their doctrine, no act of Congress could be surely valid until the states had decided not to nullify it. This was smiting the general government with paralysis, while leaving the state governments in full vigor. The preamble to the Constitution reads:—

“We, the people of the United States, . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution.”

When the Constitution came before Marshall for judicial interpretation, he brushed away Madison's and Jefferson's sophistry that the phrase “people of the United States” meant the people of each state united to the other states. The only people he saw in the instrument was the American people, whether Virginians or Pennsylvanians, citizens of Massachusetts or of Georgia. That the United States is a nation, and not a mere federation of states, we owe to Marshall; except for him they might have remained, as they were during the Revolution, a confederacy of sovereign states, devoid of national character or attributes. It was peculiarly fitting that Marshall should become the exponent of nationality. His father and himself had together left a secure and prosperous Virginia homestead to fight for national independence. In “ragged regimentals” they might both have been seen during that bitter winter at Valley Forge, and they shared their miseries with fellow Americans from all the thirteen colonies.

Two circumstances speak eloquently for Marshall. It has never been charged that he went beyond the fair boundaries of the question at issue in his great judicial expositions of the Constitution, and though Jefferson and his lieutenants, Madison and Monroe, were successively at the head of the government during twenty-four of the thirty-four years that Marshall presided in the Supreme Court, they accepted his expositions of the Constitution and acted upon them. These expositions have long been political axioms, and while the Constitution yet remains the subject of heated party controversy, every party begins its contention with the Constitution as Marshall expounded it. The severest contemporary criticism was upon his opinion affirming the power of Congress to charter a national bank, yet the condemnation went no further than that he might have decided the other way with equal reason. The criticism itself is his vindication. He was a nationalist, unquestionably, yet he denied to Congress the power to pass laws unwarranted by the Constitution, and he upheld the rights of the states within their ample spheres.

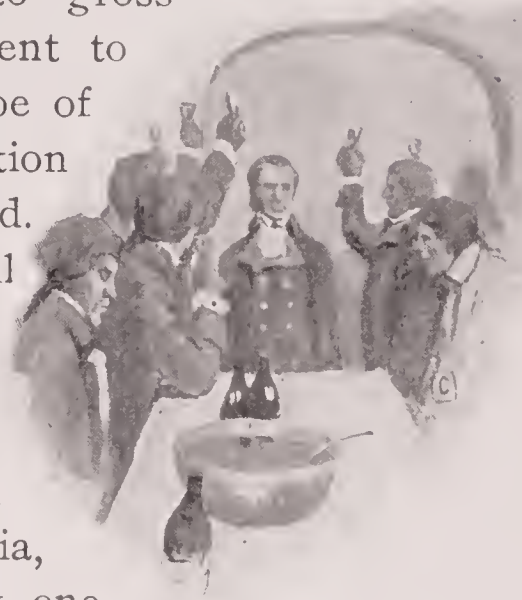
As a constitutional expounder, Marshall is chiefly interesting to ourselves. But during his first fourteen years on the bench, Europe was

convulsed by the Napoleonic wars, and the United States was convulsed by invasions of their neutral rights of commerce. This brought many cases before Marshall, the decision of which turned upon the law of nations. It is a matter of national pride to reflect that in the galaxy of international jurists, no name stands higher than his own. To say that it stands side by side with that of the illustrious Lord Mansfield, even in England, is almost to exhaust the vocabulary of praise. And if Europe, uninformed and unconcerned about our constitutional controversies, has rated Marshall so high among the world's great jurists, it is a fair presumption that his judgments concerning our constitutional position are equally sound.

The anecdotal history of our country affords many views of Marshall, but none more interesting than that in which he is described as leaning forward in his seat as chief-justice, the tears falling from his eyes, moved beyond control by Webster's pathetic appeal for his alma mater, Dartmouth College. "She is a small college," said the great advocate in tones whose lightest words thrilled his auditors, "but I love her!" The words struck a responsive chord in the breast of Marshall, for, as Story said of him, his greatness as a judge was lost in the grandeur of his personal character. Despite the rugged features and the ungainly figure, he received when death removed him that highest of earthly tributes in the universal expression: "This was a man!"

Marshall, born in Virginia, September 24, 1755, was the son of one of Washington's surveyors. He was well educated by the aid of public and private teachers, but never attended college. In 1775 he became a lieutenant in a Virginia regiment, of which his father was major. He served continuously for five years, reaching the grade of captain, and then, becoming supernumerary, went home to assist in raising more troops for the continental army. Jefferson was governor, and the military spirit of the state authorities was languid. While waiting for an opportunity to return to the army, Marshall took up the study of law and obtained his admission to the bar. The British invasion of Virginia called him again to the field, and when it was ended he began to practice. He served two years in the legislature, then resigned and removed to Richmond. In three years he was back in the legislature, and in 1788 was a member of the convention called to pass upon the new Federal Constitution. Patrick Henry was the uncompromising enemy of adoption, and in debate with him, Marshall frankly took a position which drew public attention upon himself. In the final vote, Henry was beaten by a majority not large, but enough to be decisive. From this time Marshall sought to remain in private life and attend to his constantly growing practice. He declined Washing-

ton's offers of the posts of attorney general and minister to France, but was unable to keep out of the Legislature. War being imminent with France in the early part of the administration of Adams, he went to Paris as one of three envoys specially appointed to bring about an accommodation. Gerry, who belonged to Jefferson's party, was personally treated with ostentatious friendship, while Marshall and Pinckney, who were Federalists, were subjected to gross ignominy and insult. In addition to a large payment to the French republic in the guise of a loan, a bribe of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for distribution among Talleyrand and his associates, was demanded. These demands being refused, Pinckney and Marshall were ordered to quit France. When the correspondence became public, Marshall's part in it raised him very high in popular esteem. Patrick Henry sent word to Marshall that he was proud of him as an American. At a banquet to Marshall in Philadelphia, one of the toasts was "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," and this became a national motto till Napoleon, attaining power in France, put an end to the maritime war into which the two countries had drifted.



After his return from France, Marshall accepted a seat in Congress, being unwilling to decline public service at a critical time. Before the end of his term, he was appointed Secretary of State. He had served in that office less than eight months when, calling one day upon President Adams, to offer a suggestion about the vacant office of chief-justice, which was giving Adams much concern, the latter told Marshall that his mind was emphatically made up, and that he meant to send to the Senate the nomination of a plain man from Virginia called John Marshall.

The new chief-justice was in his forty-sixth year, distinguished as a soldier, lawyer and statesman, and, as a citizen and neighbor, beloved for his true piety, and his unaffected and sociable character. At the time he came to the bench, the Supreme Court had given no indication of the importance it was to assume in the scheme of national government. It was only eleven years old, had but little business, and its members found their chief employment and consequence in sitting as circuit judges in the judicial districts into which the country was divided. It needed the advent of Jefferson and the reactionary sentiment against Federal power and activity, as exhibited during the administration of Washington and Adams, to bring the court into the arena. When brought there, it needed the comprehending and luminous intellect of Marshall to carry the court with dignity through

the maze of constitutional questions in which it became involved. Under the Constitution, the judicial department is independent and of equal rank with the legislative and executive departments. But the organization, life, means of life, and all but a very small part of the federal judiciary, depend upon the will of Congress, and with the President rests the enforcement of what the judicial branch may decree.

Marshall began judicial life with a hostile President, and in no long time had a hostile Congress to reckon with, and yet, by the force of intellectual and moral power, aided by the strong sense of legality in the nation, he preserved the judicial independence and authority. One lasting service he rendered was to make clear the boundaries of legislative, executive and judicial authority in the government. Not invading either of the other provinces, his own province was not invaded.

Marshall's early indisposition to public life was due, not more to his desire for a professional life than to a preference for the law over politics or administration. This preference told happily in his career as chief-justice. From first to last, in great questions and small, he had what lawyers call the "judicial mind." As a judge, it

was impossible for him to view a case as he would have viewed it as an advocate or politician. Old political opponents were leading counsel before him in the great cases involving constitutional questions, and when he decided against them they neither disputed his logic nor questioned his impartiality. Jefferson showed ill temper at the failure of the Burr trial

for treason, at which Marshall presided. The latter had no more personal esteem for Burr than had Jefferson, but the record of the trial shows plainly that even if Burr meditated treasonable designs, he had not proceeded to the execution of them. Bad as he was in general, Burr was entitled to an acquittal, and Marshall's scrupulous impartiality was a greater public benefit than would have been an illegal and therefore unjust conviction. The impressive celebration at Washington by the American Bar Association, in February, 1901, of the centenary of Marshall's accession to the Supreme Bench, could not righteously have been held if Marshall, yielding to official pressure and popular clamor, had unfaithfully cast his decisive influence with a jury of his own neighborhood in the scale against Burr. Had he been capable of doing so, he could never have become the revered expounder of the great Constitution.



MARTIN, FRANÇOIS XAVIER.—Born at Marseilles, 1764; died at New Orleans, 1846. A judge of the supreme court of La. (1815-45). He published histories of N. C. and of La.

MASON, JAMES MURRAY.—Born in Fairfax Co., Va., 1798; died near Alexandria, Va., 1871. A politician, grandson of George Mason. He became U. S. senator from Va. in 1847; drafted the fugitive slave law in 1850; was expelled from the Senate in 1861; sent as a Confederate commissioner, with Slidell to England and France (1861); captured by Wilkes on the "Trent" (1861); imprisoned at Boston until Jan. 2, 1862.

MASON, JOHN YOUNG.—Born in Greensville Co., Va., 1799; died at Paris, 1859. A politician. He was a representative from Va. (1831-37); Secretary of the Navy (1844-45); attorney-general (1845-46); Secretary of the Navy (1846-49); U. S. minister to France (1853-59).

MCDUFFIE, GEORGE.—Born in Columbia (now Warren) Co., Ga., 1788; died in Sumter district, S. C., 1851. A statesman and orator, a prominent supporter of nullification. He was a member of Congress from S. C. (1821-34); governor of S. C. (1834-36); and U. S. senator (1843-46).

McLANE, LOUIS.—Born at Smyrna, Del., 1786; died at Baltimore, 1857. A politician. He was U. S. senator from Del. (1827-29); U. S. minister to Great Britain (1829-31); Secretary of the Treasury (1831-33); and Secretary of State (1833-34).

McLEAN, JOHN.—Born in Morris Co., N. J., 1785; died at Cincinnati, 1861. A jurist and politician. He was member of Congress from O. (1813-16); postmaster-general (1823-29); associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court (1829-61); and unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1856 and 1860.

McLEOD CASE.—In 1840 Alexander McLeod, a Canadian sojourning in N. Y., boasted that he took part in the seizure of the steamer "Caroline," during a rebellion in Canada a few years previously. (See "CAROLINE," THE.) He was arrested in Lockport, N. Y., and indicted for murder. The British minister demanded his release on the ground that McLeod had acted under orders and that the N. Y. State courts had no jurisdiction in a case that lay only between the British and U. S. governments. The Federal Government admitted the justice of this, but held that McLeod could be released only by a process of law. The attorney-general instituted habeas corpus proceedings, but the court held that there was no ground for releasing him. McLeod finally proved an alibi and was acquitted.

MEIGGS, HENRY.—Born in Catskill, N. Y., 1811; died in Lima, Peru, 1877. He was a lumber merchant in San Francisco. but failed

in 1854, and went to South America. He engaged in railway construction in Chile, and after 1867 in Peru. His greatest public work there was the Oroya railroad over the Andes.

MEIGS, RETURN JONATHAN.—Born at Middletown, Conn., 1765; died at Marietta, Ohio, 1825. A politician and jurist, son of R. J. Meigs.

MERCER, CHARLES FENTON.—Born at Fredericksburg, Va., 1778; died near Alexandria, Va., 1858. A politician, Federalist, and Whig member of Congress from Va. (1817-39).

MEXICAN WAR.—The Mexican War grew out of the annexation of Texas by the U. S. Mar. 2, 1836, Texas seceded from Mexico and declared her independence, which she maintained by the defeat of Santa Anna in the battle of San Jacinto, Apr. 21, 1836. The U. S., England, France, and Belgium recognized the new government as independent. Dec. 29, 1845, Texas was annexed to the U. S. A dispute as to the boundary induced President Polk to order Gen. Taylor to take a position in the contested territory on the left bank of the Rio Grande. Here, near Matamoras, he was attacked, Apr. 23, 1846, by Mexicans under Arista and a portion of his army was captured. Taylor advanced into the north of Mexico, leaving garrisons at Corpus Christi and at Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras, and after the battles of Palo Alto (May 8, 1846), Resaca de la Palma (May 9, 1846), Buena Vista (Feb. 22, 23, 1847), and a number of lesser engagements, in all of which the Mexicans were defeated, he obtained control of all northern Mexico. Gen. Scott, landing at Vera Cruz, advanced to the City of Mexico, defeating Santa Anna at Cerro Gorda (Apr. 17, 18, 1847), Contreras (Aug. 19, 20, 1847), Churubusco (Aug. 20, 1847), and Molino del Rey (Sept. 7, 8, 1847), caused the surrender of the capital and the termination of the war, Sept 14, 1847. During these operations in Mexico, Gen. Kearny and Lieut. Fremont occupied Cal. and N. Mex. with American troops. Under the treaty of peace, signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, on payment by the U. S. of \$15,250,000 and in addition thereto private claims which amounted to \$3,250,000, Mexico ceded to it the territory now comprising Nev., Utah, most of Ariz., a large part of N. Mex., portions of Col. and Wyo., and all of Cal. (See sketches of the various battles given under their respective names in this volume.)

MIDDLETON, HENRY.—Born, 1771; died at Charleston, S. C., 1846. A politician and diplomatist, son of Arthur Middleton. He was governor of S. C. (1810-12), representative in Congress (1815-19); and minister to Russia (1820-31).

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—An agreement, embodied in an act of Congress in 1820, by which, after the admission of Mo. as a slave

state, slavery was forever prohibited north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes, north latitude, in the territory included in the "Louisiana Purchase." It was intended to operate in the formation of new states in the west. Thirty years later the compromise was held to be unconstitutional, and it was abrogated in 1854, by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which removed the barrier and left the people of a territory free to decide whether it should be admitted as a state with a free or a slave constitution. This action precipitated the bitter conflict between the friends and opponents of slavery in Kan., and had much to do with bringing on the great Civil War of 1861-65.

MITCHELL, MARIA.—Born at Nantucket, Mass., 1818; died at Lynn, Mass., 1889. An astronomer. She was professor of astronomy at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., from 1865, received the degree of LL.D. from Dartmouth in 1852, and from Columbia in 1887; was the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; was a member of several scientific associations.

MONROE DOCTRINE.—After the overthrow of Napoleon, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria formed the so-called Holy Alliance, in Sept., 1815, for the suppression of revolutions within each other's dominions and for perpetuating peace. The Spanish colonies in America having revolted, it was believed that this alliance contemplated their subjugation, although the U. S. had acknowledged their independence. To forestall such a movement the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated. (See MONROE, JAMES.)

MORGAN, WILLIAM.—Died, 1826. A mechanic of Batavia, N. Y., alleged to have been abducted and killed by Free Masons for revealing their secrets.

MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.—In 1857 about 120 non-Mormon emigrants, men, women, and children, were attacked and massacred in southern Utah. It was believed to have been the work of Mormons, who were extremely jealous of the encroachments of the "Gentiles." It is a singular fact that in 1877, after twenty years had elapsed, John D. Lee, a Mormon elder, was arrested, tried, convicted, and executed for participation in the slaughter at Mountain Meadows.

NASHVILLE CONVENTION.—A convention composed of delegates from all the southern states, held in Nashville, Tenn., in June, 1850, in the interests of slavery, and especially in regard to the so-called encroachments of anti-slavery men. - The Wilmot Proviso (which see), and the Missouri Compromise (also see), were disapproved, but the resolutions finally passed were of a temperate nature.

NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT COMPANY.—An association formed in Boston 1855 to assist anti-slavery men in emigrating to Kansas. The

purpose of the company was to stock the state with citizens opposed to the extension of slavery, and thus to make Kansas a free state. This purpose was substantially accomplished.

NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY.—In 1783, the northeastern boundary of the U. S. was, by treaty with Great Britain, defined as extending from the source of the St. Croix River north to the watershed between the Atlantic and St. Lawrence systems; along those highlands to the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River. This boundary, being source of dispute between the Americans and Canadians, it was decided to settle the matter by arbitration. In 1831, the king of the Netherlands, as arbitrator, made an award unsatisfactory alike to Great Britain and to the U. S. The present boundary was fixed by the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, the U. S. securing about seven-twelfths of the disputed territory, and Great Britain the remainder.

NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARY.—The northern boundary of the U. S., from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. For many years the rich territory west of the Rockies lying between latitude 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$ was in dispute, all or parts of it being claimed by Russia, Spain, Great Britain, and the U. S. In 1819 the Spanish claims were withdrawn, and in 1825 Russia agreed to make no settlement south of $54^{\circ} 40'$. Though a treaty in 1818 opened the entire country to the joint occupation of British and Americans, the people of both nations were jealous and sensitive upon the subject. In the presidential election of 1844 the subject was made a political issue, giving rise to the campaign war cry "Fifty-four forty or fight!" The matter was finally adjusted in 1846, under the administration of President Polk, by an agreement upon latitude 49° as the northern boundary from the Rockies to the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland, thus continuing the straight boundary that already extended from Lake Winnepeg as far as the Rockies.

NULLIFICATION.—Ordinarily defined as invalidating or making void; this has in American politics exclusive reference to the political doctrine enunciated originally by John C. Calhoun, of S. C., in his controversy with the general government (1828-33). Calhoun argued that an individual state had the power to declare unconstitutional a law of the U. S., even when the latter had been passed in the regular and proper manner and declared constitutional by the Supreme Court. He took the stand that an attempt to execute such a law in a state that denied its validity would warrant that state in seceding from the Union. The proximate cause of this statement of a principle that threatened the dissolution of the Union, was the claim that the tariff law bore with undue severity on the non-manufacturing and

raw-material producing South. The Nullifiers drew their arguments and their inspiration from the teachings of Jefferson and Madison, in the Ky. and Va. resolutions passed in 1798-99, in reference to the Alien and Sedition Laws. These resolutions held that the general government was not "the final or exclusive judge of the powers delegated to itself but that, as in all other cases of compact among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress." Next to Calhoun, Senator Hayne, of S. C., was the chief advocate of this doctrine in Congress. It was in reply to Hayne that Webster made the speech that is regarded as his masterpiece. The logical outcome of the contention of Calhoun and Hayne was the ordinance of nullification, passed by S. C., Nov. 19, 1832. The ordinance proclaimed the Federal tariff law "null and void," authorized citizens to refuse payment of the duties imposed, and disputed the right of the U. S. Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of the ordinance itself. The legislature was about to pass a bill to give effect to the ordinance, when the enactment of the Clay Compromise tariff of 1833 averted this extreme measure. President Jackson met the attempt to thwart the enforcement of the Federal laws by prompt and significant orders to the revenue officers at Charleston, and by a proclamation and a special message to Congress. The tariff bill that allayed the excitement and gave partial and temporary satisfaction to the Nullifiers was passed Mar. 3, 1833, and less than two weeks later a convention in S. C. repealed the ordinance of nullification.

"OLD MAN ELOQUENT."—John Quincy Adams was so called in recognition of his long and distinguished public services.

"OLD TIPPECANOE."—A popular sobriquet for Gen. William Henry Harrison, given to him after his victory over the Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe, Nov. 6, 1811.

OMNIBUS BILL.—A series of bills passed by Congress, in 1850, framed upon resolutions introduced by Henry Clay as a compromise upon the slavery question. The chief provisions were the admission of Cal. as a free state, the abolition of the slave trade in D. C. and a stringent fugitive slave law.

PARIS, DECLARATION OF.—A treaty entered into by Russia, Turkey, Great Britain, France, and Sardinia, in 1856, to abandon privateering. The United States refused to subscribe to the agreement, which operated greatly against this country in its relations with foreign countries during the Civil War.

PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS.—Laws passed by many of the northern states to check the fugitive slave laws, particularly the stringent law

of 1850. Many of these states secured to the fugitive slaves the right of trial by jury, refused the use of the jails for their detention, and forbade state judges and officers to assist claimants or to issue writs.

PETITION.—The Constitution secures to the people of the U. S. the right of petition for the redress of grievances. But from 1790 to 1836 Congress persistently ignored the petitions in reference to the abolition of slavery, and in the latter year enacted that "all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers relating in any way to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery shall, without being printed or referred, be laid on the table, and no further action shall be taken thereon." This action brought out John Quincy Adams as the champion of the right of petition, who for 10 years opposed the so-called "gag rules" until he secured their repeal. The rules of Congress now require that petitions shall be entered on the journal by the clerk and submitted to the proper committee, and a notice of their introduction shall appear in the Congressional Record.

PLATFORM.—The formal statement of the principles of a political party. The first national platform was issued by the friends of Henry Clay in 1832. From 1852 the custom has been adopted by all political parties.

POINSETT, JOEL ROBERTS.—(1779-1851.) An American politician who filled a number of important offices under the government.

"PRINCETON," THE.—The first U. S. war vessel propelled by a screw; built in 1841 by John Ericsson.

REPLY TO HAYNE.—The most famous speech of Daniel Webster, delivered in the U. S. Senate, in Jan., 1830.

REPUBLICAN PARTY.—Founded in 1854 for the purpose of resisting the aggressions of slavery. From the election of Lincoln in 1860 to the present, it has been in power except during two presidential terms.

RIGHT OF SEARCH.—Treaty between Great Britain and the U. S. regulating the searching of vessels on the high seas in an effort to suppress the slave trade.

SEMINOLE WARS.—(1) Up to the year 1817 there was much friction between the Indians on the Appalachicola River and the whites of Georgia. In 1818 General Jackson took the field, drove the Indians into Florida, overturned the Spanish government and set up an American government. The outcome of it all was the purchase of Florida for \$5,000,000 indemnity paid to Spain. (2) The 2d Seminole War, the bloodiest of all the Indian wars, was led by Osceola in 1835-37. In 1834 the tribe had ceded their lands to the U. S. government, and

their failure to keep the agreement was the cause of the war. The chief was captured by treachery in 1837 under a flag of truce, and the war ended.

SOLDIERS' HOMES.—By act of Congress in 1851, a home for aged and disabled soldiers of the regular army was established in a suburb of the national capital. There are other institutions of the kind situated throughout the United States.

"SOUTH CAROLINA EXPOSITION."—A political paper written by John C. Calhoun and adopted by the legislature of S. C. (See CALHOUN, JOHN CALDWELL, 28.)

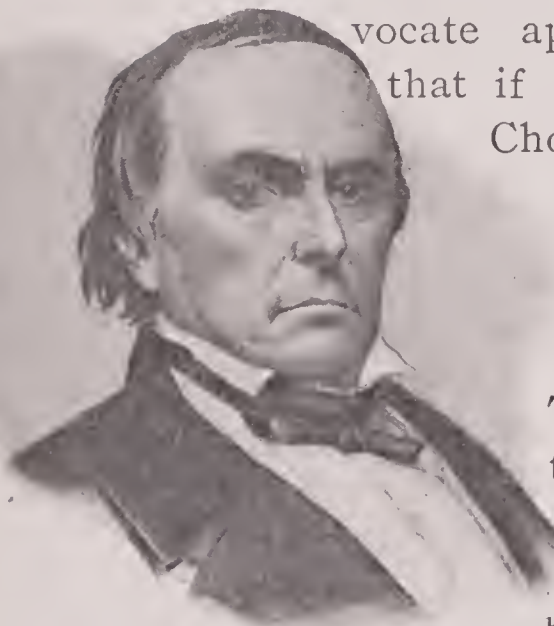
SURPLUS REVENUE, DISTRIBUTION OF.—In 1836, when there was no public debt, but on the contrary a surplus in the Treasury, a law was passed under the influence of Andrew Jackson requiring that on Jan. 1, 1837, all the surplus in excess of \$5,000,000 should be distributed equally among the states. Under this law \$37,468,859 was paid to all the states except a few that declined to accept it.

TANEY, ROGER BROOKE.—(1777–1864.) A distinguished American jurist and politician. After filling many important governmental offices, he was appointed chief-justice of the Supreme Court in 1836. He was born in Calvert County, Md., where his father was a wealthy Roman Catholic planter who had recently come from England. He graduated from Dickinson College in 1795, and was admitted to the Maryland bar in 1799. The same year he was elected to the House of Delegates. He was state senator (1816–21), and in 1823 began the practice of law in Baltimore. In 1831 President Jackson made him attorney-general of the United States. He was Secretary of the Treasury in 1833, and although the Senate refused to confirm his appointment, Taney helped Jackson to remove the deposits from the United States Bank to local banks. In 1835 he succeeded Chief-justice Marshall on the supreme bench and his appointment was confirmed in 1836. He rendered the decision in the Dred Scott case, which set aside the Missouri Compromise and extended slavery to the territories. There is a common report that Chief-justice Taney had stated that "a slave has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." This was afterward proved to be untrue, and was further supported by the fact that Taney set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father.

"TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO."—A phrase applied to Harrison and Tyler, the Whig candidates for President and Vice-president in the famous "log cabin and hard cider" campaign of 1840. The words were taken from a popular song of the day.

DANIEL WEBSTER

A giant of the United States Senate.



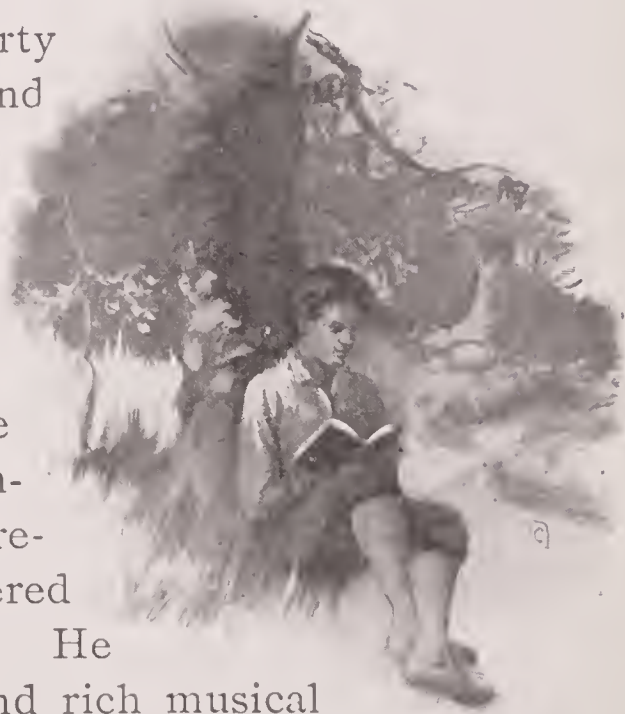
THE matchless oration of Demosthenes "On the Crown" waited more than twenty-one hundred years for a worthy second, and then found it, on the other side of the world, in the "Reply to Hayne." Upon this magnificent example of human eloquence the fame of Webster in distant ages may rest. His greatness as an advocate appeals to a professional class, which remembers that if it had a Daniel Webster it also possessed a Rufus Choate. The era of Websterian statesmanship had its beginning amid the ruins of a party destroyed by sheer excess of intellect and power, and its end in the dust and ashes of another party intellectually strong, but feeble in aim and achievement. This western world has been and will be too busy to spend many half-centuries of thought on Webster as a statesman. He began a public career of nearly forty years' duration with high views based on deep principles, and in time pursued and at last ended it upon a naked policy of opportunism. Of such a career there can be no perpetual remembrance, but the "Reply to Hayne" will last, even though it may have to be translated into modern English to the masses hereafter, as the Grecian "Oration on the Crown" is translated for present English speakers.

"The great expounder of the Constitution," Webster has been called, but that title belongs rather to Marshall, whose expositions in exercise of judicial power vitalized the bare phrases of the Constitution and gave to it the character and operation that it has borne since the earlier days of the republic. Webster may better be called the expounder of the Union, for to him, above all others, we owe that grand conception of it—its nature, its mission and its future—which carried the North into and through a mighty war, without count of cost in blood, in suffering or in treasure, that what he had so nobly imaged should not be destroyed. He was but little past his eighteenth year when, in 1800, not yet graduated from college, he delivered a Fourth of July oration at Hanover, in his native state of New Hampshire. His theme was the sacredness of love of country, the

glorious prospect of the Union, and the beneficence of the Constitution. His after work, as orator and statesman, was to expand, enrich and illustrate that theme; but, young as he then was, the oration at Hanover contained, in bud at least, all that he ever uttered as a patriot, and from that time to his address at the laying of the cornerstone of the Capitol extension, in 1851, there was an unbroken continuity. As the ark of the Union, the Constitution was very precious to Webster, and that sense of its preciousness he sought to convey to the people, so that in their acquired veneration for the Constitution, which few of them practically knew or understood, the safety of the Union, which they did know, might be assured.

Webster was born in New Hampshire, January 18, 1782, and died at his home, Marshfield, in Massachusetts, October 24, 1852. His father had been an officer in the French and Revolutionary wars, was a man of the highest esteem in his neighborhood, and out of respect to his military and civic virtues had been chosen one of the county judges. The family fortunes were below the social rank that the virtues of its head had gained for it, though the pinching was mostly felt in connection with the necessities for education. The Websters were plain-living, high-thinking, pious people, and the son that was to become illustrious was of true Puritan mold and all his life devout. Though constitutionally sound, the little Daniel was an ailing child, seemingly destined to a brief life, and, therefore, the favored one of the family. He was released from much of the hard labor about the house and farm, from which not even his honor, the judge, was exempt, and he used his liberty to roam the woods and streams, and to read, and read, and still to read. At fourteen he went to Exeter Academy, where he was a diligent student, but very shy at the public exercises. Improved health came with years and the expanding mind, and all the members of the family shared a deep solicitude that he should not lack an effective preparation for the battle of life. A few months under a good tutor fitted him for the simple college requirements of those days, and at seventeen he entered Dartmouth College, where he remained two years. He was already remarkable for his fine, sparkling eyes and rich musical voice. Webster was never a profound or accurate scholar, his fervid imagination being a bar to mental drudgery, though all his life a great source of power.

After a little study in a law office and two or three years of school teaching, during which his legal studies were continued, Webster,



then twenty-two years old, became a student clerk to Christopher Gore, an eminent lawyer and publicist at Boston, whose quick but deep interest in the young stranger who called to ask a place in his office, was the starting point of the young stranger's fortunes. In 1805 Webster obtained his admission to the bar and, turning his back on immediate prosperity, went to a small country practice in New Hampshire, to be near his revered and aged father. The latter soon died, and in 1807 Webster removed to the flourishing city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he rapidly rose to the first rank of the profession.

In 1808 he published a pamphlet against Jefferson's desolating embargo on foreign trade, and in 1812 made a powerful speech at Portsmouth against "Mr. Madison's war," and drew up a protest to the President against the war. That autumn he was elected as a Federalist to the Thirteenth Congress, which Madison convened in special session in May, 1813, as the government was bankrupt and the armies could only be recruited by large bounties or conscription. Webster censured the administration for wasting the public valor and resources on Clay's gauzy scheme of a conquest of Canada, and proposed that as the war, which was very disastrous to England, was ostensibly for freedom of neutral commerce and from impressment of American seamen, it should be fought out at sea, thus utilizing the willing spirit of New England and her important maritime resources. He did not prevail, but the next year the situation was so bad that the administration proposed conscription and impressment, which Webster, among others, strenuously opposed, and the administration was beaten. Many of its own party in Congress refused to support the measures, through fear of the wrath of its constituents, if subjected to the conscripted or impressed. But though opposed to the war and the manner of conducting it, Webster kept New Hampshire out of the Hartford convention, which proved the downfall of the Federalist party.

Peace came in February, 1815, to the general joy, and thereafter Webster was busy in Congress with currency and revenue questions, in which he showed a pronounced opposition to a protective tariff, but was not opposed to internal improvements of national character and importance. He also advocated the exclusive use of specie in payments to the government, a measure afterward adopted by President Jackson. One of the plentiful challenges of John Randolph, under the so-called "code of honor," having fallen upon Webster, he declined it in grave words that poured acid upon dueling and duelists, while preserving his own sense of duty and self-respect.

After four years in Congress, Webster retired because of poverty, and removed from Portsmouth to Boston, where he was soon earning the unprecedented income of more than twenty thousand dollars a year. One of his early cases was that of Dartmouth College, the winning of which brought him into national demand as an advocate. In 1820 he delivered the oration at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims; in 1825, the famous oration at the dedication of the Bunker Hill monument; and in 1826, the combined eulogy and elegy on Adams and Jefferson, who had both died on Independence day of that year. After his Bunker Hill oration, he might be termed the national orator-general, since nobody else was desired upon any great occasion, if the services of Webster could possibly be obtained.

In 1822 Webster had accepted an election to Congress, for his circumstances were easy and all parties in Boston desired him as their representative. In January, 1824, he made a speech in the House of Representatives in behalf of the Greek revolutionists, that carried his renown over Europe, where classical interest in Greece caused the insurrection against Turkey to be popular with the educated classes. His political position at this time was one of independence, if not isolation; for he was not in sympathy with the protection views of Crawford and Calhoun. Clay sought to give a patriotic basis to his tariff policy by calling it "the American system." Upon Clay and his "system" Webster poured ridicule and denunciation. He declared protection to be an "odious foreign policy" that would sacrifice the general interests of manufactures, the general welfare of the people, to the special welfare of the classes, and divert industry from its natural and therefore its best employments to hot-house enterprises for which the unfavored would have to pay. His free-trade views he never directly retracted, but the protective tariff having been carried, and protected manufactures having grown up under it in Massachusetts, he afterward insisted that the policy should not be reversed, to the ruin of the artificially created industries.

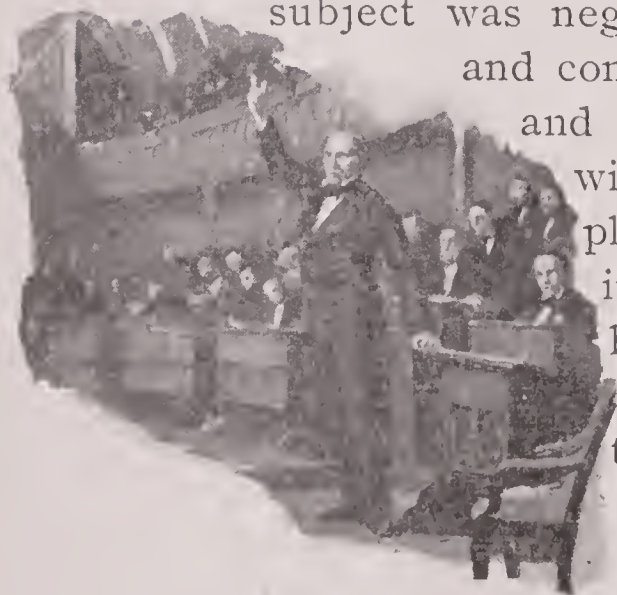
In 1827 Webster was promoted to the Senate and there, in 1828, he stood by the so-called "tariff of abominations," from which Clay, its promoter, afterward drew back, because South Carolina passed laws nullifying the tariff act and inflicting penalties on Federal officers who might attempt to enforce it or to take appeals from the South Carolina courts to the Federal courts. Jackson, who was then President, issued a moving address to the people of South Carolina, and sent a well-phrased message to Congress, which passed an enforcement act. Jackson privately blustered a little about what he

would do if South Carolina attempted to enforce her nullification and penal laws, but as the day approached for them to go into operation, and it became evident that South Carolina meant to execute her acts, Clay hurried through a new tariff bill, which Jackson signed, making an annual reduction of duties till all protective features should be cut out. This satisfied South Carolina and the danger of an armed conflict passed away. Webster opposed the passage of a new tariff act while South Carolina remained in a state of incipient rebellion, but it is not clear that he would have risked a civil war for the enforcement of the existing tariff. However that may be, his patriotic and ungrudging support of the administration at a critical moment extorted warm words of gratitude and admiration from President Jackson. Webster was a man of large and generous feeling, always, and the beauty of his eulogy upon Calhoun at the time of the latter's death was surpassed only by its obvious sincerity.

The "great debate" that led up to the "Reply to Hayne" began in December, 1829, and soon filled the country with an excitement equal to that of a presidential election. Though nominally on a resolution concerning the mode of disposing of the public lands, that subject was neglected while the debate ranged the whole political and constitutional field. Traveling was then by the slow and costly stagecoach, yet Washington became thronged with visitors from all parts of the Union. The "Reply" was delivered near the end of January, 1830, in the presence of such an audience as the Capitol had never before seen. The Senate Chamber of that day is now the seat of the Supreme Court, and still the memory of the "Reply to Hayne" gives the apartment its chief interest to visitors. At the time of the "Reply," Webster was in his prime, still on the sunny side of fifty and at the zenith of his fame and power. To quote from a sketch by a master hand:—

"The majesty of intellect sat on his beetling brow, and he had the look and port of Jove. He was, and felt himself, a king. All men bowed down to him; all men crowded to hear him."

It was soon after the "Reply" that Webster again touched the summit of human eloquence, in his address to the jury against the murderers of Captain White, a retired ship-master of Salem. In England that address was deemed worthy of Erskine, the noblest and purest advocate that ever vindicated the majesty and beauty of the law in behalf of the wronged or oppressed, and Webster, himself, deeply felt the tribute implied in the comparison.

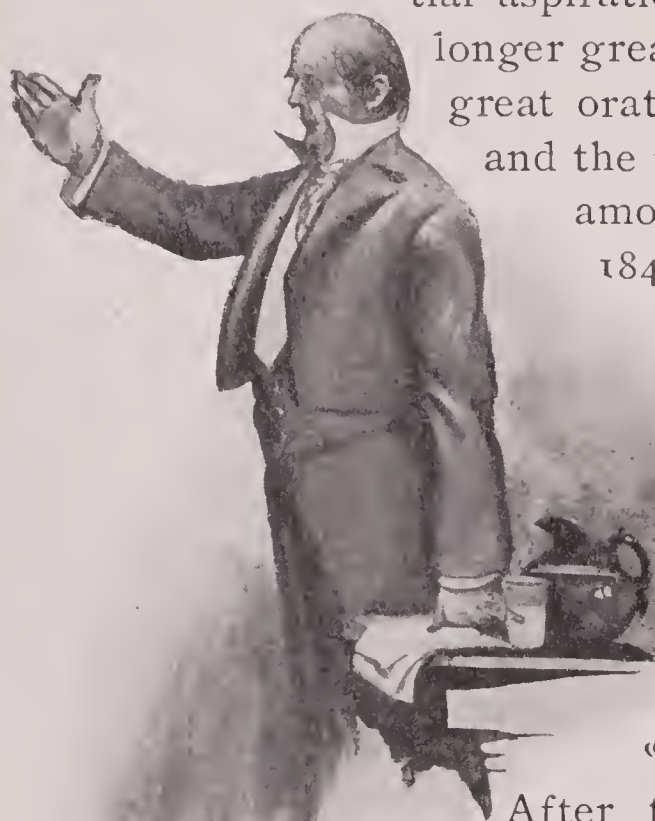


In 1831 Webster bought "Marshfield," that seaside home and farm with which his name remained thereafter identified. All through the eight years of Jackson and four of Van Buren, while Clay looked after the political management of the Whig party, Webster remained its great debater. The struggle with Jackson was prolonged and bitter, and Jackson triumphed, though the seeds of defeat were planted by his victory. He simply upset things and let Van Buren meet the consequences. On the subject of appropriating Federal revenues to internal improvements, Webster's speeches bore a large part in so hardening popular and congressional sentiment that Jackson at last gave way and took to signing improvement bills.

In 1839 Webster, accompanied by his family, visited Europe. In England, especially, his fame had preceded him and he left it larger than before. The eloquent friend of Greece, the relentless advocate who had sent the cruel and cunning murderers of the old sea captain to the gallows, the renowned parliamentary speaker, had special claims in all those characters upon large classes of eminent people, and his personal majesty carried everything before it.

In the "log cabin and hard cider campaign" of 1840, Webster "took the stump" for his party, and the next year was made Secretary of State by the new President, Harrison, whom he induced to appoint the accomplished Edward Everett as Minister to Great Britain. Our relations with that country were very critical at that time over the Maine boundary question and the British search of American vessels suspected to be engaged in the slave trade. The Democrats, who had been in possession of the national administration for forty years, save only the one term of the younger Adams, were sore at their defeat, and pushed the administration dangerously close to war in their attempts to bring it into popular discredit. By the efforts of Webster exerted through Minister Everett, Lord Ashburton, a statesman of high repute and known friendship for the United States, was sent to Washington as a special envoy, where he and Webster, for whom he had a great personal admiration, brought everything to a satisfactory conclusion, after a long negotiation. To carry through this important business, Webster remained in Tyler's Cabinet after all the other members had resigned, upon Tyler's break with the Whig party. Though some of the Whig leaders approved his course from high public motives, he was severely attacked by journals and politicians of both parties, and on the last day of September, 1842, he delivered his "Faneuil Hall speech" at Boston, in vindication of his patriotic conduct. The intellectual brilliancy of the address and the charm of its eloquence greatly impressed his audience, and when he was through with the Ashburton Treaty and had

resigned from Tyler's Cabinet, and had actively supported Clay's unsuccessful campaign for the presidency against Polk in 1844, he was returned to the Senate. As the Democrats had gone into the campaign with the cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight," on the Oregon boundary dispute, and it was clear that Great Britain would not and perhaps ought not to agree to the boundary attempted to be forced on her with so much alliteration, Webster proposed a compromise boundary on the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, and this ultimately prevailed. The Southern Democrats did not want a war with England, being already committed to a war with Mexico over their intended annexation of Texas, from which they hoped to get eight slave-state members into the Senate.



In the summer of 1847, while the war with Mexico was in progress, Webster made a Southern tour in the interest of his presidential aspirations, now grown very strong, since Clay was no longer greatly in the way. Curiosity and admiration for the great orator made his reception very cordial by all classes, and the political object of the tour was quite successful among the Southern Whigs. But the nomination in 1848 was carried off by General Zachary Taylor, the popular hero of the Mexican War, and Webster, in a rage, pronounced it "a nomination not fit to be made," a perfectly justifiable censure under all the circumstances. Nevertheless, he came around to the support of Taylor, not desiring the election of the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass, distinctively one of the "Northern men with Southern principles." After the death of Taylor, Webster again became Secretary of State under Fillmore, a Cabinet office being of greater political rank and value in those days than a seat in the Senate.

As a member of Fillmore's Cabinet, Webster was bound to the support of that acting President's candidacy for the Whig nomination of 1852; and Fillmore, who had been favorable to slavery interests, though a Northern man, was the favorite of the Southern Whigs, with Webster for a second choice. The favorite of the Northern Whigs was General Scott, a Southern man whose life from early manhood had been spent in the army. When, upon the meeting of the Whig national convention, in June, 1852, it became apparent that Fillmore could not be nominated, a great majority of the Southern delegates were prepared to go over to Webster, who needed but

forty-one Northern votes to assure him the nomination. But these needed votes could not be had; it was impossible to unite the Massachusetts delegation for him, and not a single vote could be secured from Maine, then the pivotal Northern state. The opponents of Scott were therefore obliged to stand by Fillmore, and after more than fifty ballotings the nomination went to Scott, who, in the election, was defeated by Pierce, one of his subordinates in Mexico.

Three months after his loss of the Whig nomination, Webster went home to Marshfield for rest and medical treatment. There he died on October 24, 1852, and there, at his dying request, he received a quiet burial. The country was in the midst of a presidential campaign, but a tame one, since it had been evident from the opening of the canvass that the Democrats were to have a sure and easy victory. The public, therefore, had the leisure, and was in the mood, to recall the aforetime glory and greatness of the man that had just passed away. Clay had already gone, and with Webster departed there seemed no good reason why the party that the one had founded and the other powerfully upheld should survive them. Its later mission had been to keep slavery out of politics, but its last great effort, the compromise of 1850, had failed; slavery had become the only issue in national politics, and after Pierce had received two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes against forty-two for Scott, who carried only Kentucky, Massachusetts, Tennessee and Vermont out of thirty-one states, the party went out of sight and memory till President Hayes, a quarter of a century later, found a survivor of it, Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, and put him in his Cabinet.

That Webster's later life was unworthy of his earlier days is undeniable. But his public life, in office and out of it, extended over forty years, and upon the whole view of it he must be judged. So judged, his career was noble. He loved the Union with a force and passion that well nigh personified it, as they actually deified it. He wished it to be strong and great, but morally strong and great, not great by war or conquest, for he looked upon a just war as at best a necessary evil. For intellectual strength and the power of expression, he was and remains supreme, and in his heyday he held a greater sway over the imagination and reason of men than any other American has ever held. He was too high and majestic to win the hearts of men, as Clay won them, and he would have disdained the unreasoning homage of the mob. He was like Jefferson in desiring a democracy, but a democracy as exalted and intellectual as Jefferson would have had it virtuous and simple.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A rail-splitter and boatman who liberated a race.

THE life of Abraham Lincoln illustrates, as does that of no other public man in American history, the full measure of possibility that opens to every lad born under the "stars and stripes." It is not possible to conceive a more inauspicious beginning for an illustrious career. Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, in a house that

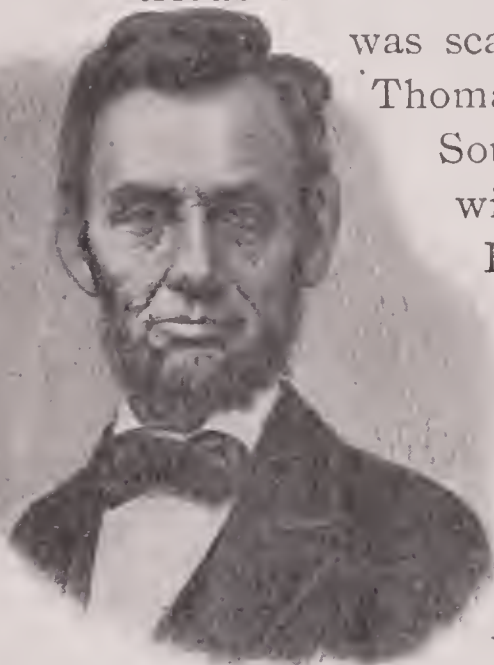
was scarcely more than a hovel, in Hardin County, Kentucky.

Thomas Lincoln, his father, belonged to that class in the South before the war, known as "poor whites," and was without ambition, either for himself or for his children.

He owned a few barren acres, in a desolate and unproductive region, and the rude home of the family was a picture of poverty and squalor, utterly cheerless and without elevating influences. Abraham's mother, who was Nancy Hanks before marriage, was a woman of strong character, in many respects superior to those of her class. She died while "Abe" was yet a boy, but she left upon him the clear im-

press of her virtues, and her mental attainments, limited though they were. It was but little, when compared with the training given to the young in well-appointed homes, but it was enough to give the boy a start in the right direction, and to encourage the ambition for something better in life that was early developed in the breast of young Lincoln.

When Abraham was seven years old, a shaggy-headed, ragged, barefooted, forlorn boy, his father removed to Indiana. A spot in the woods was cleared, a log cabin was built and a new start in life was made. The conditions and surroundings were better than those which environed the "old Kentucky home," and Lincoln says of himself that he now "first began to feel like a human being." Hard work, early and late, was his boyhood portion. When he was not helping his father, he was "hiring out" to do odd jobs for the neighbors — plowing, digging ditches, chopping wood or driving an ox team. There was a small log school-house in his district, but "Abe" Lincoln saw little of its interior. His attendance was limited to a few weeks of



each winter, during which he learned to read, write and cipher, at least as well as the average of his fellows.

As soon as he was old enough to read understandingly, "Abe" showed a passion for books. There were few people of education and culture within many miles, but such as had books willingly loaned them to him, although the available supply was at best extremely limited. It is said of him that he eagerly devoured every printed page that fell into his hands. During those early log-cabin days he read "Æsop's Fables," "Robinson Crusoe," "Pilgrim's Progress," a life of Washington and a short history of the United States. He borrowed from a constable the revised statutes of Indiana and read them to the last word.

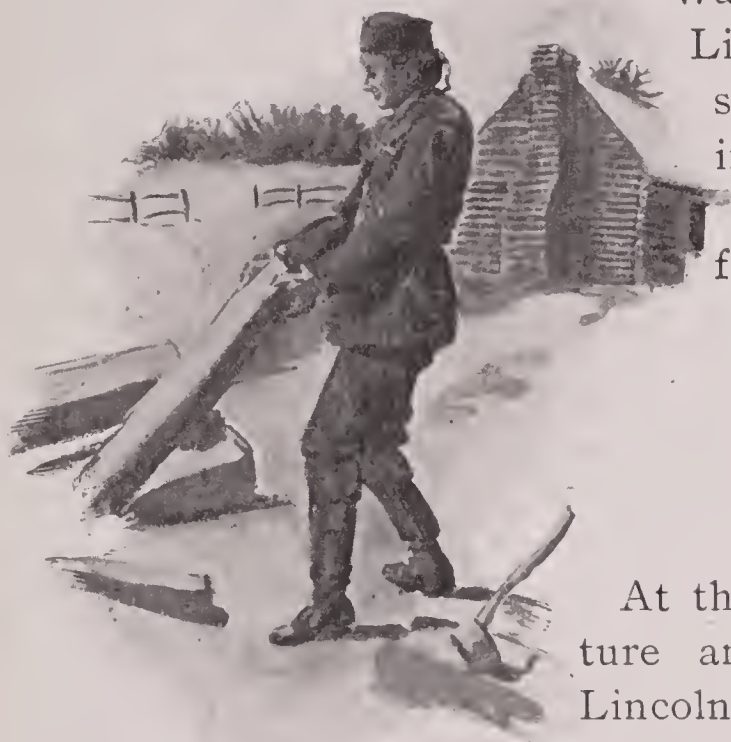
Abraham was nine years old when his mother died. A year later his father married Mrs. Johnston, a widow, of Elizabethtown, Kentucky. She was a good woman, all to her stepchildren that a mother could have been. Abraham said of her: "She was affectionate, good and kind above the average woman." She outlived him, and after his death, by an assassin's bullet, she said:—

"I can say what not one mother in ten thousand can say of a boy, that Abe never gave me a cross word or look, and never refused, in fact or appearance, to do anything I asked of him; nor did I ever give him a cross word in all my life. He was dutiful to me always. Abe was the best boy I ever saw or ever expect to see."

Young Lincoln came into his teens a tall, awkward, clever fellow, whom everybody liked for his genial good nature. A natural aptitude for speaking was developed, and this was greatly enhanced by a good memory, in which was stored all that he had read. He had a happy faculty of telling stories and mimicking itinerant preachers and other public speakers, and he became known the country round for his ability to entertain an audience of backwoods people. He joined heartily in all the frolics of the young folks and was everywhere a welcome guest at social gatherings. At seventeen, he was six feet four in his stockings—when he had any—and could "throw" any man in the neighborhood in a wrestling bout. He was singularly free from the vices which were so common among the young men of his time. He continued his studious habits and was thus unconsciously laying the foundation for the illustrious career that was before him, although as yet there was no prospect of any betterment of his condition in life. He kept "pegging away," as he afterward expressed it, doing whatever he found to do, and yet leading an aimless, vagrant life, with no apparent purpose beyond assisting his father to supply his family with the bare necessities of life. He seems to have been espe-

cially famous for making rails, of which he split three thousand for one employer. He was assisted by John Hanks, his mother's cousin, and as the men plied ax and maul, they little thought that those rails would be an important factor in the life of one of them. A day was to come when John Hanks, with two of those same rails on his shoulders, would electrify a political convention, and kindle an enthusiasm that would carry Lincoln to the White House at Washington. In Herndon's "Life of Abraham Lincoln" is given a facsimile of a page from "Abe's" school copy book. There are two or three "sums" in "long measure" and "dry measure," worked out on the page, and in a lower corner is the following bit of rude, prophetic rhyme:—

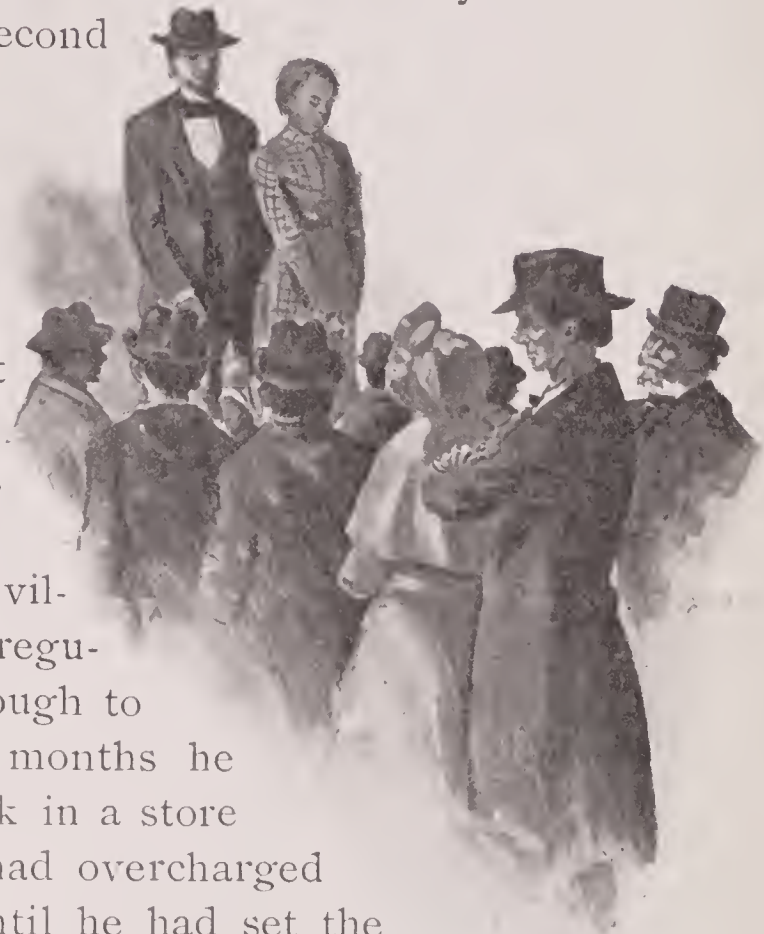
"Abraham Lincoln,
His hand and pen;
He will be good,
But God knows when!"



At the age of nineteen, inspired by a love of adventure and a desire to see something of the world, Lincoln made a trip on the Mississippi River as a flat-boatman. He and Hanks engaged with a trader to take a cargo of provisions to New Orleans. They were to receive half a dollar a day each and their food, with something in addition on their return if the venture should prove successful. At New Salem, the boat stuck on the edge of a dam and there seemed little prospect of getting it free. The people of the village stood on the bank and chaffed the unlucky boatmen, but Lincoln waded into the stream, unloaded the boat, and rigged up a contrivance by which he hoisted it safely over the dam. Then the happy voyagers replaced the cargo and sailed away amid the cheers of the onlookers. Many years afterward, Lincoln patented the device he then used to release the boat, and to-day the model may be seen in the patent office at Washington. During this trip, Lincoln shared all the experiences of a class of men peculiar to that time, who were as much at home in the water as out of it, and who prided themselves on the fact that they fairly deserved the phrase of the day that was applied to them, "half alligator, half man." Lincoln profited much by his trip, in the enlarged field of observation which it afforded him, and in the great fund of new stories which he picked up and carefully placed in storage for future use.

In the spring of 1830, when Abraham was twenty-one, his father again migrated, this time to Sangamon County, Illinois. The journey required fifteen days, and "Abe" drove, the entire distance, an ox

wagon containing the meager household belongings. Here another log cabin was built, and here, to fence a field, young Lincoln split more of the rails that were to become historic. Lincoln was now of age and he "struck out for himself," again using his own words. He did all sorts of jobs that the neighborhood afforded, and with the little money he could spare he bought books. He made a second trip on a flatboat to New Orleans, and while there witnessed a slave auction. This made an impression on his mind that time never effaced. As he turned away, with an overpowering feeling of aversion, he said to his companions: "If I ever get a chance to hit that thing"—meaning slavery—"I'll hit it hard!" The chance came to him more than thirty years later, and he did "hit it hard."



Next, Lincoln lived for a time in the small village of New Salem, where his precarious and irregular employment brought him little more than enough to provide his daily food and shelter. For a few months he was a steamboat pilot and then engaged as clerk in a store and mill. On one occasion he found that he had overcharged a woman a few cents, and he could not rest until he had set the matter right. After he had closed the store for the night, though the hour was late, he walked several miles to refund the small amount. At another time Lincoln discovered by accident that he had given short weight on a purchase of tea. He at once weighed out the amount to make up the shortage and carried it to the customer, who was wholly unconscious that she had not before received the right quantity. It is not a matter of wonder that young Lincoln began to be called "Honest Abe"—a sobriquet that clung to him while he lived, for he was as honest and conscientious in the larger things of life as in the trifling matters at the store.

One day the chief bully of the town provoked Lincoln into a fight, in which the bully received a thorough trouncing. This so pleased the other rough fellows of the community that they elected Lincoln captain of a company which they formed at this time, for the Black Hawk War. He accepted the position and led his company to the field. It is a noteworthy coincidence that Lincoln and his men were mustered into the United States service by Jefferson Davis—who had graduated at West Point four years before and was at this time an officer in the army. Thirty years later, Lincoln and Davis were Presidents, respectively, of the United States and the so-called Confederate States, both directing great armies and navies in deadly warfare.

An incident during this war illustrates Lincoln's personal courage. An aged Indian, half starved and alone, entered the camp. He showed a letter from General Cass, commending him for faithful services to the whites. But the soldiers were much incensed because of Black Hawk's recent atrocities, and they leveled their muskets to shoot the helpless old man. The tall figure of Captain Lincoln appeared on the scene. He stepped between the Indian and the weapons and said, "Boys, you shall not shoot this man!" For a moment the soldiers stood irresolute, but Lincoln did not flinch. They would have shot the Indian, but they would not draw a trigger on the man who calmly and bravely shielded him with his own body. They lowered their weapons and turned sullenly away, and the Indian was saved.

The Black Hawk War did not last long, nor was there much if any fighting for the New Salem company to do. But on the strength of his "war record," whatever it may have been, soon after Lincoln returned he announced himself a candidate for the Legislature. He ran as a Whig, but was defeated. He next tried the business of keep-

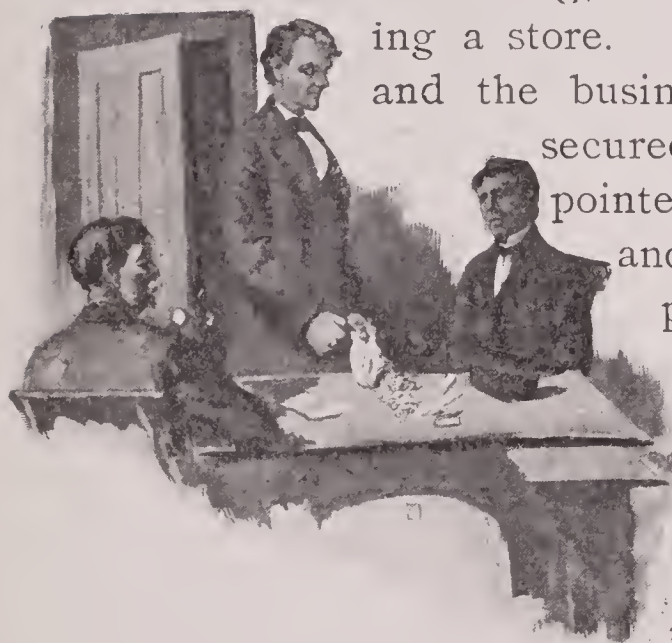
ing a store. He had a partner who turned out to be dissolute and the business failed, leaving Lincoln heavily in debt. He

secured a position as deputy surveyor, and was also appointed postmaster at New Salem. The daily outgoing and incoming mail could be carried in his hat. These

positions were not lucrative enough to relieve his financial embarrassment. He became so involved that his horse, saddle and bridle were seized and put up for sale at auction. Lincoln was not present at the sale, but Bolin Greene, a friend of his, was there. After the sale, Greene, who had bought the horse and the trappings, took them to their former

owner and said to him: "Take them, Abe, and pay for them what I paid whenever you get ready; if you never get ready it's all the same to me."

While Lincoln was postmaster, the post-office at New Salem was discontinued, and one day a government agent called to close the business and settle the accounts. It was found that a balance of seventeen dollars and a few cents was due from Lincoln to the government. A friend who knew how poor he was, and presumed that he had not at hand the means to pay, kindly offered to lend him the necessary amount. "Stop a bit," said Lincoln, "let's see how it will come out." He went to his lodgings and returned with an old stocking, the contents of which he emptied on the table. There were the coins, from pennies to quarters and half dollars, just as he had received them from those who did business at the office. A count showed



the exact amount required to discharge the obligation. Though Lincoln had often been hard pressed for the necessities of life, he had never used a farthing of the money which belonged to the government.

But Lincoln's ambition was boundless, though thus far he had seemed to get on but slowly. He determined to apply himself to the law, of which he had already picked up a fair general knowledge—with a secondary design to secure a foothold in politics, which had a strong fascination for him. He walked fifty miles to borrow a copy of Blackstone's "Commentaries," and read a hundred pages while he was trudging back. To such a man, success was sure. He again entered the race for the Legislature, everywhere openly avowing his Whig principles. The district was usually Democratic by a large majority, but Lincoln had grown in popularity to such a degree that he was easily elected. Before he could make a decent appearance at the state capital, he had to borrow money to purchase suitable clothing. A friend loaned him two hundred dollars, "which," says the lender, "he returned according to promise." There were nine representatives from Sangamon County. All were tall men, and the delegation was known as the "Long Nine." Lincoln was tallest of all, and on this account, as well as from his natural leadership, he was called the "Sangamon Chief." He continued in the Legislature for four consecutive terms. Meanwhile, he had been admitted to the bar, in 1836, at the age of twenty-seven, and had removed to Springfield, the capital of the state. His law business increased beyond his most sanguine expectations, and he was at last fairly started on the way to fame and fortune. He was indeed one of those who had "come up through great tribulation."

In the practice of law, Lincoln never resorted to the tricks by which many of his brother attorneys sought to win cases. He was as honest in his profession as he was in everything else. He would not take a case which he knew to be inherently bad, based upon wrong or injustice of any kind. He was ever ready to espouse the cause of the unfortunate, the weak and the poor, with never a thought of his fee. An aged woman, the widow of a Revolutionary soldier, had been robbed by a pension agent in Springfield and sought the advice of Mr. Lincoln. He undertook the case and brought suit against the agent. During his plea at the trial he had half the jury in tears. The verdict was for the woman and the agent was compelled to make full restitution. Lincoln refused to accept a penny for his services, and he paid his client's hotel expenses and her railroad fare to her home, which was some miles distant. "There is but one Abraham Lincoln," said one of his friends after this incident.

While young Lincoln was struggling to rise above his surroundings, the weight of a crushing sorrow fell upon him. A mutual affection, which ripened into betrothal, had grown up between him and a fair and most estimable girl named Ann Rutledge. Lincoln loved her with all the intensity of his ardent nature, and they were to have wedded as soon as he became settled in life. Miss Rutledge was cut off by a fatal illness, and he who had hoped to make her his wife was inconsolable. So overmastering was his grief that for a time his friends feared that he would lose his reason. But time healed the wound, and Lincoln became greatly attached to another young woman. He asked her hand in marriage, but she looked only upon the uncouth exterior of her admirer and refused him. Again he suffered for a time, but he took a philosophical view of the matter, and to one of his friends he said, jocularly: "Maybe she'll live long enough to find that she might have done worse than to have me, but I guess I'll be able to pick up a wife, sooner or later."

Not long afterward he met Mary Todd, from his native state, Kentucky. The tender passion again took root, and when he asked her to become his wife she promised him, and some time later the day was set for the wedding. Mr. Lincoln seems to have been in a peculiar frame of mind. He began to doubt his feelings toward Mary, and the idea took possession of him that they were not suited to each other for life companions and that he had done wrong in proposing to her. His biographers say that this so preyed upon his mind that he seriously contemplated suicide. At all events, when the day and hour for the nuptials came, the bride and the guests were there but the groom did not appear. It was a purely conscientious motive that kept him away; he could not do what he conceived to be a wrong to one whom he so highly esteemed. But Miss Todd was disinclined to

release him, and, after a careful consideration of the matter, he decided to marry her, and did so. To the last day of his life he was a true, faithful and affectionate husband, with the tenderest charity for the faults of disposition and temper which marred Mrs. Lincoln's otherwise strong and attractive womanly character. An incident—laughable because it ended without bloodshed—grew out of the courtship of "Abe" and Mary. It was the famous "duel" between Lincoln and General James Shields. The latter took mortal offense at some prankish publications in the local newspapers, of which Lincoln was the writer. Shields demanded satisfaction and Lincoln readily agreed that he should have it. Lincoln had the choice of weapons and chose cavalry broadswords, the combatants to



stand on either side of a wide plank securely fixed on its edge. The affair created a great deal of noise, but the differences were finally adjusted through the interposition of mutual friends.

In 1846 Mr. Lincoln was elected a representative in Congress, as a Whig. He drew public attention by a speech in which he sharply assailed President Polk for having "unjustly forced a war upon Mexico," and by the introduction of a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Twice during the next few years, Lincoln was a candidate for the United States Senate, and was only defeated by political combinations against him. In 1856, at the first national convention of the Republican party, he was the choice of many of the delegates for the vice-presidential candidate, but the selection fell to William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. In 1858 took place the famous joint debate between Mr. Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. Both were candidates for the United States Senate, and their speeches attracted the attention of the country in a marked degree. Mr. Lincoln, in this debate, took a very pronounced stand against slavery, while Mr. Douglas stood for the principle of "popular sovereignty"—the right of the people of a state to decide for themselves whether it should be slave or free. "Slavery is wrong" was the keynote of Mr. Lincoln's speeches, and his nomination for President in 1860 was in large measure due to the deep impression which his utterances during this debate made upon the minds and hearts of the freedom-loving people.

A year before the presidential campaign of 1860, the opponents of slavery in Illinois were casting about for a national candidate and their unanimous choice fell upon a man within their own state. In 1859 a state convention of the new Republican party was held at Decatur. Lincoln was there in a purely individual capacity. But when the presiding officer called him to the platform, he was lifted by the arms of admiring friends and carried forward, amidst tremendous cheering. Then John Hanks entered the hall, bearing on his shoulders two old fence rails gayly decorated with ribbons. They bore the inscription:—

"Abraham Lincoln, the Rail candidate for the presidency in 1860. Two rails from a lot of three thousand, split in 1830 by John Hanks and Abe Lincoln, whose father was the first pioneer of Macon County."

A few months later this Illinois rail-splitter spoke on the living issue of the time, to a great audience in the largest hall in the city of New York. A contemporary writer said:—

"Never before had such a speech been heard in New York. Men who had great claims to scholarship, and who had spent the greater part of their lives among books and in colleges, were amazed when they heard the masterly exposition which Lincoln gave of the history and political

institutions of the country. Uncultured, yet scholarly; untrained, yet logical; unpolished, yet deeply sympathetic; mighty in stature and eloquent in speech—the people listened to him spellbound, and from time to time testified to their approval and delight with thunders of applause.”

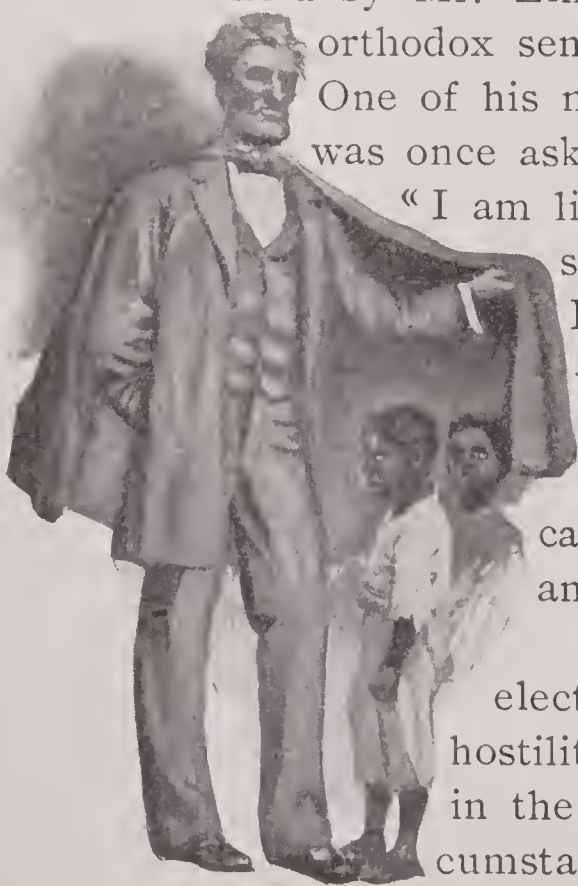
Said one man as he walked out of the hall after the meeting, “He is the greatest man since St. Paul!”

Mr. Lincoln’s power as a speaker did not lie in polished diction and lofty flights of oratory. It is said of him that in his early manhood, when he began public speaking, he first cultivated a high-flown style, with sounding phrases and words of many syllables, on the theory that this would impress the untutored ear with a sense of the speaker’s ability and learning. But he soon changed his method, for he found that he could reach the people with far greater effect by the utmost simplicity and directness of style, with well-pointed stories freely interspersed. In later years, the crude roughness of the log-cabin days wore off, but otherwise his style of speaking remained unchanged. His voice was not melodious and his form was ungainly, but there was an irresistible charm in his unique individuality, and in the depth and genuineness of his convictions and his sympathies for those who suffered from wrong. His illustrations and anecdotes, of which he had a boundless store, mainly drawn from scenes and characters in Western life, gave to his speeches a flavor and relish that never palled on the popular taste.

A few words may properly be said in regard to the religious views held by Mr. Lincoln. He was not deeply pious—a Christian in the orthodox sense of the word. The “Golden Rule” was his creed. One of his most intimate, lifelong friends relates that Mr. Lincoln was once asked, in his presence, in regard to his religious belief.

“I am like an old man in Indiana,” said he, “whom I heard speak in church when I was a boy. He said, ‘When I do good, I feel good, and when I do bad, I feel bad,’—and that,” said Mr. Lincoln, “is my religion.” At certain periods of his life, and under peculiar conditions, he seemed much inclined to fatalism; yet there can be no doubt of his firm belief in the Supreme Being, and in His directing power over individuals and nations.

The political conditions which made possible the election of Mr. Lincoln, on a clearly defined issue of hostility to slavery, may be briefly sketched here, to assist in the better understanding of the peculiar and trying circumstances under which began the administration of the first Republican President. The right to hold negroes in bondage was recognized in the Constitution. Indeed, in the early days of



the republic, slavery existed in the seaboard states of the North, including New York and Massachusetts. But a system of labor based upon ownership and forced servitude was at variance with the spirit of the people who had settled in the North and East, and whose civilization was creeping gradually westward. Slavery was banished early, by the voice of the people, from the territory north of a line coincident with the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and thence westward following the course of the Ohio River.

This definitely and permanently fixed the line between free and slave territory east of the Mississippi, but trouble came when the great Northwest was carved into sections and these, one after another, applied for admission into the Union. There was a fierce struggle over the admission of Missouri, the body of which lies north of the line of the Ohio River prolonged. A majority of her people desired that it should be a slave state, and this was at length agreed to, after the adoption, in 1820, of the "Missouri Compromise," drafted by Henry Clay. By its terms, slavery was forever prohibited from passing north of the line of the southern boundary of Missouri, produced to the west line of the territory ceded by France to the United States and known as the "Louisiana Purchase." The compromise had no force west of the Rocky Mountains, and California was admitted to the Union, in 1850, only after a warm and protracted contest to decide whether it should be with slavery or without it.

The most bitter struggle, however, and the one which did more than anything else to kindle the desolating torch of war, was over the admission of Kansas and Nebraska. Kansas lies directly west of Missouri and Nebraska north of Kansas. The United States Court had decided the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional, and it had been wholly abrogated by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, after one of the most rancorous contests in the history of Congress. This left the slavery question to the decision of the people of the two territories. In order to control the admission of Kansas, partisans of slavery from Missouri and Arkansas, and "free-state" advocates from all sections of the North, hastened thither. A violent clash was inevitable. The struggle lasted several years, with much disorder and bloodshed. There were rival legislatures and territorial governments, and both slave and free constitutions were adopted and presented to Congress for approval. The war hastened the solution of the problem and Kansas was admitted, a free state, in 1861.

The hostility to slavery in the North had been gaining strength ever since the foundation of the republic. The old Whig party had always opposed the encroachments of slavery, but it had been ever ready to compromise, and thus put off the evil day, which men.wise

in politics could foresee was coming, when the fate of slavery would be decided forever—for there was a fast increasing number of people who believed that the nation could not much longer exist “half slave and half free.” The Whig party did not keep step with public sentiment. It was divided on the slavery question, lost the presidential election in 1852, when its candidate, General Scott, was defeated, and soon afterward disappeared. The Republican party, organized in 1856, took more advanced ground. It was inherently and uncompromisingly opposed to slavery, was willing to concede to it only such privileges as were guaranteed by the Constitution, and declared that it should be held strictly to all legal limitations. This party had failed to elect John C. Fremont, its first candidate for President, in 1856, but during the next four years it had gathered such momentum that the divided opposition could not stand against it.

For the election of 1860, the Republicans had their logical candidate before them, by a process of natural selection. The candidate was William H. Seward, of New York, able and experienced as a practical politician, with the broad outlook and constructive genius of a statesman, ready and forceful in debate, eloquent and graceful as an orator, distinguished as a man of light and leadership among his contemporaries, one who had deftly but courageously fought the battle of freedom against slavery, and withal so buoyant and sanguine always that his mere presence was half the victory. But the Republicans could win only by holding back the extreme radical anti-slavery element, represented by such men as Garrison and Phillips, and keeping in close touch with the large and dominating conservative feeling at the North. Very many whose heart's desire was to see Seward in the White House, feared that his masterly leadership, which had brought them in sight of the land of promise, would prove their undoing, by awakening fears in conservative breasts that Seward as President might go too far or too fast. The ghost of ancient feuds in the politics of New York arose, too, and Horace Greeley, editor of the “Tribune,” and journalistic autocrat of the new party, pronounced irrevocably against Seward. To lose New York would be to lose the election, and to carry New York against the violent and inflexible opposition of Greeley and the “Tribune” seemed an impossibility. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, would have been a natural second choice, but it was believed that Chase would prove weaker in the East than Seward.

First among the “dark horses” was Abraham Lincoln. He had been to Ohio, and had shown the friends of Chase the kind of candidate he would be if their idol should have to be sacrificed. He had been to New York, and set the friends of Seward to thinking and

talking about him. He belonged to no faction, and represented no interest but that of the new, great and enthusiastic party, so hopeful of victory in the presence of the disarrayed enemy, and so anxious not to make a false move in the impending struggle to attain it. In the great Northwest he was without a rival, and everywhere without an enemy. Finally, in his public addresses, East and West, he had not only uttered quaint and picturesque phrases that afterward sprang to the lips of argument, but had set the paramount issue in the light of pure morality, and so had given to political action against slavery the exaltation of a religious crusade.

Not only the foremost but the most fortunate of dark horses was Lincoln. The national convention was held at Chicago, in his own state, where his friends were at home and his admirers could throng the spacious galleries upon tickets issued by a provident committee. His portrait was ready, and so were the flags and the music, and the floor shouters among the delegates—everything prepared for the stampede, when the audience should break forth spontaneously into cries and cheers, and the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Lovely woman was to grace the upper scene, and with no purpose of being either motionless or silent. Though the fence rails split by Lincoln in his early days must have moldered into touchwood, a hardy-looking supply of the original and genuine articles was provided, to be carried around at the proper moment to attest the "rail-splitter" as the greatest of living statesmen, as well as a true son of the people. The charm worked; none the less because, while other dark horses were shut out from the track, there was no visible effort to hamper the running of the first and second favorites as long as they could keep the pace. Their efforts were soon spent, and then the race was a walkover for Lincoln.

After a momentary gasp at the East, the nomination proved surprisingly strong and popular. The bright prospect aroused the best efforts of the active politicians, whose interested services no candidate can do without. Young voters in the free states were naturally attracted to the new party and became enthusiastic in their adherence to it, and as the character and history of the candidate unfolded themselves the enthusiasm extended to him. Torchlight processions in uniform, to the music of bands, drum corps and campaign songs, were frequent in the large cities and towns, and, carried away by local or party feeling, much money was spent in these campaign demonstrations by persons who had not a thought of any direct advantage from the election. The antislavery sentiment in the North was fused into a solid mass, and, with an enthusiasm born of confidence in the result. The young Republican party girded itself for the struggle. No

political campaign in the history of the country stirred popular feeling to profounder depths than did that which placed Mr. Lincoln in the presidential chair.

Lincoln's vote fell nearly a million short of the aggregate number cast for the other presidential candidates, of whom there were three — Douglas, of the northern Democrats; Breckenridge, of the slavery Democrats; and Bell, of the conservative "American" party. He carried only seventeen out of thirty-three states, but he had a majority of fifty-seven over all others in the electoral college, and lost no free state except New Jersey, in which a fusion ticket took part of the electoral vote. All the slave states voted against him, from Delaware down to Texas. Personally, he was less obnoxious to the people of the South than would have been Seward or Chase, but they considered that he would be a minority president and assumed that he would be a strictly sectional one. South Carolina exercised her alleged privilege of withdrawing from the Union, and was soon followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas. These seven states formed a republic of their own, organized a government and an army, and fixed their national capital provisionally at Montgomery, Alabama.

Such was the heritage to which the rail splitter came—a shattered Union, a resolute and ready South, an incredulous and unready North, leaders of other parties all for compromise, and many of those of his own party for abject surrender. Lincoln's first act after the election had been to obtain the consent of Seward and Chase to fill the two most important places in the Cabinet, a measure that gave general satisfaction to his party and to the country. His eloquent inaugural address inspired confidence at the North, but it was without effect at the far South, which had irrevocably chosen its course.

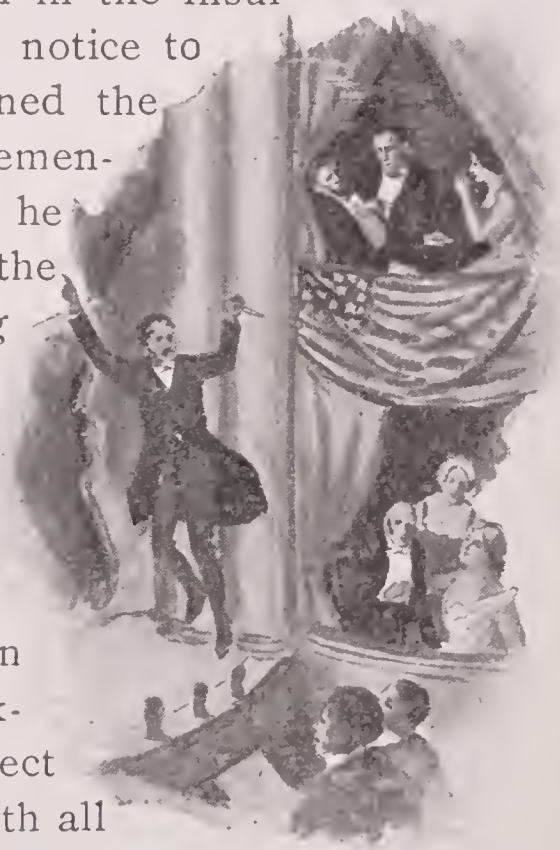
Apart from his great height and spare, ungainly figure, the new President's appearance was striking. His features were large, though not irregular, and prominent cheek bones would have given them a seeming harshness except for the melancholy or kindly expression which, the one or the other, sat habitually on his countenance. His cheeks were hollow, his gray eyes deeply set, and a wild mass of black hair rose above a very high forehead. After he became President, a short but full beard around the chin materially improved his looks. His manner was simple and perfectly natural, and gave him both dignity and affability. Ordinarily, he was sociable and talkative, but he was subject to prolonged fits of depression, which, when extreme, threw him for hours into a trance-like condition, or, as in the case of Napoleon, racked him with a desolating sense of fatalism. To the reaction from his attacks of despondency is due that outward levity of speech and manner which sometimes jarred upon even-balanced

minds—for inwardly Lincoln was always serious—were it but in the telling of one of his quaint and point-enforcing stories. His patience was sublimity itself, and his intuitive habit of bringing everything to the test of morality, shows that he had obtained his human share of the divinity that in mythology belongs to the gods. When he began to discuss slavery before the people, he cried out against the injustice of it, but he had no debasing word for the slaveholder nor fulsome word for the slave. For the political equality of the negro, he made no claim, but he did claim for him an equal right with the white man to put into his mouth the bread that his hand had earned.

The story of Lincoln's presidency is inseparably woven into the history of the Civil War, and could not be even sketched in an article of this length and kind. His announced policy was to redeem his inauguration oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution. War was begun from his necessary but peaceful effort to supply, but not to strengthen, the nearly starved garrison of a national fort in Charleston Harbor, and the first shot was not fired from a Union gun. From the original duty to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution he never swerved, and upon it he never enlarged. To take vengeance upon rebellion was never in his mind; he sought to cause rebellion to cease, and the national authority of the Union to be restored where it had been defied and arrested.

When, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and as an act of military necessity, Mr. Lincoln declared emancipation in the insurgent states, after giving them one hundred days prior notice to return to their allegiance, he neither shook nor overturned the Union upon its foundations, though his was the most tremendous act since the Declaration of Independence. That he had not been dilatory or over-cautious was shown by the votes against the administration in the shortly ensuing elections, and in the momentary wave of discontent that swept over the army and navy. It was his patience and wisdom that soon brought the army, navy and people around to the sober view that he had done right, and that if the head and heart of any man were to be trusted, he was that man. Coming as and when it did, the proclamation strengthened the Union and weakened the Confederate power immensely. Nor was the effect in Europe less important. There the American war, with all its dreadful slaughter and destruction, was no longer considered a war of conquest, but one of liberation.

The last shot of the Civil War found its victim in the tender, patient man whose heart was already set on binding up the wounds



that the war had made. The tragic story of Lincoln's death need not be told in detail—how on the night of April 14, 1865, he was shot down by an assassin and, how, a few hours later, the spirit took its flight. The whole North had been at the pinnacle of rejoicing over the surrender of Lee at Appomattox and the end of the war. No such mighty revulsion of feeling ever before was witnessed as that which came when the words "Lincoln is dead" were carried upon the wires to every part of the country. In the army, bronzed veterans wept like children; and all over the country the great heart of the people was touched by such a grief as it had never known. Tears bedimmed the eyes of millions as the remains of the beloved Lincoln were borne half-way across the continent, to their resting place at his old home in Illinois.

Certainly, no American since Washington had such a burden laid upon him as did Mr. Lincoln. How patiently he bore it, with a singleness of purpose—the salvation of the Union—the world knows. The judgment of history will be that he was the man for the emergency, to meet the stress of war and direct the affairs of the nation through the most critical period of its history. The loyal people loved him and had confidence in him. To the soldiers "Father Abraham" was almost a god. They knew that his great heart went out to them in sympathy, and that everything that it was in his power to do he did, to provide for their needs and alleviate their distresses. His ear was always open to the appeals of the soldiers or their friends, and justice was often tempered with mercy, when death sentences for disobedience of military law were laid before him. The following is one among many of these cases:—

"DEAR FATHER: For sleeping on sentinel duty I am to be shot. I am going to write you all about it. You know I promised Jimmie Carr's mother I would look after her boy: and when he fell sick, I did all I could for him. He was not strong when ordered back into the ranks, and the day before that night I carried all his baggage, besides my own, on our march. Toward night we went on double-quick, and the baggage began to feel heavy. Everybody was tired; and if I had not lent Jimmie an arm, now and then, he would have dropped by the way. It was his turn to be sentry, and I took his place, but I was too tired, father. I could not have kept awake if a gun had been pointed at my head; but I did not know it until—well, until it was too late. They tell me to-day that I have time to write to you. To-night, in the early twilight, I shall see the cows all coming home from pasture, and precious little Blossom standing on the back stoop, waiting for me—but I shall never, never come! God bless you all!"

Late that night a little girl glided out of her home, and in the early morning she was at the White House—"Well, my child" said

President Lincoln, "what do you want so early this morning?" "Bennie's life, please sir," faltered Blossom. "Bennie? Who is Bennie?" asked Mr. Lincoln—"My brother, sir. They are going to shoot him for sleeping on his post." "I remember," said the President "it was a fatal sleep. You see, child, it was a time of special danger."

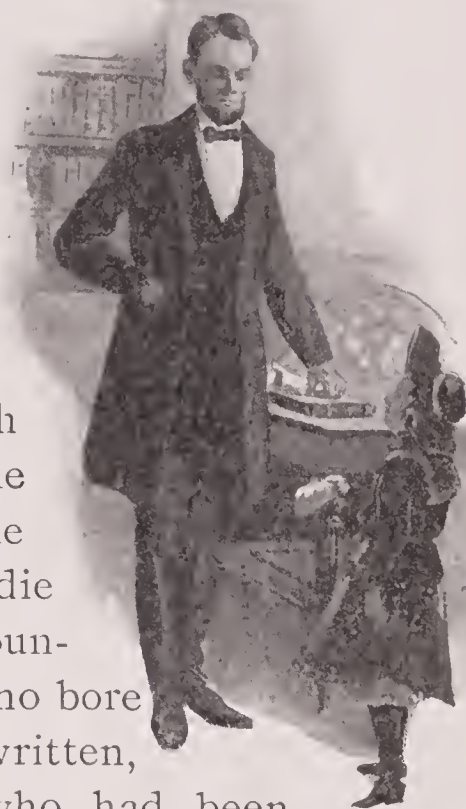
He read Bennie's letter, which Blossom held out, wrote a few lines, rang a bell and said to the messenger, "Send this dispatch at once." Then he turned to Blossom and said: "Go home, my child, and tell your father, who could approve his country's sentence, even when it took the life of a child like that, that Abraham Lincoln thinks the life far too precious to be lost. Go back—no wait until to-morrow; Bennie will need a change after he has so bravely faced death; he shall go with you." "God bless you, sir," said Blossom.

Two days later, when the young soldier came with his sister to thank the President, Mr. Lincoln fastened the strap of a lieutenant upon his shoulder, saying: "The soldier who could carry a sick comrade's baggage and die for the act without complaining deserves well of his country." Among the slain at Fredericksburg was a youth who bore on his breast a picture of Mr. Lincoln, on which was written, "God bless President Lincoln." This was the youth who had been condemned for sleeping on his post and had been pardoned by the President.

Fashionable life at the national capital and the burden of official cares did not in any degree change the character of Mr. Lincoln from the plainness and simplicity of his early manhood. The shallow frivolities and vanities of Washington society were most distasteful to him and even the contemplation of a "state dinner" was painful. It is related of him that at one of the New Year receptions, that long ago became a fixed social function at the White House, Mr. Lincoln endured, with ill-concealed impatience, the official ceremonies with all their stiff formality. When the hour arrived for the admission of the public, he drew the gloves from his hands and, as his face kindled with pleasure, he said:—

"Now, open the doors, and open them wide; let the people come in."

As the long procession filed past he gave a grasp of the hand and a kindly word of greeting to each—equally cordial to rich and poor, white and black. For the soldiers, and especially such as were ill or disabled by wounds, he showed a depth of tenderness that spoke eloquently of his gentleness of heart and nobility of soul.



PERIOD OF CIVIL WAR

WITH two candidates, and hopelessly disrupted, the Democrats were out of the presidential race before the campaign of 1860 opened.

A convention of Unionists, which sought to revive the old Whig policy of excluding slavery from politics, put up a presidential ticket, composed of John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, and those who were for the Union with or without slavery could quiet their consciences by voting that ticket. But the victory belonged to the Republicans before the battle was fought, and popular interest centered upon their national convention. With Seward, of New York, as the one only possible candidate, by the irresistible logic of events, and with certain success ahead, the convention ought to have been tame; but it proved to be the opposite. The certainty of success made the rings and factions that were not of the circle of the great leader the more anxious to snatch the nomination away from him, and to fight and traffic and bargain for it among themselves. It was not without reason that the New York delegation came to the great wigwam at Chicago with a force and power and display never before equaled, and rarely since surpassed. Greeley of the "Tribune" had been waiting for just this chance to settle an old score with Seward, and years of bitter nursing of his alleged wrongs at Seward's hands nerved him to the greatest effort of his life, to put down the man who was now on the very threshold of the presidency. That he did deadly work against Seward is sure, but Greeley alone could not have defeated him. What defeated him was the fear of many of the late free-soil Democrats, and conscience Whigs, that Seward, in his high place as the anti-slavery leader in politics, had been too radical, to run well with that great mass of Northern people who wished slavery to be made reasonable and to be kept where it belonged, but who had no aggressive feeling about it and who longed for peace. In other words, Seward was too great and too conspicuous to stand the nibbling away process of a presidential campaign. He had a record and a distinctive one, and there was at least the possibility that, with his emphatic anti-slavery record as a lever,

Douglas, who did not wish to "vote slavery either up or down," and who had no wish about it except to keep it out of the Democratic party, might beat Seward; for Douglas had a large personal following, and was just the sort of candidate to appeal to conservative instincts all over the Union.

Seward killed off by revenge and cowardice, there was not another single candidate who, for availability, could measure, in the slightest degree, with Lincoln, of Illinois. This the friends of the latter had foreseen; and making no enemies for him while the fight over Seward was in progress and undecided, they had quietly made preparations to stampede the convention to him when Seward should be out of the way, even going so far as to pack the spacious gallery with Lincoln shouters whom the convention officers would not be able to silence, and having at hand an express supply of Lincoln split fence rails, to be carried in procession about the wigwam when the moment for stampeding the convention should arrive. If Lincoln was naturally Seward's dark horse, the Lincoln men did not mean to leave an opening for the thrusting in of a dark horse between Lincoln and the convention after Seward had vanished, and their ample precautions were crowned with success. With Seward gone, Lincoln was the proper nominee, and the stampede and tomfoolery cleared away the long-drawn excitement, and did no harm.

Lincoln proved a popular candidate with his party, and his personality grew stronger and more attractive as it came under the calcium light of a presidential campaign. His ungainly figure and dress, and his homely ways, lost him no votes. His rugged face was anything but repulsive when it grew familiar, and as to the allegation of his being a fool or a buffoon, it crumbled upon reading his speeches in the joint debate with Douglas, in 1858, and his Cooper Union speech at New York, in 1860. When the ballots were counted, the aggregate popular vote for Douglas, Breckenridge, and Bell, greatly exceeded the vote for Lincoln, so that the latter was coming into a troubled presidency with the disquieting knowledge that a striking majority of his fellow citizens did not wish him there. The significance of the popular vote was no more lost upon his opponents than upon himself; it made them aggressive, and it made him careful, for he understood that he must win confidence in order to sustain his position.

Before the election, South Carolina had announced her purpose to withdraw from the Union if the electoral vote should be for Lincoln. On the previous occasion of her supreme discontent, she had applied the Jefferson plan of staying in the Union and forbidding the execution within her bounds of its unacceptable laws. Only the great name of Jefferson had made the doctrine of nullification respectable,

and its absurdity came home to all when South Carolina followed it in Jackson's time. She now resorted to the more rational doctrine of going out of the Union, as contemplated by New England during the oppressions of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations. True, there was a question about the constitutional right of secession, but it had been open and unsettled from the beginning, and could not be decided until an actual case should arise. It arose now with the secession of South Carolina, and though men generally, including many of South Carolina, were sorry to see a breach in the Union that had done more good, and that had lasted longer, than was originally expected; there was no strong feeling, except in South Carolina itself, which had been dissatisfied with the Federal system for many years. In a message to Congress, President Buchanan went carefully into the constitutional legality of secession and pronounced against it, but neither could he find any constitutional warrant for Congress or the President to coerce a seceding state. If he had, it would have made no difference, as the North was against coercion, and the cotton states were all following the example of South Carolina and arranging to form a new republic among themselves, with slavery free to all whites who could buy and keep slaves. So far as he could, President Buchanan was constitutionally bound to hold on to all the national property in the seceded states; but that made no trouble for either side, since he had not the means to hold on to much, and the Southern intention was to come to an accounting and a settlement, as soon as the separation of all the states that in the end should decide to withdraw had been effected. The case of the border states was more troublesome all around. Their slavery interests were not large enough to justify secession; they were more bound up with the free states than were the remoter cotton states; the free states would feel their secession to be much more of a wrench; and if Maryland was to go out with the rest of them, as she almost certainly would, even the national capital would have to be abandoned to the new republic. On the other hand, the cotton states would not feel satisfied with their experiment unless Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, as well as Tennessee, could be induced to come into the new confederacy. More than either the actual North and the actual South, the three actual border states needed a preservation of the whole Union, and for that they strove. Having regard to the state of public feeling, both North and South, and to his own unavoidable and increasing helplessness, Buchanan made an honest and creditable effort to hold together as much of the Union and of its government as he could, until Lincoln should constitutionally relieve him. A popular delusion as to what Jackson had said, and done, and accomplished, in nullification days, has led to a

comparison between him and Buchanan that is quite unjust to the latter. Jackson blustered and scolded over the nullification question as he did over everything, but South Carolina never drew back from her nullification measures; and before the day arrived on which she had invited him to a collision, the obnoxious federal tariff law, that had been the occasion of nullification, was altered to her satisfaction, with Jackson's participation, and with enough of concession to afford a decent retreat to Jackson and Congress. Buchanan, with his cabinet purged of secessionists and strengthened by such resolute loyalists as Holt, Dix, and Stanton, did quite as well under his own circumstances, and crowned the loyal sincerity of his latter days of office by seating himself beside his threatened and imperiled successor, in a public procession to the place of inauguration.

Just before Lincoln's accession, his party in Congress, influenced by popular indifference at the North, made a final effort to save the Union by passing a constitutional amendment through both Houses that would have riveted the slavery system forever upon the neck of the American people. It did not change the purpose of the seceders by the breadth of a hair, but its abjectness newly aroused their sleeping arrogance. They could have had a peaceful, and even a friendly separation by offering an equitable settling up of the national affairs; by making such commercial arrangements as would be reasonable and mutually advantageous between neighbors, who were also brothers, and by consenting to free navigation of the Mississippi to the sea, as indispensable to the Northwest. And such arrangements they had intended to make. But the sight of the party just lifted to power, on its knees, and rubbing its forehead in the dust, excited the contempt of the Southern leaders, and they resolved to push matters to a conclusion according to their own taste and convenience. The inaugural address of the new President was conciliatory and pathetic, but firm in his resolve to abide by his oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. Some show of force would therefore be needed to compel the removal of the little garrisons of Forts Pickens and Sumter, and to hasten the movement of the border states in the Southern direction; and the raising, equipping, and drilling of a provisional army would keep the Southern people interested and occupied. Seward, who by reason of Lincoln's inexperience and previous obscurity, had considered himself as the virtual and natural head of the new administration, proposed to Lincoln a sudden war with England or France, as a means of immediately dissipating the domestic troubles and reuniting the country, and also proposed his own recognition as dictator of the administration until a return of normal conditions should enable the President and cabinet to assume their

normal places. Lincoln received and rejected both propositions calmly, as became a man who had need to be patient and to offend nobody. He was patient, and he was also firm, in his quiet way, and when he repudiated Seward's promise that he should receive the Confederate envoys sent to open negotiations with the government of the United States, Seward said confidentially: "He is a wonderful man and the master of us all."

The crisis came when Lincoln caused notice to be given that without reinforcing Fort Sumter he meant to provision the garrison actually there and now in danger of starvation from the cutting off of its local supplies. The provisional army having already prepared for a siege and bombardment, opened fire on the fort and, by superior force, compelled its surrender. This startled the people of the North, who had been looking for a peaceful separation or a peaceful reunion, and who had not concerned themselves much about the details. In their disappointment and anger, they promptly accepted the challenge to battle, and turned their minds in an instant from languid peace to strenuous war. What Lincoln had now to do was to organize and direct the crude, but mighty, power suddenly thrust upon him with a mandate to use it to the uttermost, and not to cease to use it till the national flag was respected and the national authority obeyed throughout the Union. Thus secession, which had nearly made its claim good without ill will, was by the act of its promoters suddenly called to defend itself in the last court of human resort. Lincoln accepted the popular mandate in its true spirit. He would fight for the Union and he would not fight against slavery, except as slavery might incidentally suffer in the clash of arms. Virginia and Tennessee he could not save after war began, but Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, were not lost, and were still Union states in feeling though very tender on the slavery question. A majority of the people of the free states were against fighting for the slaves, though a unit on fighting for the Union, and Lincoln saw his way cleared when Douglas spake out, like a trumpet, in behalf of the government, and when the late northern allies of the slaveholding democracy took to organizing entire Union regiments from strictly Democratic voters. These days were part of Lincoln's best, if not his very best. His practical wisdom, his intimate knowledge of how the ordinary people, constituting the mass of the population, would feel and think, his own capacity for winning their confidence, his patience, his humility, his clear vision of things present and his foresight of things ahead, his good humor, his unselfishness and generosity, and his tenacious, though modest, firmness, made him, without exaggeration, the first of men. He might easily have been carried off of his feet by the wave of popu-

lar emotion that rolled upon him, but he kept his footing as strongly as he kept his head. The doubtful states were all saved to the Union, the threatened Capital was saved, and even the far off and isolated Fort Pickens was saved. California had many Southern sympathizers, and both North and South had expected the Pacific states and territories to justifiably form a confederacy of their own; but no sooner had the East declared for a Union down to the Gulf than the people beyond the Rockies declared that it should be a Union across to the Pacific ocean. Thus a war for the Union was launched, and launched much more successfully than anybody could reasonably have foreseen.

It is impossible here to enter into the details of the great and prolonged war for the Union. The South was strong in being on the defensive; in having her broad area well-girdled by railways to multiply and concentrate her power; in a population well-qualified for the business of war and offering good material for leaders; and in facilities for feeding and clothing her people to the extent, at least, of actual necessities. But she was weak in mechanical skill and in the appliances and materials for producing the implements of war, and if the struggle should be notably protracted, her disparity of population, and her inability to produce the nourishment and the alleviations that only the strong can do without, even for short periods, would tell against her. Though powerful in defense, a long war would mean an important wasting and destruction of her resources by the repeated incursions of her invaders; and as the country to be invaded, and with her people having ready and influential access to their rulers, she would be sure to weaken her battle power by too great detachments from her field forces, to guard exposed places. She had the commercial and political inducements to win European alliances, and one dread sovereign of adventurous disposition was at the moment much disposed to enterprises on the western continent; but in founding her republic on slavery she had flouted the religious and moral sentiments of the civilized world, and this sterilized her diplomacy.

The first necessity of the North in offensive war was to cut the South off from outward supply by an effective blockade of her Atlantic and Gulf coasts, with conquest of harbors sufficient to serve as naval bases, and shelters, and with eventual reduction, by naval power, of the defenses of her commercial ports. The blockade effected, a federal control of the Mississippi would leave but a precarious and unproductive connection between the western states Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, and the eight other states of the Confederacy, of which Florida would cost the South more for defense than it could contribute to the general welfare. The coast blockade, the domination of the Mississippi, and the use of the Tennessee and Cumberland

rivers, tributaries of the Ohio, for planting the Federal power in western and middle Tennessee, and in the northern parts of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, all called for time in preparation and execution; but the means of the North for effecting those several objects were far greater than were the means of the South for frustrating them. Time, which could not be greatly hastened, was the hardest thing for the Federal military and naval experts to command; for the Northern people, having in the heat of patriotism given to the government all of the men and supplies it could immediately use, were in a heat of impatience for immediate results. The government was not strong enough to stand between its warlike arrangements and popular clamor; the heads of the government were as raw as the people; the warlike experts, being such only in name, had to be taken at their own valuation, and their estimates of each other did not agree; the civilians in military and naval uniforms had to be converted, by a gradual process, into true soldiers and seamen, and altogether the first half of the war was necessarily a forming and testing period, from which the men and means had to emerge for effecting the original problem—a military and naval conquest of the South—during the last half of the war, while people at home had to learn patience. What it means to undertake the conquest of a mainly agricultural and pastoral people, thinly spread over a large and broken area, not greatly altered from its native state, the Boer War of 1899 has fully attested; but in 1861, the North entered as blithely and as unready upon a conquest of the South, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and from the Atlantic to the Red river, as the British people entered upon a conquest of the South African republics; and each purposed to do the work of years in as many months. As already said, an actual conquest of the South was equally the original and the final task, and when it was at last accomplished, on the first broad lines necessitated by the unalterable conditions of the problem, the war came to an end. It would have come to an end sooner if there could have been more time for preparation in the beginning. Bragg's invasion of Kentucky, and Lee's invasion of Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were but detached incidents of the war of subjugation, which neither altered the original task nor the methods of its accomplishment.

The heaviest individual burden of the war fell upon Lincoln, for he alone of all men had to consider its every important problem and effect. The naval part of the war did not give him much trouble, for the Federal naval ascendancy was overpowering from the beginning, and public men at Washington were not looking for successful naval commanders to be the allies or patrons of their political ambi-

tions or views. With his generals, Lincoln had much trouble, both in a military and a political way, and though in late years extravagant claims have been made as to his military genius and success, all that can be said is that if his hand had been felt much more than it was in the affairs of the War Department, those affairs would doubtless have been more satisfactorily conducted. Not until Grant became the virtual military dictator, near the beginning of 1864, did the military administration become really commendable, even at Washington.

Lincoln purposed first to restore the Union by reëstablishing the Constitution in the eleven states where it had been forcibly suspended. He had no plan of punishment, revenge, confiscation, or emancipation. Whenever he saw an opportunity to make a beginning, or a show, of restored constitutional government in an insurgent state, he took the opportunity, hoping that it might grow, or be of some sort of service for some space of time; and he was not insistent upon a uniform plan or mode of restoration for all of the seceded states. But there were radical and able men in his party who disagreed with him, and who made much trouble. They demanded punishments and confiscations, and a congressional reconstruction of the government of every insurgent state, instead of a mere restoration of Federal relations by presidential action. Some of them also demanded emancipation of the slaves in insurgent states, with civil and political rights, and "forty acres and a mule," at insurgent expense, and even grants of confiscated lands for the Union soldiers and sailors. On the other hand, the border state Loyalists and the War Democrats were strenuous that the rebellion should be suppressed by strictly military and naval operations, and with the least possible disturbance of the social and political conditions existing before the war. Lincoln stood between the two extremes, and by infinite patience and tact kept them from breaking apart. The general sentiment of the North was one of moderation, and it was the confidence of the large, and predominant, class of moderate men that Lincoln gradually won. It was this class that eventually came around to the view that slavery would have to go, as a necessary measure of the war, and, coming in that way, emancipation, when declared, gave hardly a jolt to the most conservative feeling.

The congressional and the state elections of 1862 showed great discontent with the administration. The war burden was grievous, the results disappointing, the mismanagement of the war palpable, and the interference with personal liberty and political rights in the loyal states, under the color of necessity, beyond reason. The unity of 1861 was broken, and thenceforward there was an open and growing opposition to the manner in which the war was conducted, and, in time,

to a further continuance of the war. With opposition active, the arbitrary government became more arbitrary, until all the guarantees of the Constitution were practically suspended, and men held their safety only upon the restraints of public sentiment, and through the consciences of those clothed with the absolute power.

Lincoln was renominated in 1864, against the will of the radical element of his own party, and was reëlected over the efforts of the opposition. There was no enthusiasm about him or about the war, nor was there any rational ground for enthusiasm about either; for the man had been neither a saint nor a hero, and the war had been almost everything but a success. Yet reasonable men felt that it was better to carry the war through, since it had gone so far, and that, upon the whole, Lincoln would do better in charge of it than would a new and untried man. The national pulse was beating rather low at the time, but the national judgment was sound. The war was successfully over in five months after the election, but the man in charge of it was snatched away, by the bullet of a crazy fanatic, just at the time when the reunited nation needed him as he had never been needed before, and when there was absolutely no man to fill his place.

CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES

THE great Civil War, or War of the Rebellion, was one of the most fierce, protracted, and bloody conflicts of arms in the history of the world. No such mighty armies have been sent to the field, since Xerxes led a million men against Persia. No greater courage, steadfastness, and endurance were ever shown by men in war than those that marked the soldiers of both North and South. No more desperate struggles are recorded than those of Shiloh, Gettysburg, Stone River, Antietam, Chickamauga, Vicksburg, Missionary Ridge, Chancellorsville, Atlanta, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Franklin, Nashville, Petersburg, and other battles of the Civil War. In many of these the percentage of casualties was greater than that in any of the bloody battles of the first Napoleon. The primary cause of the war was the "irrepressible conflict" between the two sections of the country over the question of the extension—the existence, even—of negro slavery. In colonial times, and in the early days of the Republic, there was no limitation as to slavery, and it existed in New York, Pennsylvania, and other states of the North. Gradually, how-

ever, owing to climatic, industrial, and economic conditions, and to the sentiment of the people, slavery was abolished and prohibited, by constitutions and laws, in the states of that section popularly designated as the North. The boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, known as "Mason and Dixon's line" was fixed as the dividing line between free and slave territory, and this was extended westward along the course of the Ohio River. With the development of the country, there grew up in the South an ever-increasing desire to break down the barrier, and to extend slavery, west and north. This was strenuously opposed at the North, and in Congress the representatives of the two sections were almost constantly engaged in controversy over the question that became paramount to all others. The hostility between the upholders of slavery in the South and the Abolitionists of the North grew more bitter from year to year. It culminated in actual conflict and bloodshed, in Kansas, the "raid" of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, and then—secession and war. Most of the southern politicians had long advocated the doctrine of state sovereignty, and the right of secession from the Federal Union.

In November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected President, by the votes of the anti-slavery people of the North. Believing that he would be a sectional President, hostile to their political and material interests, the southern leaders determined to carry out the principle which they had so long upheld,—withdraw from the Union, and set up a separate government. The state of South Carolina took the initiative, and in December, 1860, passed an ordinance of secession. This was soon followed by similar action on the part of six other states—Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, and Florida. These seven states organized a provisional government, the temporary capital of the new Confederacy being Montgomery, Ala. All this had been done before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, which took place March 4, 1861. Weeks before this, also, hostile preparations had begun at Charleston, S. C., the direct purpose of which was to gain possession of Fort Sumter. The climax was reached when, on April 11, Gen. Beauregard, commanding the Confederate forces at Charleston, sent to the fort a formal demand for its surrender. This was refused by its commander, Maj. Robert Anderson, and on the following morning the Confederate batteries opened fire—the Civil War was begun. President Lincoln at once called for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service; a similar call was issued by Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States; and the beat of war-drums was heard in every town and hamlet. The call to arms kindled the martial ardor of the people in every part of the North and of the South. The gage of battle was promptly accepted and the response was in-

stant and abounding. Each state was called upon for its quota, and in many cases twice, thrice, the number apportioned was offered. By a common impulse, the volunteers sprang into ranks, from every class and condition in life. From the farm, the factory, the counting-room, the college, the professions, men rallied to the colors by tens of thousands—faster than they could be armed and equipped. The Southern Confederacy, as has been stated, was at first formed of seven states; there were eight others in which slavery existed. These were therefore considered as belonging to "The South," and every effort was made to induce them to attach themselves to the new government. Before the outbreak of hostilities they had hesitated, but the roar of the guns at Sumter brought a quick decision. Four of them,—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas,—cast their lot with the "Cotton States," while the "Border States,"—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri,—decided to adhere to the Union. The people of the latter states were divided in sentiment. Many thousands of them entered the Confederate service, but a much larger number—notably from Kentucky and Missouri,—formed themselves into regiments and batteries for the Union army. The duration of the war was four years. The surrender of Lee to Grant at Appomattox occurred April 9, 1865,—three days less than four years from the date of the opening gun at Fort Sumter.

The aggregate of enlistments in the Union army, under the successive calls of the President, for terms of service varying from three years to one hundred days, was about 2,800,000. The term of service was usually three years, though there were some enlistments for two years, one year, and, to meet emergency calls, for six months and for one hundred days. In most cases the loyal states furnished a sufficient number of volunteers to fill their quotas, from time to time, although in 1863 and 1864 drafting, or conscription, was found necessary in a few states. Through the offer, by the general government, of a large individual bounty and a thirty-day furlough, a large part of the men who went to the field in 1861 reënlisted in the latter part of 1863 and the early months of 1864, for three years more. This gave to the government the continued services of a large number of excellent soldiers—inured to fatigue and hardship, tempered in the fire of battle, and skilled in the art of war. These were designated as "veteran volunteers." Included in the total heretofore given are 186,000 colored troops. The wreckage of the Confederate government contained no records showing the number of enlistments on that side. From the best obtainable data it may be fairly estimated that the aggregate was about 950,000—one-third the number shown on the rolls of the Union army. The latter comprised 1,896

regiments of infantry, 272 regiments of cavalry, and the equivalent of 78 regiments of artillery, or 942 batteries, generally of six guns each. A field battery contained about 150 men. A company of infantry or cavalry, when full to the maximum, consisted of 100 men. A regiment of infantry consisted of 10 companies, or 1,000 men. A regiment of cavalry, of 12 companies of 1,200 men. A brigade consisted of from three to five regiments—generally four; after the regiments became much reduced in strength by the casualties of the service, the number constituting a brigade was often increased to eight or more. Three brigades—rarely four—formed a division, and three divisions, a corps. An army was composed of a number of corps—usually two or three. In 1863 the Army of the Potomac had seven. Thus on the basis of maximum strength, a regiment numbered 1,000; a brigade, 4,000; a division, 12,000; a corps, 36,000. But the regiments were very rapidly decimated by battle and disease, and generally the fighting strength of the various organizations was but half these numbers—and much less, even, during the last year of the war. In regard to the loss of life during the war, it cannot be exactly stated, but according to the best obtainable data in the Union army it was as follows:

Killed in battle.....	44,238
Died of wounds	49,205
Died of disease	186,216
Died from unknown causes.....	24,184
Died while prisoners	26,168
	<hr/>
	330,011

To this number may properly be added at least 100,000 who died within ten years immediately following the war, directly from the effects of exposure and fatigue, and from wounds which never healed. The number wounded in action was nearly 300,000; the number captured was 184,791. There are no official reports from which to compile the Confederate losses. The armies on that side were generally smaller, and the losses were in proportion. The aggregate may safely be approximated as about three-fifths of that on the Union side. At the close of the war the strength of the Federal army for duty was nearly a million men, while that of the Confederate army, the resources of which had become exhausted, was scarcely a quarter of that number. To show the spirit that animated the people of the loyal states, it is worth while to quote the following from a report made by the Secretary of War, Nov. 22, 1865: "On several occasions when troops were promptly needed to avert impending disaster, vigorous exertion brought them into the field from remote states, with incredible speed.

After the disasters on the Peninsula, in 1862, over 80,000 troops were enlisted, organized, armed, equipped, and sent to the field in less than a month; 60,000 troops have repeatedly gone to the field within four weeks; 90,000 infantry were sent to the armies from the five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, within 20 days. When Lee's army surrendered, thousands of recruits were pouring in, and men were discharged from recruiting stations and rendezvous in every state." It may fairly be said that the people of the South were not one whit behind in their spirit of sacrifice and of devotion to the cause in which they believed, but four years of conflict had exhausted the men and material, with which to carry on war, and the end was inevitable. The money cost of the war is an interesting phase of the subject, but it can be only briefly touched upon here. To the U. S. government the cost of carrying on the war, during the four years of its actual continuance, was about 2,500 millions of dollars, or an average of nearly two million dollars a day. The vast sums paid since that time for pensions and for interest on the public debt were directly part of the cost of the war.

Up to this time (1901) about 3,000 millions, or \$3,000,000,000 has been paid for pensions, and fully as much for interest on the war debt. This makes the direct cost to the government up to this time, eight billion five hundred million dollars. To this should be added a very large but unknown sum for the expense of the war to states, counties, municipalities, and individuals. This can be only vaguely estimated, but those who have studied the question place the amount at not less than \$200,000,000—it may have been twice that sum. The loss, damage, and waste of war to the South was incalculable. Three million slaves represented \$1,500,000,000 in value, and this was a total loss. All parts of the South were desolated and laid waste by the ravage of war. Property of all kinds, to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars, was confiscated or destroyed. It is within bounds to say that the direct cost, and loss, and damage resulting from the Civil War was not less than twelve billions of dollars. If one attempts to compute the loss to the country, by the diversion of the energy of three million men from industrial pursuits to the unprofitable avocation of war—from production to destruction; and if it were possible to estimate in dollars the suffering, the grief, the woe that were piled mountain high, with the passing months and years of fire, and blood, and death, he would be lost in the vastness of the appalling aggregate. Such is war! The war virtually ended with the surrender of Lee's army, April 9, 1865. The various bodies of troops elsewhere, one by one, laid down their arms and furled their flags; but it was not till May 26 that the last army surrendered—that of

Kirby Smith in the trans-Mississippi department. The muster-out of the great body of volunteers in the U. S. army soon followed. There was serious apprehension in the minds of many that the release, at once, of so great a number of soldiers would be disastrous to the good order and well-being of society. There was an impression that the volunteers had thrown aside all restraint, and during their life in the army had become vicious and lawless, and that an era of crime and indulgence of appetite and passion would follow. But the result proved that these fears were wholly groundless. In no other army that the world ever saw was there so high a mental and moral standard of life and conduct. On both sides the volunteers had been actuated by patriotism and devotion to principle, and when the end came the great armies quietly melted away. The soldiers "beat their swords into plow-shares and their spears into pruning hooks" and entered at once upon the pursuits of peace, while the whole world looked on and wondered. The various battles and events of the war and the generals on both sides appear under their respective names in this volume.

ADAMS, JOHN.—(1825-1864.) Officer of the U. S. army, serving with distinction in the Mexican War. He was a major-general in the Confederate service in the Civil War; commanded a division of Hood's army in the Tenn. campaign after the fall of Atlanta, and was killed in the battle of Franklin.

"ALABAMA," THE.—A Confederate cruiser built in England and fitted out and sent to sea under the command of Raphael Semmes, in 1862. She cruised the ocean for nearly two years, during which time she inflicted upon the U. S. merchant marine damage estimated at above \$15,000,000. She was sunk in a battle with the U. S. S. "Kearsarge," off the harbor of Cherbourg, France, in June, 1864. (See SEMMES, RAPHAEL, 508; WINSLOW, JOHN ANCRUM, 623; also ALABAMA CLAIMS, in this volume.)

ALLATOONA (Ga.), BATTLE OF.—A month after the capture of Atlanta by Gen. Sherman, the Confederate army under Gen. Hood, was launched northward, its purpose being to enter upon an aggressive campaign in Tennessee. Marching swiftly, Hood endeavored by quick, hard blows to break Sherman's communications between Chattanooga and Atlanta. On October 5, 1864, a Confederate division under Gen. French appeared before Allatoona Pass, thirty-five miles north of Atlanta. This is a strong natural position and here were stored 1,500,000 rations. These the Confederates desired to capture or destroy. The Federal force consisted of less than 800 men, commanded by Col. John E. Tourtelotte, of the 4th Minnesota. French was sluggish, de-

laying his attack till the next day. Meanwhile Gen. John M. Corse, with 1,200 men, had reinforced the garrison, raising its strength to 2,000. French, with a largely superior force, attacked with energy, but so gallant was the defense that after an engagement that lasted the entire day, the Confederates drew off and abandoned the enterprise. The Confederate loss was above 1,000; that of Corse—who was one of the wounded—was 700, more than a third of his men. The defense of Allatoona ranks among the notably gallant operations of the Civil War.

ANDERSON, ROBERT.—(1805–1871.) An American general, noted for the defense of Fort Sumter in the first engagement of the Civil War.

ANTIETAM (Md.), BATTLE OF.—This, also called the Battle of Sharpsburg, one of the great battles of the Civil War, was the culmination of the Confederate invasion of Maryland, in September, 1862. After the severe engagement Sept. 14, at South Mountain (which see), Gen. Lee drew together his army at Antietam Creek, a small stream that flows into the Potomac, 8 miles above Harper's Ferry. "Stonewall" Jackson's corps was at Harper's Ferry (which see), so that at this time Lee had scarcely more than 30,000 men. Two of Jackson's divisions were hurried forward, together with other detachments, raising the Confederate strength to near 50,000. The Union army under Gen. McClellan was augmented from every available source and had an aggregate, including 5,000 cavalry, of about 80,000. The action began Sept. 16, on which day, toward evening, a large Union force under Gen. Hooker assailed the Confederate position, but night put an end to the attempt for that day. The fighting was renewed on the 17th, and continued throughout the day with the greatest fury. There was no decisive result for either side. Both combatants suffered very heavy losses and neither took the offensive on the 18th. McClellan issued an order to resume the fighting on the 19th, but it was found at dawn on that day, that the Confederates had retreated during the previous night. Lee succeeded in recrossing the Potomac without serious molestation, and returned to the line of the Rappahannock, in Virginia. It was believed at Washington that McClellan had not shown sufficient enterprise in pursuing the Confederate army, and a few weeks later he was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac. He was succeeded by Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. The Federal loss at Antietam was above 12,000, of whom more than 2,000 were killed; the loss of the Confederates was somewhat larger.

APPOMATTOX (Va.), BATTLE OF.—After the battle of Farmville (which see), Apr. 7, 1865, the broken Confederate army which had retreated from Richmond and Petersburg, continued its march west-

ward, still endeavoring to elude the infantry of Meade and the cavalry of Sheridan, the combined union force being under the direction of Gen. Grant. Lee's retrograde movement was along the line of the Appomattox River, with Meade pressing closely. Sheridan learned that supply trains for Lee's army had arrived at Appomattox station, on the railway to Lynchburg, and pushed forward to that place with all his cavalry. Gen. Custer, commanding Sheridan's advance, reached Appomattox station on the night of the 8th. He at once attacked the van of the Confederate army, which had just arrived, capturing twenty-five cannon and several trains of supplies. Before daylight Sheridan had come up, together with a large force of infantry, comprising the Fifth corps under Gen. Griffin and the Army of the James under Gen. Ord. Underestimating the Federal strength, Lee directed Gen. Gordon to attack. As the latter advanced Sheridan drew aside his cavalry and disclosed the compact forces of Griffin and Ord. Thus menaced, in front, flank, and rear, Gen. Lee saw the hopelessness of further resistance, which could only result in a useless effusion of blood. For forty-eight hours he and Gen. Grant had been in correspondence, and he now displayed a flag of truce and asked for an interview with Grant for the purpose of arranging the terms of surrender. The meeting took place at the McLean home at Appomattox Court-house, and resulted in the surrender of Lee with all that remained of his army, about 27,000 men. Officers and men were permitted to retain their horses and personal baggage, and officers their side arms. "The men will need their horses for the spring plowing," said Grant. The terms granted to the vanquished were generous and caused a most kindly feeling throughout the South toward Gen. Grant. The surrender of Lee virtually ended the war. Further resistance on the part of the Confederates would have been folly, and the other armies of the rebellion speedily followed and laid down their arms.

ARKANSAS POST (Ark.), BATTLE OF.—In Jan., 1863, Gen. John A. McClernand was placed in command of an expedition to move against Fort Hindman, a post on the Arkansas River, about forty miles from its confluence with the Mississippi. The infantry was taken up the river on transports, convoyed by Admiral Porter's fleet of gunboats. On Jan. 11, a combined land and naval attack was made, which resulted in the capture of the fort with all its ordnance and stores and above 5,000 prisoners. The Union loss in killed and wounded was about 900.

ARMISTEAD, LEWIS ADDISON.—(1817-1863.) Served in the Mexican War and was a brigadier-general in the Confederate army in the Civil War. He commanded a brigade of Pickett's division, Longstreet's

corps, in the battle of Gettysburg, and was killed in the famous charge of that division to the crest of Cemetery Ridge, on the third day of the battle.

ASBOTH, ALEXANDER SÁNDOR.—(1811-1868.) He served under Louis Kossuth in the Hungarian rebellion of 1848-49 and emigrated to the U. S. in 1851. He volunteered in the U. S. service at the beginning of the Civil War and was commissioned a brigadier-general. He served chiefly in Mo. and Ark., under Fremont and Curtis. In 1866 he was appointed minister to the Argentine Republic.

ATKINS, JOHN D. C., of Paris, Tenn., born in Henry County, Tenn., in 1825. After graduation from East Tennessee University in 1846, he was admitted to the bar. He served in the state legislature (1849 and 1851); elected to the state senate (1855); chosen presidential elector (1856); elected to Congress (1857); lieutenant-colonel in the Confederate army (1861). He was elected to the Confederate Provisional Congress (1861-63), and served several terms in Congress up to and including the Forty-seventh.

ATLANTA (Ga.), BATTLE OF.—Although there was much fighting at various times around Atlanta, during July and Aug., 1864, the above designation is given to the action of July 22. Gen. John B. Hood had five days before, superseded Gen. Joseph E. Johnston in the command of the Confederate army that was charged with the defense of Atlanta against the Federal army under Gen. William T. Sherman. During two and a half months Johnston had steadily given ground until he had fallen back more than a hundred miles, from Dalton, near Chattanooga, to the gates of Atlanta. Hood's orders were to fight, and this policy was in accord with his own wish. He determined to attempt the overthrow of Sherman's left flank, which was held by the Army of the Tennessee, under Gen. James B. McPherson. During the night of July 21, he sent on this mission about half of his army, under Gen. William J. Hardee. It was Hood's purpose to strike at dawn, but the march, by a wide detour, was delayed and the attack was not delivered till nearly noon. It was in the nature of a surprise, and at first the Federals were thrown into confusion. They rallied, however, reformed their broken lines, drew reinforcements from the center and succeeded in driving the Confederates from the field. The soldiers of both sides fought with the greatest gallantry. The losses were heavy, that of the Federals being 3,800 and that of the Confederates above 7,000. Among the slain were Gen. McPherson, of the Union army and Gen. William H. T. Walker of the Confederate army. (See ATLANTA CAMPAIGN.)

ATLANTA CAMPAIGN (Civil War).—After the battle of Missionary Ridge near Chattanooga, Tenn., in Nov., 1863, Gen. Bragg withdrew the defeated Confederate army to Dalton, Ga., about twenty-five miles to the southward, on the railroad to Atlanta. The force was augmented during the winter to about 60,000 men, and about 10,000 additional reinforcements joined it early in the campaign that followed. The army was organized into three corps, commanded by Gens. Hood, Hardee, and Polk. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was assigned to its command in place of Bragg. Gen. William T. Sherman was in command of a Federal army of 100,000 men, with 250 pieces of field artillery, assembled at and around Chattanooga. This force was composed of the Armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio, commanded respectively by Gens. Thomas, McPherson, and Schofield. Sherman moved against Johnston in the early days of May, 1864, coincident with the advance of Grant upon the army of Lee, in Virginia. Sherman's objective point was Atlanta, which is in northern Georgia, one hundred and forty miles east of south from Chattanooga. It was then an important railroad center and supply depot and contained large manufactories of ordnance, clothing, etc., for the Confederate army. As soon as Johnston began to feel the pressure of Sherman's advance, he disposed his forces to make stout resistance. May 8-12 there was sharp fighting at Rocky Face Ridge and Buzzard Roost, strong places for defense in the hilly region to the northward of Dalton. Finding the Confederates intrenched in the passes, and unwilling to make the large sacrifice of life that would result from a direct assault, Sherman sent McPherson with the Army of the Tennessee, by a wide detour through Snake Creek Gap, to strike the railroad at Resaca, 14 miles south of Dalton. This movement was successful and compelled Johnston to let go at Dalton and fall back to meet the menace in his rear. Sherman followed closely with the remainder of his army and joined McPherson. Johnston had taken up a strong position, in which he was attacked by Sherman. The battle of Resaca was fought May 14-15 and resulted in large losses, without decisive advantage to either side. Johnston, however, decided to retreat and with great skill withdrew his army and trains across the Ostanaula River. Sherman pushed hard after, hoping to catch his adversary in the confusion of retreat, but was unable to do so. During the ensuing four weeks Johnston continued his retrograde movement, slowly falling back, stubbornly resisting at every point when attacked but yielding one position after another, as it was overlapped or flanked by his adversary's longer lines. Johnston was advised by some of his subordinate commanders to give battle, but he deemed the hazard too great, in view of Sherman's superior force, and continued to act almost

wholly on the defensive. He was ever on the watch for a favorable opportunity to strike his antagonist, but the two commanders were thorough soldiers, well matched, and neither offered a vulnerable point of attack. Johnston took position behind the Etowah River at Kingston, Sherman leaped the stream, and still backward fell the Confederates. The railroad was the source of supply for both armies—Sherman's from Chattanooga and Johnston's from Atlanta.

Toward the end of May Sherman filled his wagons with supplies for twenty days, left the railroad and swung away twenty miles to the southwest, to Dallas and New Hope Church. Here he found Johnston confronting him, and for several days there was much severe and bloody fighting, though nothing in the nature of a general battle. The middle of June found the armies back to the railroad about Acworth and Big Shanty. The pressure of Sherman continued to force Johnston, and the latter took up a strong defensive position near Marietta. June 27 Sherman made a desperate attempt to breach the Confederate line by an assault upon Little Kennesaw Mountain. It was unsuccessful, entailing a Union loss of 2,500 men, while the loss of the Confederates was scarcely a fifth of that number. Sherman again resorted to his favorite method of turning the enemy's position by a flank movement, and early in July Johnston abandoned his strong line and fell back across the Chattahoochee River. Sherman at once passed the stream, and soon after the middle of July the Confederate army was occupying the strong forts and intrenchments that had been built around the city of Atlanta. It had been pressed back, in ten weeks, more than a hundred miles from its first position at Dalton. The Confederate authorities at Richmond were greatly displeased with Johnston for his disinclination to fight, and alarmed by the advance of Sherman to the very gates of Atlanta. On the night of July 17 a telegraphic order was received relieving Johnston of the command of the army and appointing Gen. John B. Hood, one of his corps commanders, as his successor. The change was made at once, and Hood knowing what was expected of him inaugurated a fighting policy. July 20, he assailed with the greatest fury, at Peachtree Creek, Sherman's Twentieth and Fourth corps, but the Confederates were beaten off after a bloody contest. July 22, Hood massed half his army against Sherman's left and hurled it upon the Army of the Tennessee. This engagement is known as the Battle of Atlanta, and was one of the fiercest encounters of the campaign. Gen. James B. McPherson, one of Sherman's ablest lieutenants, was among the slain. Another sortie, July 28, at Ezra Chapel met with a bloody repulse, the Confederate loss being above 3,000. For nearly six weeks the hostile armies confronted each other, in positions

made impregnable to assault. Sherman determined to cut loose and again strike the Confederate rear. At the end of August, at night, his army left its trenches and moved silently and swiftly by a detour to the west and south, around Atlanta. Next morning the dawn revealed the deserted Federal intrenchments, and the Confederates leaped to the conclusion that Sherman had raised the siege and retreated. This was telegraphed to all parts of the south and for a day there was great rejoicing. But Sherman's army debouched from the woods twenty-five miles below Atlanta and began the destruction of two railroads. Then Hood blew up his magazines, destroyed such stores as he could not carry away, and evacuated the city. Sherman telegraphed to Washington: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won." The campaign lasted four months. During that time Sherman's losses were 5,300 killed, 26,000 wounded, and 6,000 prisoners, a total of above 37,000. No official statement of the Confederate losses was ever made, but they may be safely estimated at about 28,000. Atlanta was not again occupied by the Confederates during the war. The principal battles of the campaign are detailed in this volume under their respective names. (See SHERMAN, WILLIAM TECUMSEH; JOHNSTON, JOSEPH EGGLESTON; HOOD, JOHN BELL.)

AUGUR, CHRISTOPHER COLON.—(1821-1898.) A general in the U. S. army. He was graduated from West Point in 1843; served on routine duty till the Civil War, when he was made a brigadier-general of volunteers and later a major-general. He commanded a division under Banks at Cedar Mountain; was transferred to the Department of the Gulf and commanded the left wing of Bank's army during the operations against Port Hudson; in 1864 he served in Va.; was made a brigadier-general in the regular army in 1869, and was retired in 1885.

AVERELL, WILLIAM WOODS.—Born in 1832. An American soldier and inventor. He was graduated from West Point in 1855; during the Civil War he was a cavalry commander, noted for his raids upon the Confederates in Va., in 1863-64; resigned in 1865 with the rank of brevet major-general. He had a scientific mind and invented valuable improvements in steel working, the use of asphalt for pavements, and electrical appliances.

AVERYSBORO (N. C.), BATTLE OF.—One of the closing engagements of the Civil War, fought Mar. 16, 1865. It was an attempt on the part of General Hardee to check Sherman's march from Savannah to Goldsboro. Hardee had 10,000 infantry and one division of cavalry in the immediate front of the Confederate forces. During the sharp

fight that occurred Sherman lost 77 killed and 477 wounded; while Hardee lost 500. The latter made his escape during the night.

BABCOCK, ORVILLE E.—(1835–1884.) An American officer, was appointed colonel and aid-de-camp to Gen. Grant in 1864, and later his military secretary. He was engineer in charge of the Washington Aqueduct.

BADGER, OSCAR C.—An American naval officer born in Connecticut in 1823. He saw his first service in the Mexican War. In 1861 he was in command of the *Anacostia* of the Potomac flotilla. He commanded the *Patapsco* and *Montauk* in several engagements in Charleston harbor in 1863. He was fleet-captain with Rear-admiral Dahlgreen on the *Weehawken* in the night attack upon Fort Sumter in September, 1863. He was wounded in this engagement and never fully recovered.

BAILEY, JOSEPH.—(1827–1867.) An American soldier, born in Salem, Ohio. He was a farmer up to the Civil War, when he entered the military service and rose to be lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Wisconsin volunteers in the Civil War, and promoted to brigadier-general for a great service rendered by him, in the saving of Commodore Porter's fleet from destruction, during the Red River expedition under Gen. Banks, in 1864. His service consisted of building two dams across the Red River and thus deepened the water in the middle channel so that the ships passed the rapids. (See BANKS, NATHANIEL PRENTISS.)

BAILEY, THEODORUS.—(1805–1877.) An American naval officer, born in Chauteangaz, N. Y. He sailed twice around the world. At the outbreak of the Mexican War he carried a corps of artillery to California around Cape Horn. In the Civil War he commanded the *Colorado* and led in Farragut's attack upon New Orleans, and made the demand for the surrender of the city. He was in command of the navy yard at Portsmouth, N. H., from 1865 to 1867.

BAKER, EDWARD DICKINSON.—Born at London, Eng., 1811; killed at Battle of Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21 1861. An officer of the U. S. army and a politician. He was a member of Congress from Ill. (1845–46 and 1849–51); during the interim he went to Mexico as colonel of a regiment and served through the war; was elected a U. S. senator from Oregon in 1860; at the outbreak of the Civil War he left his seat to enter the Union army as a brigadier-general; was killed as above stated, while serving under Gen. Charles P. Stone.

BAKER, LAFAYETTE.—Born at Stafford, N. Y., 1826; died at Philadelphia, Pa., 1868. An American brigadier-general, and head of the

bureau of secret service during the Civil War. He organized the pursuit of Wilkes Booth who killed President Lincoln, and was present at his death. He wrote a "History of the United States Secret Service in the Late War."

BAKER'S CREEK (Miss.), BATTLE OF.—A name sometimes given to the battle (May 16, 1863) of Champion's Hill (which see).

BALL'S BLUFF (Va.), BATTLE OF.—This action took place Oct. 21, 1861, early in the Civil War, near Leesburg, Va. Gen. Charles P. Stone had been directed by Gen. McClellan to demonstrate against a Confederate force encamped at that place. Col. Devens, with about 400 men of the 19th and 20th Mass. regiments, crossed the Potomac River, in furtherance of the plan. He was attacked by the Confederates in largely superior numbers and was compelled to give ground. He was reinforced by two regiments under Col. Edwin D. Baker, who assumed command. Baker was killed in the action and the Union troops gave way in confusion. They were driven in panic to the river, where many were captured and many were drowned while attempting to escape by swimming. The Union loss was 900—about half of the entire force. The Confederate loss was about 300. Col. Baker was a U. S. senator from Oregon, and colonel of a California regiment. For alleged mismanagement which led to the disaster, Gen. Stone was arrested and kept in confinement for several months.

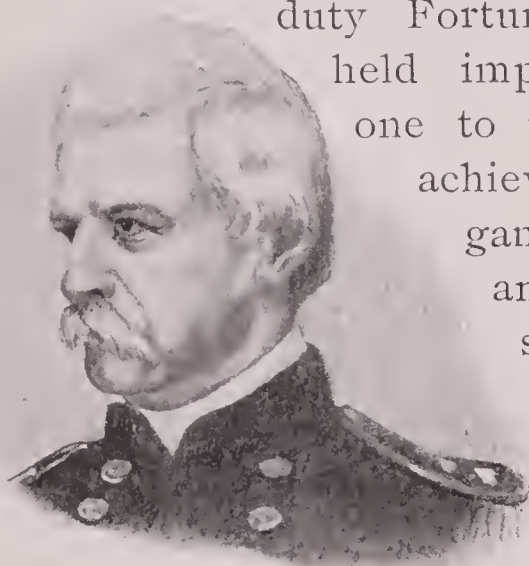
BALTIMORE ATTACK ON UNION VOLUNTEERS.—Massachusetts responded first to the President's call for troops, and sent a force from Boston to Baltimore. Pennsylvania followed promptly, and being farther south than Massachusetts, got her troops into Baltimore first. The Pennsylvania soldiers met with great opposition in passing through Baltimore, the largest city in the slave states. When the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment reached Baltimore (April 19, 1861) they were met by the opposition of a great crowd. They landed at the North station. For their convenience a line of rails was laid through the city to the south station. The cars were stopped by the crowd and when the soldiers disembarked, volleys of stones were showered upon them, and several soldiers were mortally wounded. The soldiers in defence fired upon the crowd, and a battle followed. After the soldiers departed the crowd burned the railroad bridges and cut the telegraph wires between Baltimore and Washington, thereby preventing communication from the North.

NATHANIEL PRENTISS BANKS

Mechanic, lawyer, statesman and soldier.

FEW men have had a more checkered career, or one covering a wider range of public service, than this legislator and soldier.

Of obscure parentage, he gave no promise in early life that he would rise above mediocrity. But he reached the high position of Speaker of the lower house of Congress, in which he won distinguished honor as a presiding officer. When war came he leaped into the saddle and went to the field, but in this important sphere of duty Fortune did not bestow her favors upon him. He held important commands, for his previous life had been one to inspire confidence, but in achievement, or lack of achievement, he was disappointing. War is largely a game of chance. A commander of unquestioned ability and highest courage may, by an accidental circumstance, be overwhelmed in ignoble disaster and defeat. Another, no better equipped to command than he, may, by a fortunate happening, be lifted to the pinnacle of success and fame. In the case of General Banks, no great victories stand in the account to his credit. That he gave his best efforts, his most loyal and faithful service, cannot for a moment be questioned; but those who hold to the doctrine of fatalism may well believe that it was not for him to win the chaplet of laurel with which the world loves to crown the victor.



Nathaniel Prentiss Banks was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1816. His parents were poor and he began early in life as a breadwinner. While but a boy, he was employed in a cotton factory; later, he learned the trade of machinist. In his younger days he developed an ability for public speaking and no little aptitude for the drama. When a young man he was the ruling spirit in an amateur dramatic association. A number of plays were produced, in which Banks acquitted himself with such high credit that his friends believed the stage to be his proper field. For a time he was inclined to become an actor, and he probably would have done so but for his strong inclination to enter politics. He attached himself to the Democratic party, and began to make speeches at public meetings, with such suc-

cess as to attract attention outside of the circle of his acquaintance. As a stepping-stone to a political career, he studied law, and at the same time edited the local newspaper of his party. These favoring conditions brought him into prominence, and President Polk appointed him to a position in the Boston customhouse. He was now fairly launched upon the political current, and preferment was rapid. In 1849 he was elected to the Massachusetts legislature; two years later he was reëlected and chosen Speaker, in which station he won high honors for his fairness as a presiding officer and his skill in parliamentary law.

In 1852 Banks entered a larger field of political activity, by his election to Congress. By this time, however, his views had undergone a change, as had those of thousands of others in the North, in consequence of the agitation of the slavery question. There was a breaking away from the Democratic party and a readjustment of political lines. Banks enrolled himself among those who opposed the extension of slavery, and was ready to connect himself with the Republican party, which, however, had not yet been organized. He took his seat in Congress in December, 1853, and in 1854 he was reëlected. That which was fitly characterized as the "irrepressible conflict" had begun, and there was a bitter and protracted struggle to secure the Speakership of the House, between the Democrats on the one hand and the various opposing elements on the other. This began in December, 1855. The Democrats were in a small minority, but it was found impossible to unite the opposition, which was composed of "old line" Whigs, radical Free-Soilers, Know-nothings, and conservative antislavery men like Banks. All these combined had votes enough to elect a Speaker at any time, but the diversity of opinion was too great, and all efforts to secure a perfect combination failed. One candidate after another was tried, to test his "availability," and many times during that long contest the opposition candidate lacked but four or five votes of a majority. But the few whose votes were needed were like the stubborn twelfth member of a jury, and there was no result. After the opposition had experimented with a number of candidates, and many weeks had elapsed, the name of Nathaniel P. Banks was presented. The high repute which he had won as Speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives was in his favor, while his position, midway between the extremes, made him more generally acceptable than other candidates had been. But there was still a lack of two or three votes to make a majority of the House. Two whole months had been consumed in the struggle, which was wholly without precedent, and the public business was suffering. Banks was elected on the one hundred and thirty-third

ballot, although this was only accomplished by the adoption of a resolution declaring that a plurality of votes, instead of a majority, should suffice to elect. The House was a turbulent body during that Congress, and the occasion demanded of its presiding officer the highest exercise of skill, tact, fairness and parliamentary knowledge. So well did Speaker Banks discharge his difficult and delicate duties, that at the end of the session he received the compliment of a unanimous vote of thanks for his marked ability and impartiality. Banks was lifted into prominence, and in 1857, was elected governor of Massachusetts, which position he held for three successive terms.

Immediately after the Civil War began, Banks offered his services to the government and was commissioned a major-general. His first notable service was during the early part of 1862, when he commanded a force operating in the Shenandoah Valley. He had a formidable adversary in "Stonewall" Jackson, always alert, active and energetic. A number of sharp engagements occurred, the most important of which was at Cedar Mountain. The result of the campaign was favorable to Jackson, who cleared the Valley of the Federal forces and then hastened to join Lee, who was in a mighty grapple with McClellan almost at the gates of Richmond.

In December, 1862, Banks succeeded General Butler in the command of the Department of the Gulf, with headquarters at New Orleans. A most important duty which devolved upon him was to coöperate with General Grant in opening the Mississippi River. Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the latter in Louisiana, were the two principal points which had been strongly fortified, and were held in large force by the Confederates. At the same time that Grant was to operate against Vicksburg, Banks was to undertake the reduction of Port Hudson. The latter took the field in person and showed great enterprise in his movements. He invested Port Hudson at the end of May, 1863, after an unsuccessful assault in which he lost above two thousand men. Another attempt to carry the works by storm was made June 14, but this, too, was unsuccessful, after eighteen hundred men had been killed or wounded. The fall of Vicksburg, July 4, sealed the fate of Port Hudson, and it was surrendered to Banks on the 9th, with fifty-one cannon and six thousand four hundred prisoners, after a siege of forty-five days.

In the spring of 1864, General Banks organized and personally commanded an expedition to the upper Red River. It was intended to penetrate, if possible, as far as Shreveport, in the extreme northwest corner of Louisiana. A well-equipped force, believed to be adequate, left New Orleans in March, on a fleet of some twenty transports, convoyed by a strong naval squadron under the command

of Admiral David D. Porter. A coöperating column under General A. J. Smith was detached from the Army of Grant in northern Mississippi. The expedition ended in defeat and disaster. Banks reached a point near Natchitoches, and within one hundred and fifty miles of Shreveport, which is seven hundred miles from New Orleans. The fleet and the army kept as near together as possible, for mutual protection and assistance. The Confederates, commanded by Lieutenant-general Richard Taylor, were exceedingly active. They assailed detachments of the Union army at every opportunity, and batteries planted on the bluffs and at the bends in the river gave great annoyance and did serious damage to the gunboats. In the early part of April, Banks encountered the enemy in strong force and two engagements followed. The result was favorable to the Confederates and Banks determined to retreat. This decision was hastened by the low stage of water in the river, which rendered navigation so difficult and dangerous as to threaten the safety of the fleet. As ill fortune would have it, not before in twenty years had the water been so low at that season.

During the retreat of two hundred miles to Alexandria, the large fleet of gunboats and transports experienced the greatest difficulty in navigating the fallen river. The channel was tortuous and clogged with snags and stumps, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that any progress was made. Near Alexandria an obstacle was encountered which it was believed must prove fatal to the fleet. At this point is a long, shallow stretch called the "falls," extending for nearly a mile. The channel is filled with rocks, and vessels can only pass at a high stage of water. The fleet had gone up without difficulty some weeks before, but now the water had fallen so low that no boat could possibly go over the rapids. The situation was a desperate one. There seemed to be no way to get the fleet over the shoals, and if the army continued its retreat, all the vessels must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy unless destroyed. Relief came from a wholly unexpected source; there was a man for the emergency. Joseph Bailey, lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Wisconsin volunteers, had spent his life on the water courses of the Northwest, engaged in lumbering, and had learned the value of dams to cause an artificial rise of water at desired points in variable streams. The condition of Porter's fleet suggested to him a series of dams, by which the water of the broad, shallow river might be forced into a volume at the center, on which the vessels could be floated to the deeper water below. Bailey communicated his idea



to General Franklin, his corps commander, who thought well of it, and laid the plan before Banks and Porter. They had little faith in its success, but it offered the only hope of saving the fleet, and Bailey was told to go ahead and see what he could do. There were two or three regiments of Maine lumbermen in Banks's army, and the men composing them proved valuable assistants. Three thousand men and every available resource of material were placed at Bailey's disposal. It need only be said here that his success was complete. By means of "wing" and "crib" dams he raised the water in the channel more than six feet, and upon the crest of the rushing torrent so created, the gunboats passed down in safety. No man ever was more overwhelmed with congratulations than was Colonel Bailey; certainly no man had better deserved them. The extraordinary nature of the service he had rendered the government was recognized at Washington. Congress gave him a vote of thanks by name, a most exalted honor, and the President commissioned him a brigadier-general. General Bailey met an ignoble death a few years after the war. He had removed to the far West and was elected sheriff. He was shot and killed by a prisoner whom he had arrested and whom, with a singular lack of prudence, he had neglected to disarm.

Banks at length reached New Orleans, with his army in a much demoralized condition. He was relieved from his command and soon afterward resigned his commission. In the autumn of that year he was elected to Congress, and was reëlected for three successive terms. In 1872, he favored the candidacy of Greeley for President, against Grant, and this affected his popularity to such a degree that he was that year defeated for Congress. In 1878 he was appointed United States Marshal at Boston, which position he filled for a period of ten years. In 1888, at the age of seventy-two, he was again elected to Congress. He died in 1894.

BARKSDALE, WILLIAM.—Born in Tenn., 1821; killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863. A southern politician and Confederate general in the Civil War. He was a member of Congress from Mississippi before the war (1853-61), and was most strenuous in the defense of slavery and the advocacy of state rights. His wig was once pulled from his head during an altercation on the floor of the House, growing out of a debate on slavery. He was killed while leading his men in an assault on the Federal line at the Peach Orchard, during the fierce fighting of the second day at Gettysburg.

BARLOW, FRANCIS CHANNING.—Born in N. Y., 1834; died, 1896. A

lawyer and a prominent soldier of the Civil War. He entered the Union army as colonel of the 61st N. Y. volunteers and rose to the rank of major-general; served in the Army of the Potomac and participated in nearly all the battles of its campaigns. He was desperately wounded at Gettysburg and his life was despaired of; but he recovered and led a division in Grant's campaign of 1864-65.

BARNARD, JOHN GROSS.—Born at Sheffield, Mass., 1815; died at Detroit, Mich., 1882. A noted military engineer. He served in the Mexican War, winning the rank of brevet major; in 1850-52 he made valuable surveys of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and the mouths of the Mississippi River; was superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point (1855-56); was chief engineer of the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War, and his services were conspicuously able, for which he was made a major-general. He had high literary and scientific attainments and wrote many valuable papers on topics pertaining to his profession.

BARRETT, LAWRENCE.—Born at Patterson, N. J., 1838; died at New York, 1891. An eminent American actor of Irish extraction, the family name being Brannigan. He served for a time in the Civil War as a captain in the 28th Massachusetts volunteers; was closely associated with Edwin Booth, a sketch of whose life he wrote in "Actors and Actresses of the Time."

BARRY, WILLIAM FARQUHAR.—Born in New York, 1818; died at Fort McHenry, Baltimore, 1879. A distinguished artillerist in the U. S. army. Before the Civil War he was a subaltern in the 2d U. S. Artillery, but was advanced to the rank of brigadier-general. He rendered important service as chief of artillery of the Army of the Potomac (1861-63), and in a similar position (1864) in the army of General Sherman during the Atlanta and subsequent campaigns.

BATE, WILLIAM B.—Born in Tennessee, in 1824. A Confederate general in the Civil War and a politician. He rose to the rank of major-general; served in the Army of Tennessee, and commanded a division in its later campaigns; was governor of Tenn. (1883-87); was elected U. S. senator from that state in 1887 and reëlected in 1893.

BEATTY, JOHN.—Born at Sandusky, O., 1828. A general of volunteers in the Union army during the Civil War. Early in 1864 he volunteered in the 3d Ohio regiment; was soon promoted to colonel and in 1862 to brigadier-general; was a brigade and division commander in the Army of the Ohio (Cumberland) under Buell and Rosecrans; resigned from the army in 1864; was a member of Congress from Ohio (1868-73); engaged in banking in Columbus, O. He wrote "The Citizen Soldier, or Memoirs of a Volunteer."

PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD

Who began the Civil War at Fort Sumter.

THE name of Beauregard is familiar to all readers of the history of the Civil War. He was one of many officers, on both sides, who enjoyed a boundless popularity at the beginning, but whose bright promise of great achievement was not realized in later years, when the glamour of martial array had faded and the war had become a question of hard blows, delivered or parried with the utmost skill of military science. During the first months of the war Beauregard was the most conspicuous figure in the Confederate army. He had belonged to the engineers in the United States army and had made his mark as a skilled officer. He was chosen to supervise the erection of the forts at Charleston and to direct the operations against Fort Sumter. So it was that at the very outset he leaped into fame; his name was on every tongue. None had yet heard of Robert E. Lee, or "Stonewall" Jackson, or Sidney Johnston or Longstreet, whose names stand high on the list of the great soldiers of the war on the side of the Confederacy. Even "Joe" Johnston, who had been a brigadier-general in the "old army," while Beauregard was but a captain, was for the time eclipsed by the former captain of engineers, who had passed between him and the public eye.



Then, in the first notable battle of the war, Johnston occupied the anomalous position of being actually second in command, with Beauregard as his chief. The "Hero of Fort Sumter" and of Bull Run became at once an idol to the people of the South; but the worship of the populace is fickle and it was soon transferred to others.

Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard was born in New Orleans, in 1818. His French descent is clearly indicated by his name. The family emigrated from the parent country during the French occupation of the Louisiana Territory. Early in life, Pierre developed a military taste, and when he had reached the prescribed age, he had no difficulty in securing an appointment to the United States Military Academy, from which he was graduated in 1838. He was made a

second lieutenant of engineers, but found no opportunity to win distinction until the Mexican War began. For his very marked ability and gallantry at Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec, he was twice brevetted, and came out of that war with high honors. In 1853 he became a captain of engineers, and for some years was in charge of the military defenses of Louisiana.

Near the end of 1860, Beauregard was appointed superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point. At this time civil war was impending, and it seemed strongly probable that the North and the South would soon be engaged in armed conflict. It was understood, and probably it is true, that this position was offered to Beauregard in the hope that it might serve to keep him from giving his military ability and experience to the cause of the South. As a non-combatant at the Academy, he would be spared the painful position of being compelled to fight against either his own people or many of his brother officers in the army. Beauregard was not to be held in such a trap. He accepted the offered position—considered in the army a very desirable one—and entered upon its duties, but his incumbency was brief. The war cloud was hourly growing more dark. Weeks before the storm burst, he was called to engage in the very act that was to precipitate the conflict. Seven states had seceded, and a provisional government had been organized, with its capital at Montgomery, Alabama. When it was decided to reduce Fort Sumter, Beauregard was chosen to conduct the operations. Apprised of this, he immediately resigned his position at the Academy and his commission in the army, and was at once made a brigadier-general in the Confederate service. This was in the latter part of February, nearly two months before the beginning of hostilities.

General Beauregard repaired to Charleston and entered upon the work with which he had been charged. Under his direction, a large force of men was employed in the erection of forts and batteries for the reduction of Sumter. The United States forces in Charleston harbor were commanded by Major Robert Anderson, a Kentuckian by birth, who stood loyally by his flag. Nearly two months before, in view of the hostile preparations which thus early had been begun, Major Anderson had evacuated Fort Moultrie, a work on Sullivan's Island, at the main entrance to the harbor. He had but a small force, and had deemed it wise to abandon this post and assemble his entire command within the strong walls of Sumter. By the early part of April, Beauregard's preparations were near completion, and on the eleventh of that month he sent to Major Anderson a demand for the surrender of Fort Sumter. The demand was refused, and on the following day, April 12, was fired the first gun of the

Civil War, as the Confederate batteries opened on the fort, from all points within the range of their artillery. Soon the heavy guns of Sumter replied, and for two days and nights the contest continued. The woodwork of the garrison's quarters took fire and burned with great fury. The supply of food and ammunition was nearly exhausted. More than a month earlier the United States Government had sent a vessel to revictual the fort, but she had been fired upon and driven off by the Confederate artillery. The capture of the fort was inevitable. After two days of gallant resistance, the flag was hauled down on the fourteenth. The entire garrison numbered little more than a hundred.

When the echo of the first hostile gun at Sumter had reached Washington, President Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers was issued, and was immediately met by a similar call from Jefferson Davis, the provisional President of the Confederate states. At once the beat of the war drums was heard in every town and hamlet, throughout the North and the South. The Southern people were thrown into a paroxysm of joy over the fall of Sumter, and General Beauregard was almost deified in the popular mind. He was the man of the hour; and when, a few weeks later, a commander was needed to organize the young army and lead it to battle, no one was mentioned save Beauregard. He commanded at Bull Run, where victory crowned the Confederate arms in the first great struggle of the war. The South was fairly intoxicated with its success, and Beauregard was more than ever the object of popular adoration. The next day after the battle he was promoted to the full grade of general.

At this point the sun of General Beauregard's fame had reached its zenith, and its decline followed. General Joseph E. Johnston was placed in command in Virginia and Beauregard was ordered to the West, where, at Shiloh, he was subordinate to Sidney Johnston. The latter, during the battle of the first day, received a musket ball in the leg, which severed the main artery. If he could have received immediate surgical attention his life might have been saved, but those about him could not stanch the flow of blood and he died on the field. General Beauregard succeeded to the command. It was not his fault that he lost the battle. The army had been much demoralized by the fall of Johnston and by its plundering of the captured camps. Sixteen thousand fresh men under Buell came to the aid of Grant on the second day, and the contest became a hopeless one for the Confederates. But the unreasoning people looked only to the success of the first day under Johnston and the abandonment of the field on the second day under Beauregard, and the latter passed into the cloud of popular disfavor. He continued to command dur-

ing the siege of Corinth, ordered the evacuation and directed the retirement of the army to Tupelo, Mississippi.

General Beauregard was not again intrusted with an important independent command. He was in charge of the defenses of Charleston Harbor, during the operations of General Gillmore and Admirals Dupont and Dahlgren, in 1863. In 1864 he commanded at Drury's Bluff, in Virginia, against General Butler, and later was in the army of General Lee, engaged in the defense of Petersburg. Near the end of that year, he was ordered to Georgia, to resist the march of Sherman's army "to the sea," but with barely five thousand men at his disposal, he could do little to stay the onward sweep of a host of sixty thousand. He fell back to Savannah, and to his skill was chiefly due the adroit withdrawal of the force under General Hardee, which had occupied that city. Beauregard united his small army with that of General "Joe" Johnston, and joined in the futile effort to oppose the northward march of Sherman through the Carolinas. He was with Johnston at the final surrender.

After the war, General Beauregard engaged in railroad management. In 1866 he was offered the chief command of the Roumanian army, and in 1869 he received a similar offer from the Khedive of Egypt. Both offers were declined. He died at New Orleans, in 1893.

BEE, BERNARD E.—Born in South Carolina, 1823; killed at Bull Run, Va., July 21, 1861. A general in the Confederate army, who fell at the head of his brigade, in the first great battle of the Civil War. It was he who gave the soubriquet of "Stonewall" to Gen. Thomas J. Jackson. Bee's line wavered before the biting blast from the Federal line, and to steady his men he pointed to a Virginia brigade and exclaimed, "See Jackson's men standing like a stone wall."

BELKNAP, WILLIAM WORTH.—(1829-1890.) An American politician and general; served in the volunteer army during the Civil War.

BELLOWS, HENRY WHITNEY.—Born at Boston, 1814; died, 1882. An American Unitarian divine and writer. He was president of the U. S. Sanitary Commission during the Civil War.

BELMONT (Mo.), BATTLE OF.—One of the early actions of the Civil War in the West, and the first in which General Ulysses S. Grant commanded. Grant with headquarters at Cairo, Ill., was in command of a large Union force which occupied various points in Illinois and Missouri, along the border. Columbus, Ky., on the east bank of the Mississippi River, was held by a large Confederate force under General Polk. Strong works at this point, mounting many heavy guns, completely blocked the navigation of the river. At Belmont, on the

Missouri bank opposite Columbus, the Confederates established a camp under Gen. Pillow. Grant planned an attack on this camp, with 3,000 men, transported on steamboats from Paducah, Ky. The battle took place Nov. 7, 1861. None of the troops engaged, on either side, had ever before been in action. Grant took the Confederate camp, but his men became unsteady and he was forced to abandon the enterprise. Amidst much confusion the troops reëmbarked, after having sustained a loss of nearly 500 men, half of whom were captured. Grant took with him nearly an equal number of prisoners, and the total Confederate loss was above 600. The Union force returned to Paducah.

BENTON.—An ironclad gunboat of 1,000 tons, which served on western rivers during the Civil War. She was altered in 1861 from a powerful U. S. snag-boat, and took part in the fighting at Island No. 10, Fort Pillow, Vicksburg, and in the Yazoo and Red River expeditions.

BENTONVILLE (N. C.), BATTLE OF.—The last action of consequence of Sherman's campaign in the Carolinas, near the end of the Civil War. After the battle of Averysboro (which see), Sherman continued his march toward Goldsboro, N. C. Near Bentonville, March 18, 1865, his advance encountered a Confederate force above 20,000 strong, including the fragments of Hood's army which, after the Confederate defeat at Nashville, had been sent to the Carolinas. This force, under the command of "Joe" Johnston, made such vigorous resistance as to arrest for two days the progress of Sherman. As soon as he could draw together his scattered columns, he assailed Johnston, March 20, and a spirited engagement ensued. The Confederates retreated after nightfall. The Union loss was 1,600, and that of the Confederates above 2,000, including several hundred prisoners.

BERMUDA HUNDRED.—A locality on a bend of the James River in Va., near City Point. Was occupied by part of the Federal army under Butler, in 1864, as a base of operations. Part of the time the troops were hemmed in within the lines, "bottled up at Bermuda Hundred."

BIG BETHEL (Va.), BATTLE OF.—The first actual engagement, between land forces, of the Civil War, June 9, 1861. Gen. B. F. Butler had collected 10,000 Union troops at Fortress Monroe, and on the day mentioned sent Gen. E. W. Pierce, with 3,500 men, composed of New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts soldiers, to dislodge a Confederate force of 1,500 men at Big Bethel, under Gen. J. B. Magruder. The attack, intended to be a surprise, was made on the morning of June 10. The Union force was repulsed, with a loss of seventy-six.

Among the killed was Maj. Theodore Winthrop, of Massachusetts, a scholar and author of high repute. The Confederate loss was trifling.

BIG BLACK (Miss.), BATTLE OF.—Fought May 17, 1863, during the operations of Gen. Grant preliminary to the siege of Vicksburg. The day after the battle of Champion's Hill (which see), Grant's army pushed on toward Vicksburg. His advance, under Gen. McClelland, came upon the Confederate army under Gen. Pemberton, strongly intrenched on both sides of the Big Black River. The Federals assaulted at once, and with such vigor that they quickly carried the works, capturing 17 cannon and 1,200 prisoners. The Confederate army, much demoralized by its successive defeats, fell back rapidly to the fortifications around Vicksburg. Grant's loss was less than 300.

BIRNEY, DAVID BELL.—Born at Huntsville, Ala., 1825; died at Philadelphia, Pa., 1864. A Federal general in the Civil War. He entered the service in 1861 as colonel of the 23d Pa. volunteers; was promoted in February, 1862, to brigadier-general and in June of the same year to major-general. He served with conspicuous gallantry and distinction in the Army of the Potomac, especially at Gettysburg and Chancellorsville. During the summer of 1864 he was stricken with a fatal illness from which he died in October.

BLAIR, FRANCIS PRESTON.—Born at Lexington, Ky., 1821; died at St. Louis, Mo., 1875. An American politician and general in the Civil War. He commanded a corps in the Army of the Tennessee under Sherman, and was esteemed a capable officer. After the war he was prominent in politics and in 1868 was the Democratic candidate for Vice-president on the ticket with Horatio Seymour of New York; was U. S. senator from Missouri (1870-73).

BLOODY SHIRT.—Speakers and writers who, after the Civil War, attempted to revive its animosities by appeals to passion and prejudice, were described as "waving the bloody shirt," hence the origin of the phrase.

BONNEVILLE, BENJAMIN L. E.—Born in France, about 1793; died at Fort Smith, Ark., 1878. An American soldier who fought with distinction in the Mexican War and commanded the Gila expedition (1857). He was commandant of Benton Barracks, St. Louis, in the Civil War (1862-65). In earlier life he took part in explorations in the Rocky Mountains and Cal. His journal was amplified by Washington Irving and published under the title of "Adventures of Capt. Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains of the Far West" (1837).

BOONVILLE (Mo.), BATTLE OF.—At the beginning of the Civil War Gov. Jackson, of Missouri, who favored the Secession cause, refused

to furnish, in response to the proclamation of President Lincoln, the quota of troops for the U. S. The Union men of the state, however, immediately raised more than the number of regiments called for and they were mustered into the U. S. service. Nathaniel Lyon, a very capable and enterprising officer, was made a brigadier-general and placed in command. Gov. Jackson called out the militia and established a camp at Boonville, intending the troops there assembled for the Confederate service. Gen. Lyon made a swift march and, June 17, 1861, fell upon the camp, captured it entire, and dispersed the militia, taking many prisoners. But few, on either side, were killed or wounded.

BORDER STATES.—The term formerly applied to those of the slave states lying near to the free states. These were Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Mississippi; the name more strictly speaking, included also North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

BRAGG, BRAXTON.—Born in North Carolina, 1815; died at Galveston, Tex., 1876. An officer of the U. S. army and a general in the Confederate service. He was a graduate of West Point, entered the artillery, and served with the highest credit in the Mexican War as captain of a battery. "A little more grape, Captain Bragg," addressed to him by his commander in one of the battles, was adopted into the parlance of the army. He entered the Confederate service at the beginning of the Civil War and soon reached the full rank of general. In the field he was not successful. He commanded the Army of Tennessee (1862-63); was defeated by Rosecrans at Stone River; won a barren victory at Chickamauga (Sept., 1863), but two months later his army was routed at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, losing heavily in prisoners and cannon; was superseded in command by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston; was called to Richmond as military adviser to President Jefferson Davis, and served in that capacity until the war ended.

BRANDY STATION (Va.), BATTLE OF.—For several weeks immediately after the battle of Chancellorsville (May 1-3, 1863) the Army of the Potomac, then commanded by Gen. Hooker, lay inactive on the north bank of the Rappahannock River. June 9, 1863, Gen. Pleasonton was directed to cross the river and develop the Confederate position. His force consisted of two divisions of cavalry under Gens. Buford and Gregg, supported by two brigades of infantry. Pleasonton encountered a large body of Confederate horse and one of the fiercest cavalry fights of the Civil War resulted. The Union troops yielded the field, after each side had sustained a loss of above 500. The movement, however, developed the important fact that Gen. Lee

was marching his infantry northward by way of Culpeper. He was then preparing for his campaign into Pennsylvania. On August 1, 1863, another spirited cavalry fight took place at Brandy Station, between Gen. Buford and Gen. Stuart, the famous Confederate leader, in which the latter was victorious.

BRECKENRIDGE, JOHN CABELL.—Born at Lexington, Ky., 1821; died there, 1875. A distinguished southern politician, and a Confederate general during the Civil War. He was a member of Congress (1851–55) and was the successful Democratic candidate for Vice-president in 1857, elected on the ticket with James Buchanan. In 1860 he was the unsuccessful candidate of the southern Democrats for President, with Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-president. He was elected a U. S. senator from Kentucky, and took his seat in that body March 4, 1861, the day his term as Vice-president expired. His sympathies were strongly with the South, and he soon resigned his seat to enter the Confederate army. He was commissioned a brigadier-general and a few months later, a major-general. He commanded the reserve at Shiloh; made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Baton Rouge, La., in Aug., 1862; commanded Bragg's right wing at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1–3, 1863; was also at Chickamauga and Chattanooga; served in Virginia and east Tennessee in 1864; was Secretary of War in the cabinet of the Confederate President, from January, 1865, till the end in April. After the dissolution of the Confederate government and the surrender of its armies, Breckenridge expatriated himself, and lived in Europe about ten years. He then returned home, broken in health, and died as above, at his old Kentucky home in Lexington.

BRISTOW, or BRISTOE, STATION (Va.), BATTLE OF.—After the battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863), Gen. Lee withdrew the Confederate army into Virginia, and took up his old position near the line of the Rappahannock River. On October 14, a force from the Army of the Potomac was sent forward to reconnoiter. It consisted of the 2d corps (Warren), part of the 5th corps (Sykes), and a division of cavalry. A large Confederate body was encountered at Bristow Station and a brisk engagement followed. But the purpose of the Union commander was not to fight a battle but to develop the enemy's strength and position. This having been accomplished, he drew away and the troops returned to their camps. The losses in the action were not large,—less than 300 on either side.

BROWNE, JUNIUS HENRI.—Born about 1837. A journalist and man of letters. He was a correspondent of the New York "Tribune" during the Civil War; was captured by the Confederates while on one

of the vessels of the U. S. fleet that "ran" the batteries at Vicksburg, early in 1863, and was kept in confinement for some months.

BROWNLOW, WILLIAM GANNAWAY (PARSON BROWNLOW).—Born in Wythe Co., Virginia, 1805; died at Knoxville, Tenn., 1877. An American journalist and politician. In 1839 he became editor of the Knoxville "Whig," in which, although an advocate of slavery, he opposed secession. The paper was suppressed by the Confederate government in 1861. He was arrested for treason, but was released and sent inside the Union lines, March 3, 1862. He was governor of Tennessee in 1865, and became U. S. senator in 1869.

BROWN'S INSURRECTION.—In 1859, John Brown, an extreme Abolitionist with a small band of adherents, leased a farm in Maryland, near Harper's Ferry, Va. (now W. Va.), in furtherance of a plot to seize the U. S. armory and its contents at Harper's Ferry. He smuggled arms to the farm and on Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, with a force of twenty-two men, he descended on the buildings, cut telegraph wires and stopped trains. After a struggle which continued more than twenty-four hours, during which many citizens and nearly all of Brown's force were killed or wounded, Brown and the survivors of his band were overpowered by U. S. troops and captured. They were tried and convicted, and were executed December 2, 1859. (See BROWN, JOHN, sketch of, 19.)

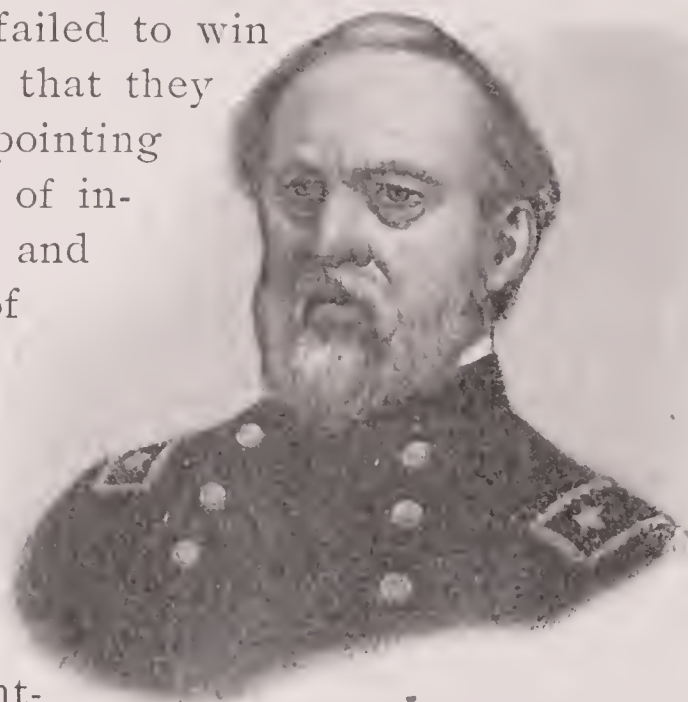
BUCHANAN, FRANKLIN T.—Born in Baltimore, Md., 1800; died there, 1874. An officer of the U. S. navy and during the Civil War, an admiral in the Confederate navy. He commanded the Confederate ironclad "Merrimac" in the fight with the "Monitor," early in 1862. In 1864 he was in command of the naval force in Mobile Bay, and was defeated, wounded, and captured by Farragut.

BUCKNER, SIMON BOLIVAR.—Born in Kentucky, 1823. A general in the Confederate army during the Civil War, most noted in connection with the capture of Fort Donelson by Grant, February 16, 1862. Gen. Floyd was in command of the Confederate force within the fort when it was invested by Grant; Pillow was second in rank, and Buckner third. A council was held the night of February 15, and it was decided that the fort could not be held. Floyd and Pillow escaped with part of the troops, passing the command to Buckner, who the following day surrendered 13,000 men to Grant. (See FORT DONELSON.) After some time Buckner was exchanged and commanded a corps at Chickamauga. He continued in service till the end of the war. He was governor of Kentucky (1887-91); in 1896 he was the unsuccessful candidate of the National or Sound Money Democrats for Vice-president, on the ticket with Gen. John M. Palmer of Illinois.

DON CARLOS BUELL

The organizer of the Army of the Cumberland.

THERE is a close parallel between the military careers of General George B. McClellan and General Don Carlos Buell, in the Civil War. What the former was to the Army of the Potomac, the latter was to the Army of the Cumberland. Each rendered to his country a service, the value of which cannot be measured in words, by organizing out of a chaotic mass of raw volunteers a compact, thoroughly disciplined and well-equipped army, capable of achievements never surpassed in the history of wars. Each led to the field the army that he had created, but failed to win the victories which the impatient people felt that they had a right to expect. Whether the disappointing performance was the result of ill-fortune, or of incapacity for the conduct of great campaigns and for the tactical management of large bodies of men in the emergency of battle, did not matter. It was enough to know that they could not, or, at least, did not, rise to the demands of the occasion. Experiments were costly, in blood and treasure, and when these men had been tried, and in official and popular estimation had been found want-



ing, it was inevitable that they should be unhorsed. But nothing can detract from the honor that is their due for what they accomplished during the early months of the war, in forging the thunderbolts which afterward, under other directing hands, were so effectively launched against the enemy. The Army of the Ohio—later known as the Army of the Cumberland—was the creation of General Buell. During two and a half years, under the leadership of Rosecrans and Thomas and Sherman and Grant, that army never yielded a field except at Chickamauga; even then it did not loosen its grasp on Chattanooga, and two months later settled the account by the magnificent achievements of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

Don Carlos Buell was born in Ohio, in 1818. During most of his life, however, his home was in Louisville, so that by adoption he was a Kentuckian. He finished with high credit the course at the West Point Military Academy, and at twenty-three was a lieutenant

in the Third United States Infantry. In June, 1846, he went with his regiment to Mexico, and served with such distinction at Monterey, Contreras and Churubusco, that he received the brevets of captain and major. At the battle last named he was severely wounded. During the next fifteen years of peace his duties were varied and commonplace.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Buell was appointed a lieutenant-colonel in the staff department of the army. A week later he was commissioned a brigadier-general and assigned to the command of a division in the Army of the Potomac, which was then in process of formation. Although he was but a short time in this station, he left his impress upon the troops which he commanded, and that division was ever afterward distinguished for its excellent discipline and unity.

In November, 1861, General Buell succeeded General Tecumseh Sherman in the command of the Department of the Ohio, with headquarters at Louisville. The Secretary of War had declared Sherman to be crazy, because he had said that two hundred thousand men would be necessary to restore Federal supremacy in the Mississippi Valley, and so relieved him of his command. For two months Buell was engaged in the work of organizing the Army of the Ohio, after the year 1862 known as the Army of the Cumberland. New regiments were arriving almost daily from the states of the West and Northwest. They were grouped into brigades and then into divisions, under carefully chosen leaders. The men were drilled and disciplined in the most thorough manner; and all the details in the matters of clothing, food, equipment and transportation to mobilize the army, showed a master hand. No finer bodies of volunteers ever took the field than the divisions of General Buell which, during the winter of 1861-62, left their camps of instruction along the banks of the Ohio.

Simultaneously with the operations of Grant against Fort Donelson, Buell pushed a strong force southward from Louisville, pressing backward the advanced detachments of the Confederate army, which was commanded by General Albert Sidney Johnston. The fall of Donelson was immediately followed by the Confederate evacuation of Bowling Green and Nashville. The panic in the Tennessee capital had scarcely abated when Buell's advance division crossed the Cumberland River and occupied the city. The United States flag was hoisted upon the public buildings, and there it remained throughout the war. Johnston marched rapidly a hundred miles to the southwest of Nashville, crossed the Tennessee River, and took position at Corinth, in Mississippi. Grant, with six divisions, ascended

the Tennessee River and debarked at Pittsburg Landing, on the west bank of the Tennessec, twenty miles from Corinth. During the latter part of March, five divisions of Buell's army, with an effective strength of thirty thousand, marched to join the army of Grant. The divisions left Nashville, one each day, successively, that the road might not be encumbered by the troops and wagons of the army moving in a mass. The march across Tennessee to Savannah, on the river, was a leisurely one, for a sense of safety was felt by Grant at Pittsburg Landing, and there seemed to be no occasion for haste on the part of Buell. General Nelson, who commanded Buell's advance division, was delayed at two or three points where it was necessary to rebuild bridges that had been destroyed by the enemy. Toward the end of the long march, Nelson quickened his pace. It proved most fortunate that he did so, and that the divisions of McCook and Crittenden followed closely.

Apprised of the near and rapid approach of Buell, Johnston, at Corinth, determined to strike Grant before a junction could be made. This he did, in the early morning of Sunday, April 6, and the battle of Shiloh ensued. The attack was wholly unexpected, and there had been a singular lack of measures to render the position defensible and to guard against surprise. Grant's army was roughly handled on the first day. More than half of his brigades were driven from their camps and the organizations were "knocked to pieces," to use the words of General Sherman. Thousands were taken captive and many thousands more fled from the field in utter demoralization. By night scarce a third of the army was in condition to make effective resistance. As timely as the coming of Blücher at Waterloo, was the arrival of three divisions of Buell, at the close of that day of fire and blood and disaster. Dawn of April 7 saw sixteen thousand fresh and eager men, in compact lines, fronting the enemy. Back over the ground which they had gained the previous day, the hard-fighting Confederates were steadily pressed, and soon after noon their movement became a hurried retreat. General Buell, subordinate to Grant in command, handled his troops faultlessly and exhibited the highest personal gallantry. For his conduct on that field he fairly earned the meed of praise and honor that history will accord him.

During the siege of Corinth, General Buell was in command of his troops, which formed a part of the great army of a hundred thousand men that, under General Halleck, slowly closed in upon Corinth. At the end of May, General Beauregard—who had succeeded to the command of the Confederate army when Johnston fell at Shiloh—decided to evacuate, and withdrew to Tupelo, Mississippi. Halleck's army was broken up and Buell, with his divisions,

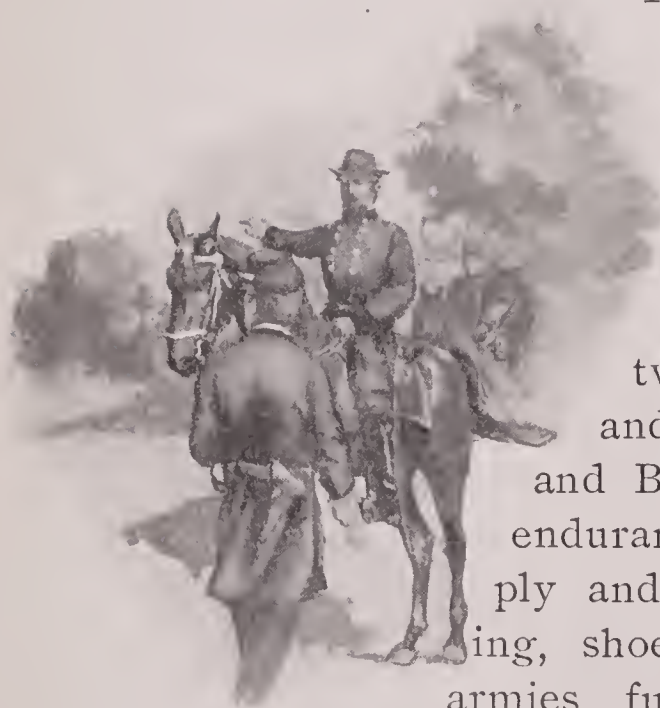
marched far to the eastward, along the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. His objective point, if it should be found possible to reach it, was Chattanooga; but at Bridgeport, thirty miles west of that place, he found that the great bridge over the Tennessee River had been destroyed, and he made no progress beyond that point. During the summer months, his forces were much scattered, detachments occupying various points in middle Tennessee and northern Alabama. The authorities at Washington were impatient that Buell should "do something," and some sharp messages were exchanged, but most of the time the troops lay inactive and nothing of moment was accomplished.

Meanwhile the Confederates were "doing something" behind the screen of the Tennessee River and the encircling mountains. General Bragg had been placed in command at Chattanooga, and during July and August he drew together an army of forty thousand men. With this force, he suddenly sounded his bugles and pushed northward across middle Tennessee and into Kentucky. At the same time a coöperating force under Kirby Smith marched from Knoxville and swept into eastern Kentucky. This unexpected movement completely disjoined whatever plans Buell may have had for future operations.

There was but one thing to do, and that was to collect his scattered forces with all speed and hasten after Bragg. To the northward there was nothing that could stay the march of Bragg to the Ohio River and beyond. In all haste the detachments were set in motion and concentrated at Nashville.

Then came the long scamper for Louisville, nearly two hundred miles away. Bragg had the shorter line and some days the start. The emergency was critical, and Buell's soldiers were at times pushed to the limit of endurance. The Confederate cavalry cut the lines of supply and the Union soldiers were sorely in need of clothing, shoes and rations. The country, devastated by the

armies, furnished little to eke out the scant supply, and sometimes for days together the men were obliged to march on half rations. "Forward" was the constant command, and in the last days of September, weary, hungry, ragged, and many actually barefoot, the soldiers entered Louisville. It cannot be doubted that Bragg might have captured the city had he shown more enterprise. But he did one thing most thoroughly, and that was to create the wildest alarm throughout the adjacent states of the North. An invasion was daily expected and for a time the panic was excessive. All available troops were rushed to Louisville to augment the army of Buell, and



the latter was imperatively ordered to destroy Bragg's army or drive it out of Kentucky.

After a week to refit his army, Buell marched on the first day of October. Of the long chase but little need be said. Judging from the movements, it would appear that neither commander wanted to fight. Bragg's only desire seemed to be to get out of Kentucky, and Buell's that nobody should get hurt. There was one severe fight at Perryville, but it was only an unexpected collision between portions of the armies. The battle was unintentional, bloody and wholly inconclusive. Bragg escaped through Cumberland Gap into Tennessee, with twenty-five hundred wagons which he had loaded with food supplies from the Kentucky harvest. Buell outnumbered him in men and guns and might have brought him to battle, but he did not. The Washington authorities could not overlook the faults of Buell's management after leaving Corinth, and when he had given over the chase in Kentucky and assembled his army about Nashville, he was relieved of his command by General Rosecrans. A military commission was appointed to inquire into the conduct of General Buell. Its sessions lasted several months, and its finding justified the action of the War Department in his supersedure. He was mustered out of the volunteer service in May, 1864, and in June he resigned his commission in the regular army.

After the war General Buell was for some years president of the Green River Iron Works, and later was United States pension agent at Louisville. He died in 1898, at the age of eighty.

BUFORD, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.—Born in Kentucky, 1807; died, 1883. An officer and military engineer in the U. S. army. He entered the service at the beginning of the Civil War, as colonel of the 27th Illinois volunteers; was promoted, successively, to brigadier-general and major-general; he showed great skill in military engineering operations. He was commissioner of Indian Affairs (1868-69).

BULL RUN (Va.), BATTLE OF.—This battle, fought July 21, 1861, was the first important engagement of the Civil War. It was the result of the first attempt to advance a large Federal army into Virginia toward Richmond. Under President Lincoln's calls for volunteers, a force of 40,000 men had been assembled, organized, and drilled at and near Washington. The impatience of the people of the North for a forward movement of the army was excessive. The mistaken idea that the war would last but three months was yet very generally entertained. Many believed that the Union army could march straight to Richmond, capture the Confederate capital, and then continue upon its conquering way until all opposition to the

authority of the U. S. had been overcome. They did not realize that south of the Potomac had been assembled an army equal in strength, courage, and determination, that would resist to the uttermost. The desperate contest that took place at the first grapple removed the scales from the eyes of the people and aroused them to the unwelcome truth that the struggle would be long and bloody. The Confederate army was encamped in the vicinity of Manassas, about forty miles southwest of Washington. A small stream called Bull Run gave the name to the battle there fought. The movement of the Union army began July 16. The column had a strength of 28,500 and was commanded by Gen. Irvin McDowell. The Confederate army, commanded by Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard, was at this time 24,000 strong. The Federal advance was slow and cautious and the attack was not delivered till the morning of the 21st. The troops on both sides were raw and comparatively undisciplined. A few of them had participated in trifling skirmishes, but none had been through the test of battle. The fighting was severe from the beginning. The fortunes of the day wavered, but until noon the advantage was with the Federals. The tide was turned by the arrival of a very substantial Confederate reinforcement of 8,000 men from the Shenandoah Valley, under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. This so increased the pressure upon the Union troops that about the middle of the afternoon they gave way in disorder, which soon became hopeless panic and rout. A few regiments and brigades maintained their organization, but most of them crumbled away and the men sought safety in flight, flinging away their arms and accoutrements as they ran. Many civilians, including several members of Congress and government officials, had accompanied the army as spectators of the battle, and these joined the demoralized mass that streamed back on the road to Washington. Thousands of men did not stop until they were on the safe side of the Potomac. A few unbroken regiments, kept well in hand by cool and skillful officers, formed the rear-guard and retreated in an orderly fashion. An exaggerated fear prevailed that the Confederates would follow up their decided victory and, perhaps, take Washington, but they were too much exhausted and broken to pursue the flying enemy and contented themselves with holding the field that they had won. The loss of the Federals was 2,700, of whom 1,200 were prisoners; that of the Confederates was 1,900. The result of the battle caused a paroxysm of rejoicing throughout the South, and a corresponding depression in the North. Both sides at once proceeded to very largely augment their armies and to gird themselves for the mighty struggle that was before them.

The second battle of Bull Run took place on August 29 and 30,

1862. Jackson was in command of the Confederate forces and was awaiting reinforcements at Bristow Station. General Pope was in command of the Union army, 40,000 strong. McDowell was ordered to prevent Lee from joining Jackson, but before he had accomplished this he was recalled to unite with Pope. The Confederate forces then moved on to Manassas Junction and took up a strong position behind an old railroad grading near Gainesville. General Sigel led the attack at daylight. Brisk skirmishes went on all morning and was later supplemented by an artillery contest, but it was at such long range that it was ineffective. At three o'clock, Pope ordered Hooker to attack, which he did much against his will and was driven back. Though Kearny was sent to his assistance, he also was repulsed. Later in the afternoon Pope ordered Porter to attack the right flank and rear. Porter's forces were fearfully cut up and driven back, and the whole Confederate line made a general advance. Night now coming on, Lee attempted no pursuit. The battle of the first day is called the second battle of Bull Run or the second battle of Manassas. It was followed by the indecisive battle of Chantilly. General Pope was severely defeated and Lee claimed to have captured thirty pieces of artillery and 7,000 unwounded prisoners.

BURNSIDE, AMBROSE EVERETT.—Born at Liberty, Ind., 1824; died at Bristol, R. I., 1881. A U. S. soldier and politician. At the beginning of the Civil War he entered the Union army as a colonel of R. I. volunteers; promoted to brigadier-general early in 1862, and soon afterward to major-general. In February, 1862, he commanded a successful expedition, composed of both land and naval forces, the latter under Commodore Goldsborough, to the North Carolina coast, which resulted in the capture of Roanoke Island and Newbern, by which a foothold was gained, which became an important base of future operations. Burnside commanded a corps in McClellan's army at Antietam, in September, 1862, and his conduct inspired such confidence in his ability that he was selected to succeed McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac, which he did, November 7, of that year. The country was impatient for results, and he conducted a midwinter campaign, under great difficulties. December 13, he assailed the Confederate army under Lee, which occupied a very strong position at Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock River. Repeated assaults were made by the Union troops with the greatest gallantry, but they were repulsed at all points, with a mournful loss of life. The Union loss was 1,300 killed and 9,000 wounded; the Confederate loss was about 4,500. In January Burnside was relieved of the command, his successor being Gen. Joseph Hooker. Without complaint Burnside re-

turned to a subordinate command, that of the 9th corps, with which he was sent to the West. His headquarters were for a time at Cincinnati and part of his troops were detached to aid Grant in the siege of Vicksburg. After the latter fell, Burnside's troops rejoined him and he entered on a campaign across Kentucky and into east Tennessee. He occupied Knoxville, where, near the end of 1863, he was besieged by Longstreet, with two divisions of Lee's Virginia army, which had been sent to reinforce Bragg at Chattanooga, and by the latter, after the battle of Chickamauga, detached to operate against Burnside. After the defeat of Bragg at Missionary Ridge, Grant sent Sherman with a strong force to the relief of Burnside. The approach of this body spurred Longstreet to a determined assault upon Fort Sanders. The Confederates were repulsed with heavy loss and Longstreet returned to Virginia. In the campaign of 1864-65 Burnside held an important command under Grant in Virginia. After the war he was governor of Rhode Island (1867-69), and U. S. senator from that state (1875-81).

BUTLER, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—Born at Deerfield, N. H., 1818; died at Washington, D. C., 1893. An American lawyer, soldier, and politician. He volunteered in the Union army under President Lincoln's first call, in April, 1861, and soon rose to the rank of major-general. His first command was at Fortress Monroe, and a force sent by him against the Confederates at Big Bethel was defeated in the first field engagement of the war. In August, 1861, Butler, with a combined land and naval force, the latter under Commodore Stringham, conducted an expedition against Cape Hatteras Inlet, N. C., where he achieved a brilliant victory. Early in 1862 he was placed in command of a large military detachment and sent with it to the lower Mississippi, to coöperate with Commodore Farragut in the capture of New Orleans. The work was done by Farragut and his ships, who "ran" the Confederate forts, Jackson and St. Philip, and took the city. The forts then surrendered and Butler had but to occupy New Orleans with his troops. He was appointed military governor of that city, which position he occupied till the end of that year, when he was succeeded by Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks. Butler had no mercy for "rebels" and he ruled with an iron hand. Some of his acts and orders were extremely severe and drastic—especially his "woman order," which directed that all females who should, by word or deed, cast reproach upon the Union soldiers or their flag, should be considered and treated as "women of the town, plying their vocation." A man named Mumford had hauled down the U. S. flag from one of the public buildings. He was arrested, tried by a drum-

head court-martial and condemned to be hanged. Butler approved the sentence, and although prodigious efforts were made by the friends of the condemned man to secure a mitigation of the sentence, Butler declined to exercise clemency and Mumford was executed. These acts caused the name of Butler to be bitterly execrated by the people of the South. So intense was the feeling against him that the Confederate president issued an official proclamation denouncing him as a malefactor and putting a price upon his head. Butler enforced the most strict sanitary measures, and never before, at that season of the year, had New Orleans been so free from epidemic diseases. During the campaign of 1864, Butler commanded the Army of the James, which operated under Grant in Virginia. At Bermuda Hundred, near Petersburg, Butler was penned in a *cul de sac* by the Confederates, which fact gave rise to the famous words "bottled up," applied by Gen. Barnard, chief of engineers. After the war Butler was active and conspicuous in politics. He was a member of Congress from Mass. (1867-75 and 1877-79); governor of that state (1883); unsuccessful candidate of the combined Greenback, Labor, and People's parties for President, in 1884. Butler was somewhat irascible and in Congress he was picturesque and independent to an unusual degree. He had a sharp tongue and quick wit, and made free use of both. Once, while making a speech, he was interrupted by Samuel S. Cox of New York. "Shoo fly, don't bodder me!" exclaimed Butler, with a lofty wave of the hand, and for the moment Mr. Cox was completely overwhelmed. Gen. Butler, early in 1861, was the first to declare the negro slaves to be "contraband of war."

BUTTERFIELD, DANIEL.—Born at Utica, N. Y., 1831; died there, 1901. An officer of distinction in the U. S. army. When the Civil War broke out he was colonel of the 12th regiment, N. Y. National Guard, volunteered with it and went to the field; continued in active service through the war as brigadier-general, and major-general; commanded the fifth corps at Fredericksburg, and was chief of staff of the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; went west with Hooker in the autumn of 1863 and commanded a division of the 20th corps at Chattanooga and during the Atlanta campaign; was twice wounded and was awarded a medal of honor; was appointed sub-treasurer of the U. S. at New York, in 1869; was active in raising troops for the Spanish-American War in 1898.

CANADA CONFERENCE.—A conference held in Canada during the Civil War, attended by semi-official representatives of the U. S. and Confederate governments for an interchange of views, in the hope that a basis might be reached for a restoration of the Union and an

end of the war. But the views of the northern and southern men were diverse and irreconcilable and the convention came to naught. (See GREELEY, HORACE.)

CANBY, EDWARD RICHARD SPRIGG.—Born in Kentucky, 1819; killed by Indians at the "Lava Beds," in northern California, April 11, 1873. A general in the U. S. army. He served through the Mexican War and the Civil War, reaching the rank of major-general; commanded in New Mexico (1861-62); commanded the U. S. troops in the suppression of the draft riots in New York City (July, 1863); succeeded Banks (1864) in the command in Louisiana; captured Mobile, Ala., after a severe action, April 9, 1865. After the war he was engaged in campaigns against the Indians and was treacherously murdered by members of the Modoc tribe, while a conference was being held.

* CARNIFEX FERRY (W. Va.), BATTLE OF.—One of the early engagements of the Civil War, fought Sept. 10, 1861. Gen. Rosecrans had succeeded McClellan as commander in West Virginia; McClellan having been called to the Army of the Potomac. Gen. Floyd, with 2,000 Confederates, had taken a position at Carnifex Ferry, on the Gauley River. He was attacked by Rosecrans, with a largely superior force, consisting of six Ohio regiments. Floyd retreated in confusion after a sharp engagement. Among the slain was Col. Lowe, of the 12th Ohio. The Federal loss was 120; that of the Confederates, including prisoners, about 300.

CARPETBAGGERS.—Northerners who hastened to the southern states at the close of the Civil War. The epithet was first applied to political adventurers, who had no other personal effects than those they were able to carry in carpet-bags, and who aspired to office and political power wholly for gain. Hence the term "carpet-baggers" which was gradually extended to include all strangers who went South and remained there. Many such strangers, however, proved excellent citizens. The epithet has lost much of its original opprobrium and is now used all over the country to designate any stranger in a community, especially if he participates actively in politics.

CARTHAGE (Mo.), BATTLE OF.—When Gov. Jackson, of Missouri, and his militia had been driven from Boonville (which see), June 17, 1861, they fled to Carthage, where they were joined by a Confederate force under Gen. Sterling Price, bringing the force up to 3,600. Gen. Franz Sigel, with a Union force of only 1,500 gave battle, July 5, and was defeated. The losses were not large on either side. At this time none of the troops were seasoned to war, or tempered in the fire of battle, and the early encounters showed little of the desperate valor

that marked the Union and Confederate soldiers alike in the later conflicts of the war.

CEDAR CREEK (Va.), BATTLE OF.—This was one of the notable actions of the Civil War. After the defeat of the Confederates under Early, by Sheridan, at Fisher's Hill (which see), in the Shenandoah Valley, Sept. 22, 1864, Sheridan disposed his army on the north side of Cedar Creek, near Strasburg. He then went to Washington for consultation with the authorities there in regard to further operations. Gen. Lee sent a strong reinforcement to Early and the latter determined to strike a blow during the absence of Sheridan. On the morning of the 19th, he fell upon the Union camp at daylight, with the greatest fury. The attack was a surprise and threw the Federals into confusion. The Confederates captured the camp, 1,500 prisoners, and 24 pieces of artillery. The Federal army fell back toward Winchester, under the direction of Gen. H. G. Wright, who was in command. At the time the attack was delivered Sheridan was at Winchester, some twenty miles distant, on his way to the front from Washington. Tidings of the disaster were borne to him and mounting his horse he galloped to the scene of action. "Face the other way, boys!" he said to the stragglers whom he met, "we're going back to our camp! we're going to lick them out of their boots!" The presence of Sheridan had an immediate and inspiring effect. After a brief halt, to reform the army and make the dispositions for attack, Sheridan ordered an advance. The Confederates, in fancied security, had given over the pursuit and were reveling in the spoil of the "Yankee" camps. They, in turn, were surprised when Sheridan's men assailed them with such impetuosity as to sweep everything before them. They recaptured all the guns and equipage that they had lost in the morning, and took, besides, 25 of the enemy's cannon and 2,000 prisoners. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about 4,000. This signal victory completely broke the power of the Confederates in the valley and no further effort was made to recover the lost ground. Lee recalled to his own army at Petersburg the troops he had sent to Early, and this enabled Sheridan to return the 6th corps (Wright) to the army of Grant. There was no further fighting of consequence in the valley. The ride of Sheridan from Winchester to the front was immortalized by Thomas Buchanan Read, in his poem "Sheridan's Ride."

CEDAR MOUNTAIN (Va.), BATTLE OF.—Near the close of McClellan's Peninsular campaign against Richmond (May-June, 1862), Gen. John Pope, who had shown great enterprise in military operations in the West, was placed in command of the forces of McDowell, Banks, and

Fremont, in all, some 50,000 men. McDowell was at Washington, having been left by McClellan to protect the National capital. Banks and Fremont had been in the valley operating against "Stonewall" Jackson. The latter had been called, with the greater part of his troops, to the assistance of Lee on the peninsula, but McClellan had been beaten back and Jackson was again free to move westward. Aug. 9, he attacked Banks, who had 8,000 men, at Cedar Mountain, near Culpeper. Jackson's force outnumbered that of Banks, and after a day of severe fighting the latter was driven from the field. The Federal losses were large, amounting to nearly one-third of the number engaged; that of the Confederates was 1,300 in killed and wounded.

CEMETERY RIDGE.—A long elevation which was the main position of the Union army at Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863. The historic charge of Pickett's division of Virginians—desperately brave but unsuccessful—was directed against the Federal line on Cemetery Ridge, and was the climax of the battle. (See PICKETT, GEORGE E.)

CHAFFEE, ADNA R.—Major-general U. S. Volunteers, serving in 1898 in the Santiago campaign in Cuba, was born at Orwell, Ohio, April 14, 1842. In 1861, he entered the U. S. Army as a private and soon became sergeant and later on second lieutenant in the Sixth cavalry. In 1865 he became first lieutenant and two years afterward rose to be captain. In 1888 he was appointed major of the Ninth cavalry, and in 1897 became lieutenant-colonel of the Third cavalry. In the following year he was appointed brigadier-general of U. S. Volunteers, and in that capacity was in command of the 1st division, 4th corps, with headquarters at Havana, Cuba. In July, 1898, he was made a major-general. His record as a soldier may be gathered from the successive distinctions awarded him for gallantry in the field. For his services at Gettysburg he was brevetted first lieutenant; for gallantry at Dinwiddie Court House he was made captain; in 1868 he was promoted major for his heroism while serving against the Comanche Indians in Texas; and in 1898 he received a lieutenant-colonelcy for services in Arizona and Texas. He is at present (1902) in command at Manila of the division of the U. S. Army in the Philippines.

CHAMBERLAIN, JOSHUA LAWRENCE.—Born at Bangor, Me., 1828, he served in the Army of the Potomac (1862-65), was governor of Maine (1867-70), and later was president of Bowdoin College.

CHAMPION'S HILL (Miss.), BATTLE OF.—This was the principal battle that occurred during the operations of Gen. Grant, in May, 1863, which ended in the Confederate army, under Gen. Pemberton, being driven within the defenses of Vicksburg. After the capture of Jackson, the capital of Miss. (which see), May 14, Sherman was directed

to remain there for a brief time to complete the destruction of military stores, manufactories, etc., while Grant pushed to the westward toward Vicksburg. About midway between the two places the Confederate army was found occupying a strong position on a high ridge known as Champion's Hill. Grant attacked at once, in front, flank, and rear. It was necessary for the Federals to advance across open ground that was swept by a deadly fire of artillery, but they pressed gallantly on, carried the hill and drove the Confederates in great disorder, capturing about 2,200 prisoners. The fighting was very severe, Grant's loss in killed and wounded being nearly 2,000. The Confederates lost nearly as many, besides their large loss in prisoners.

CHANCELLORSVILLE (Va.), BATTLE OF.—One of the great battles of the Civil War, fought May 1-3, 1863, between the Army of the Potomac, Gen. Joseph Hooker, and the Confederate army of northern Virginia, Gen. Robert E. Lee. In January, 1863, after the disastrous Union defeat at Fredericksburg, Hooker was assigned to the command of the army, superseding Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. The next few months were devoted to a thorough reorganization and equipment of the army, preparatory to a spring campaign. It reached a fighting strength of about 120,000 men, of which 20,000 were cavalry and artillery, with 400 field guns. At no previous time had the Army of the Potomac been so strong, and high hopes were entertained that the next forward movement would be marked by success to the Union arms. Great confidence was reposed in Hooker, who had won fame as a brave fighter and a capable corps commander. Lee was at Fredericksburg, with an army of about 57,000 men. Near the end of April Hooker began operations. To mask his real design, he stationed 30,000 men under Gen. Sedgwick, to confront Lee at Fredericksburg, at the same time sending Gen. Stoneman, with most of the cavalry, on an expedition to the rear of Lee, to threaten his communications with Richmond. With about 70,000 men, Hooker crossed the Rappahannock on April 30 and established his headquarters at Chancellorsville, ten miles west of Fredericksburg, his purpose being to attack Lee by the latter's left flank. May 1, there was severe but inconclusive fighting, between portions of the hostile armies. On the following day Lee sent "Stonewall" Jackson, with 25,000 men, to assail the Federal right. The march was by a wide detour, through a dense wilderness of chaparral, which concealed the movement across the entire front of the Federal army. It occupied nearly the whole day, Lee, meantime, keeping his enemy busy by constant activity. Late in the afternoon Jackson reached his chosen point of attack, formed his charging columns, and hurled them with

the greatest impetuosity upon the 11th corps (Howard) which occupied the extreme right of Hooker's line. The sudden irruption was unexpected and created the wildest confusion. Almost the entire corps was driven in panic from the field, with large losses of prisoners and guns. "Oh, for another hour of daylight!" exclaimed Jackson, as the shades of night settled upon the field before he could finish his work. That night, while reconnoitering in front of his lines, Gen. Jackson was mortally wounded by a volley from his own men who mistook his party for a detachment of the enemy. (See JACKSON, THOMAS JONATHAN, 233.) Fighting was resumed May 3, resulting in the success of the Confederates. Sedgwick crossed the river at Fredericksburg and threatened Lee, from what was now the latter's rear, but the main body of the Federal army under Hooker having been defeated, Lee turned upon Sedgwick and drove him back across the Rappahannock. During the night of the 4th, Hooker recrossed his whole army, and the battle was over. The losses on both sides were large. The casualties to Hooker were nearly 17,000, including 1,500 killed and nearly 10,000 wounded; that of Lee was about 13,000. Among the slain of the Union army was Gen. Hiram G. Berry, a most gallant officer. The Confederate cause sustained an irreparable loss in the death of "Stonewall" Jackson. He was Lee's ablest lieutenant, and during the remainder of the war no other man rose to his full measure.

CHANTILLY (Va.), BATTLE OF.—Sept. 1, 1862, immediately after the second battle of Manassas, or Groveton, Lee sent "Stonewall" Jackson northward to harass Pope's retreating army, Pope detached a force to operate against Jackson and the result was a brief but severe engagement at Chantilly, which resulted in the retreat of the Federals. The loss of the latter was 1,300 and that of the Confederates, 800. The action was notable from the fact that two major-generals of the Union army were killed—Philip Kearny and Isaac I. Stevens. The loss of Kearny was especially felt. He was a brilliant officer and had lost an arm in the war with Mexico.

CHAPLIN HILLS (Ky.), BATTLE OF.—See PERRYVILLE, BATTLE OF.

CHATTANOOGA, EVACUATION OF.—Few points in the west were more identified with military operations during the Civil War than was Chattanooga, Tenn. It is about midway between Nashville and Atlanta. It was held by the Confederates until September, 1863, when it passed under Federal control. From the beginning of hostilities its importance as a strategic point was recognized, and as early as the spring of 1862, Federal operations for its seizure were begun. The plans of that year were, however, unsuccessful. In June, 1863, the

Confederate army under Bragg evacuated its position at Tullahoma, Tenn., before the pressure of Rosecrans, and fell back across the Tennessee River to Chattanooga, where his army numbered 45,000. Near the end of August, Rosecrans again advanced and his army crossed the river simultaneously at three points. Early in September, Bragg evacuated Chattanooga and it was occupied by Federal troops. The mighty struggle for its permanent possession took place ten days later at Chickamauga (which see). Defeated in this action, the Union army retired to Chattanooga, which it held with unyielding tenacity. Bragg established a siege, but was signally defeated, Nov. 24-25, in the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (which see). In 1864, Chattanooga was the base of operations and supplies for Gen. Sherman's army during the Atlantic campaign. A national cemetery there contains the remains of 13,000 Union soldiers.

CHEATHAM, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—Born in Nashville, Tenn., 1820; died there, 1886. A Confederate general during the Civil War. He entered the southern army at the outbreak of hostilities and served till the end, in the Army of Tennessee, under Sidney Johnston, Bragg, "Joe" Johnston, and Hood; he was esteemed a valiant fighter, but was severely censured by Hood for the feebleness of his attack on Schofield's column at Spring Hill, Nov. 29, 1864. He failed to execute Hood's order to throw his corps across the pike and thus cut off the retreat of Schofield to Nashville.

CHICKAMAUGA.—The name of one of the great battles of the Civil War. It was fought in Georgia, about fifteen miles from Chattanooga, Tenn., Sept. 19 and 20, 1863. Gen. William S. Rosecrans commanded the Union army, which numbered about 55,000, and Gen. Braxton Bragg the Confederate army, with a strength of about 65,000. The latter had been reinforced by two divisions from Lee's Virginia army, under Gen. James Longstreet. The fighting on both sides was furious and obstinate. The first day gave no decisive result to either. On the second day the Confederates burst through a gap in the Union line and five of Rosecrans's brigades were driven in rout, with a loss of several thousand prisoners and many pieces of artillery. Rosecrans in person retired to Chattanooga, but General Thomas, with the center and left of the Union army, made such stout resistance that the Confederate assaults were repelled and at night Thomas drew the army safely back to Chattanooga. The victory on the field was fairly won by the Confederates, but Chattanooga, the prize of the campaign, remained in the grasp of the Federals. Rosecrans lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 15,000 men; the Confederate loss was somewhat larger. (See WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS, 312; GEORGE H.

THOMAS, 349; JAMES LONGSTREET, 269; JOHN B. HOOD, 223. See also GARFIELD, JAMES ABRAM.)

CHICKAMAUGA, ROCK OF.—A sobriquet applied to Gen. George H. Thomas for his stubborn defense of his position at the battle of Chickamauga.

CHICKASAW BLUFFS, BATTLE OF (Dec. 29, 1862), was fought near Vicksburg, and the Federals under Sherman were repulsed by the Confederate forces with great loss. Sherman made his attack early in the day. One division of his forces occupied the batteries on the heights but the other division that was to follow the advance was behind time and the attack failed. The first division was driven out by a portion of Pemberton's army which had returned from Granada. Sherman hastily withdrew his forces to the transports.

CLEBURNE, PATRICK R.—A Confederate general in the Civil War. He entered the army from Arkansas, at the beginning of the war and served with distinction under Albert Sidney Johnston, Bragg, Joseph E. Johnston, and Hood. At the battle of Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864, while on horseback, leading his division in the charge upon the Federal line, man and horse fell pierced with bullets, as the latter leaped the ditch at the works.

COLD HARBOR (Va.), BATTLE OF.—One of the notable engagements of Grant's campaign against Lee, in 1864. After the great battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, in which Grant had sustained enormous losses, he turned Lee's right flank, crossed the Pamunkey River, and reached Cold Harbor, within ten miles northeasterly from Richmond. Lee had moved rapidly by an interior line, and Grant found him at Cold Harbor, strongly intrenched. June 1 and June 3 Grant assaulted the Confederate position in large force, but in each case met with a bloody repulse. Desultory fighting continued until June 12, when Grant determined to approach Richmond from the South, threw his army across the James River and laid siege to Petersburg. The fighting at Cold Harbor was costly. The loss of the Union army was 1,900 killed, 10,500 wounded, and 2,500 prisoners, a total of about 15,000. The Confederates fought entirely behind the shelter of intrenchments, and their loss in all was 1,700.

CONFEDERATE CABINET.—The Cabinet under the constitution of the Confederate states was in its organization substantially the same as that of the U. S., and the members of the one had functions and responsibilities corresponding to those of the other. The Confederate President might remove Cabinet officers. The first or provisional Congress of the seceded states met at Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 4, 1861. The government was removed to Richmond, Va., May 24, of the same

year. The regular Congress had 24 senators and about 100 representatives, and met for the last time March 18, 1865. The permanent constitution of the Confederacy resembled, in many important particulars, that of the U. S. It departed from the latter, however, in so far as it recognized the principle of state sovereignty as the South interpreted it; contended for the protection of slavery in all new territories, prohibited internal improvements at the expense of the general government, and also the imposition of duties on imports to promote or foster any branch of industry; provided that new states should be admitted by a vote of the same; gave to state legislatures the power to impeach Confederate officers acting within their jurisdiction; made the presidential term six years and the incumbent ineligible for reëlection; limited the power of Congress in appropriations and extended the right of debate in that body to members of the Cabinet.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.—The eleven states that seceded from the United States in 1860-61. These states were South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. They were readmitted to the Union from 1866 to 1870. (See DAVIS, JEFFERSON, 155.)

CONTRABAND OF WAR.—This term has been traced back to the year 1625, when it was used in a treaty between England and Spain. It embraces according to the Declaration of Paris, signed in 1856, all arms, ammunition, and supplies that may be useful in conducting military operations, offensive or defensive, and these may be seized by either belligerent, should a neutral try to convey them to the other. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, in 1861, was the first to proclaim contraband of war the slaves of those who had rebelled against the U. S. Government. The name "contrabands" was at once applied to the negroes and was in universal use, particularly in the Union army during the war.

COPPERHEAD.—An epithet popularly applied during the Civil War to residents of loyal states who opposed the war and used their influence to discourage enlistments and otherwise to embarrass and hamper the government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. The name is that of a poisonous snake that infests portions of the U. S. The "Copperheads" of 1861-65 were analagous to the Tories of Revolutionary days.

CORINTH (Miss.), BATTLE OF.—This should not be confounded with the siege of Corinth (April-May, 1862) immediately following the battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing. After the Confederates evacuated

Corinth, May 31, the Union army of 100,000 men, which had been under the command of Gen. Halleck, was broken up. A third of it under Buell marched to the eastward toward Chattanooga; Grant with 40,000 men moved westward toward Vicksburg; while Rosecrans, with 25,000, commanded in northern Mississippi. The summer passed without any important engagements, but in September a large Confederate force commanded by Gen. Earl Van Dorn made its presence felt. Sept. 19, there was a severe engagement at Iuka (which see), after which Van Dorn planned an attack on Corinth. This place was strongly fortified and was occupied by Rosecrans, with about 18,000 men. The Confederate strength was about twice that number. Fighting began Oct. 2, 1862, and on the 4th, Van Dorn made a furious assault. The soldiers of both sides fought with the greatest gallantry. The assailants were repulsed with great loss. In their hasty retreat they were vigorously pursued, and at the crossing of the Hatchie River they were attacked by the divisions of Hurlbut and Ord, who captured a battery of artillery and several hundred prisoners. In these engagements the Confederates lost 1,400 killed, 6,000 wounded, and 2,500 prisoners, a total of about 10,000. Rosecrans's loss was 315 killed, 1,800 wounded, and 230 prisoners. Among the slain on the Union side was Gen. Pleasant A. Hackleman.

COTTON STATES.—The lower belt of the 'south; Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina are also usually included in the group. Cotton is the staple product of these states—hence the name. They were all slave states before the Civil War, and all of them seceded in 1860 and 1861 and organized the Confederate States of America.

CRITTENDEN, THOMAS LEONIDAS.—Born at Russellville, Ky., 1819; died on Staten Island, N. Y., 1893. A general in the U. S. army. He served in the Mexican War; was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers in 1861 and major-general in 1862; served in the Army of the Ohio (Cumberland) under Buell and Rosecrans; during the march of Buell from Nashville to Pittsburg Landing to reinforce Grant, in April, 1862, he commanded one of the leading divisions, reached the field of Shiloh during the night of April 6, and took part in the fighting of the second day; commanded the 21st corps at Stone River and Chickamauga; at the latter battle, when Longstreet pierced the Union right, Crittenden believed the day lost and rode to Chattanooga, leaving the greater part of his corps still on the firing line, where it remained till night under Thomas; he was relieved of his command and resigned in 1864.

CROOK, GEORGE.—Born at Dayton, O., 1828; died at Chicago, 1890. A general in the U. S. army. He was graduated from West Point

in 1852; entered the army and in it spent his whole life, reaching the rank of major-general in the regular establishment; when the Civil War began he was a captain in the 4th infantry; in September, 1861, he was appointed colonel of the 36th Ohio volunteers, which he commanded till made a brigadier-general in 1862; he served at Antietam and in West Virginia; was conspicuous in the campaign of Sheridan against the Confederates under Early, in the Shenandoah Valley, in 1864; he participated in the battle of Opequan, Cedar Creek, Fisher's Hill and other engagements, in which he commanded the 8th corps; after the war he served in several arduous campaigns against hostile Indians in the Far West.

CROSBY, PIERCE.—(1823–1899.) An American naval officer born at Chester, Pa. He became a midshipman in 1838. In 1860 he was stationed in Chesapeake Bay at the beginning of the Civil War. He won especial distinction at the battle of Big Bethel and in the attacks on forts Hatteras and Clark. He was at the capture of New Orleans and at the battle of Vicksburg. He was made captain in 1868, commodore in 1874, rear-admiral in 1882, and retired in 1883 after having seen 38 years of active service.

CROSS KEYS (Va.), BATTLE OF.—An action fought near Strasburg in the summer of 1862, during "Stonewall" Jackson's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. The battle took place June 8, between 8,000 Federals under Gen. Fremont, and Ewell's division of Jackson's army. The result of the fighting was inconclusive. The Federal loss was 600 and that of the Confederates 400.

CUMBERLAND, ARMY OF THE.—One of the grand divisions of the Union army during the Civil War. It was at first called the Army of the Ohio, under Gen. Buell, but the name was changed when Gen. Rosecrans took command in October, 1862. With Louisville, Ky., as its base, it operated in Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. Two of its three corps went with Sherman from Atlanta to the sea. It was commanded successively by Generals Don Carlos Buell, William S. Rosecrans, and George H. Thomas. Its fighting strength varied from 40,000 to 70,000. Its principal battles were 1862, Shiloh, Perryville, Stone River; 1863, Chickamauga, Look-out Mountain, Missionary Ridge; 1864, the engagements of the Atlanta Campaign, Franklin, and Nashville. (See BUELL, DON CARLOS, 135.)

CUMBERLAND GAP.—A pass separating Kentucky, and Tennessee, and an important strategic point in the Civil War. It was through this gap that Bragg's Confederate army, pursued by Buell, escaped from Kentucky into Tennessee in 1862.

CUSHING, WILLIAM BARKER.—Born in Wisconsin, 1842; died in Washington, D. C., 1874. An officer of the U. S. navy, celebrated for his conspicuously gallant achievement in destroying the Confederate ram "Albemarle," at Plymouth, N. C., the night of Oct. 27, 1864. (See "ALBEMARLE.")

CUSTER, GEORGE ARMSTRONG.—Born in Ohio, 1839; killed by Indians in Montana, June 25, 1876. A Union cavalry general of the Civil War, noted for his conspicuous gallantry. He was graduated from West Point in 1861 and at once entered active service as a lieutenant in the 5th U. S. cavalry. His capacity and courage attracted attention, and after a few months he was made colonel of the 2d Michigan cavalry. He was soon promoted to brigadier-general and later to major-general. He commanded a cavalry brigade at Gettysburg and a division in Sheridan's cavalry corps in 1864. At all times and places he was a dashing and fearless leader. He had long yellow hair and was a unique and inspiring figure as he rode at the head of his men in a charge. After the war he served in the Indian campaigns. He explored the Black Hills in 1874. In 1876 he conducted an expedition against the Sioux in Montana. He found them in a strong force on the Little Big Horn River. He divided his command and sent one part under Maj. Reno to attack in the rear while he himself led the assault in front. Reno was driven back, and the Indians, in overwhelming numbers, fell upon Custer. The latter and his entire force were massacred.

DAHLGREN, JOHN ADOLF.—Born at Philadelphia, 1809; died at Washington, D. C., 1870. A distinguished American naval officer. He was the inventor of the naval gun which bears his name and introduced important improvements in naval armament. He became commander in 1855, was made chief of the bureau of ordnance in 1862, and rear-admiral in 1863. He conducted the naval operations in Charleston harbor and in conjunction with the land forces under Gen. Gilmore took Fort Wayne and silenced Fort Sumter, but failed to capture the city. In 1864 he coöperated with Sherman in the capture of Savannah. He was the author of several technical works.

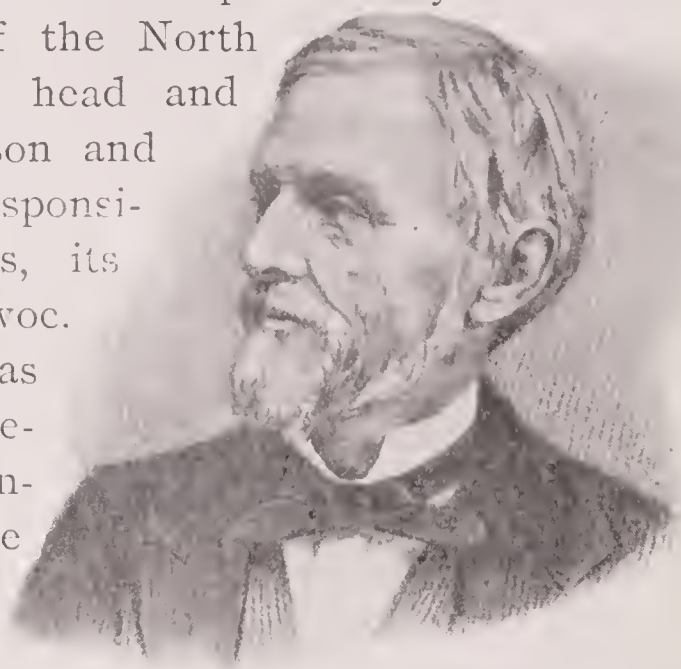
DAVIS, CHARLES HENRY.—Born at Boston, Mass., 1807; died at Washington, D. C., 1877. A distinguished officer of the American navy. He served under Dupont, who captured Port Royal, S. C., in 1861; commanded the "Mississippi" gunboat flotilla and gained a victory over the Confederate fleet off Port Pillow, May 10, 1862, and another before Memphis, June 6, 1862; became rear-admiral in 1863. He wrote "The Coast Survey of the United States" and "Narrative of the North Polar Expedition of the U. S. S. 'Polaris.'"

JEFFERSON DAVIS

He staked all on the cause that was lost.

IT is not likely that the people of the United States will ever agree as to the true position that history should accord to the life and character of Jefferson Davis, the President of the so-called "Confederate States of America" during the four years that its government had an existence. Because he had been chosen to that position by the voice of the seceded states, the people of the North regarded him during the Civil War as the head and front of the rebellion, the incarnation of treason and disunion. They laid upon his shoulders the responsibility of the war, with all its direful results, its fearful sum of fire and blood and death and woe. This feeling was not unnatural, and yet it was unreasonable in its excess of bitterness and denunciation, for Mr. Davis was but one among hundreds and thousands, of the North and of the South—millions, if we include the people, whose individual passions and prejudices made up the aggregate of public opinion—whose unyielding tenacity brought on the war. By the people of the South, in whose cause he sacrificed so much, Mr. Davis was considered their patriot leader, and his memory is tenderly and affectionately cherished around their hearthstones, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Chance, so to speak, placed him at the head of the Confederate government; any one of a hundred others might have been selected.

The impartial historian must and will concede to both North and South, in that mighty struggle, a transcendent consecration to principle, to the right as each saw it. Whatever may be the cause in which they are engaged, none can dare to discredit or belittle the sublime devotion of a people who, by hundreds of thousands, attest their willingness to make the supreme sacrifice of life by facing the deadly blast of battle. The question of the right of a state to separate itself from the Union of states was at issue. When argument had failed, an appeal to the sword was made. The decision was against the South, and it will stand for all time. Nothing can be stronger than the irresistible logic of events. But let him who is



disposed to pass harsh judgment upon those who were on the losing side, first assure himself that had he been born and reared in the South, he, too, would not have put on a suit of gray and followed the Confederate battle flags—charged with Pickett to the crest of Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg, or with Hood into the fiery storm that swept the cotton field at Franklin.

Jefferson Davis was a Kentuckian, born in 1808, and educated at Transylvania College in that state. A martial ambition was gratified by his appointment, when sixteen years of age, to a cadetship at West Point, from which he was graduated in 1828. One of his schoolmates, in the class next below, was Robert E. Lee. Seven years of dull routine duty in the army, in time of peace, with small chance for promotion and no prospect of winning fame at the cannon's mouth, sufficed to cool, at least for the time, the military ardor of the young lieutenant, and in 1835 Davis resigned his commission. Both at West Point and in the army, he was conspicuous for his erect, soldierly figure, his manly bearing, his purity of character and his high sense of honor. He had been marked as one who would win distinction with his sword, should the opportunity be offered him, and much regret was felt when he retired from the service.

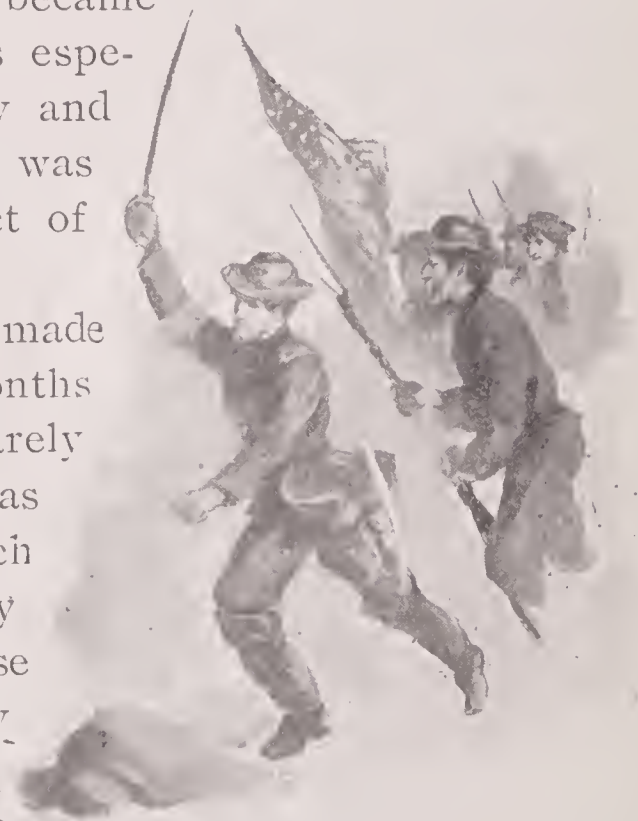
The return of Mr. Davis to civil life was no doubt prompted, in some measure, by an event prominent in the political history of the country. In his earliest manhood he had given evidence of an active, vigorous mind, which formed very decided opinions on the questions of the day. Lieutenant Davis, true to his convictions, was an earnest and zealous advocate of the doctrine of state rights, which at this time was the cause of much agitation in the public mind. Under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, South Carolina attempted to nullify certain acts which had been passed by Congress, and President Andrew Jackson threatened to invoke the power of the army to compel obedience to Federal authority. Impetuous "Old Hickory" even went so far as to declare that he would hang Calhoun "higher than Haman" if he should persist in a practical application of the doctrine that the right of the state was paramount to that of the general government. Jefferson Davis was in full accord with Calhoun, the author of the nullification idea, and he determined that should the army be called on to coerce a state, he would immediately resign his commission rather than take unwilling part in such a procedure.

After his resignation from the army, Mr. Davis fixed his home in Mississippi—to which state his father had removed from Kentucky some years before—and began life as a cotton planter. Incidentally, he took an active part in politics. He was a politician "to the manner born," and as his influence increased the door to preferment

opened wide before him. He developed a faculty for speaking, with marked ability as a debater and logician, and this brought him much before the public. In 1844 he was chosen one of the presidential electors from his state and cast his vote for Polk and Dallas. The next year, at the age of thirty-seven, he was elected to Congress. He immediately took a leading position among the orators and statesmen of his time. He was powerful in debate, and was never known to quail before an antagonist. His voice was potent in upholding slavery, and in resisting the attempted encroachments of the growing Abolition sentiment at the North; in advocating the doctrine of state rights, which was the mainspring of his conduct during the closing years of his public career; and in resolute opposition to a protective tariff, which he believed to be vicious in principle, and, owing to sectional conditions, baleful in its effect upon the South, while the North, alone, was benefited.

The declaration of war between the United States and Mexico quickened the pulses of Mr. Davis. He had strongly favored the war, and was quick to show his faith by his works. He raised a regiment of volunteer riflemen, and was commissioned its colonel. With the same zeal and energy that had characterized him in other spheres of action, he plunged into the war with the greatest enthusiasm. Colonel Davis and his Mississippi riflemen became renowned for intrepid courage. The regiment was especially conspicuous for its achievements at Monterey and Buena Vista. In the latter action, Colonel Davis was wholly disabled by a severe wound, from the effect of which he never fully recovered.

The story of Davis's gallantry in battle had made him exceedingly popular at home, and when, after months of suffering, he returned, pale, emaciated and barely able to move about with the aid of crutches, he was at once elected to the United States Senate, which body he entered in 1848. The combat between slavery and freedom was deepening; no effort at compromise could allay the sectional bitterness that, with every passing year, became more intense. Senator Davis had in no wise changed his opinions, nor had he abated one jot or tittle of his fervent zeal in upholding them. He was naturally combative, and, as he had sought the place where the fire was hottest while at the head of his riflemen in Mexico, so on the floor of the Senate, where the slavery and the antislavery champions fronted each other in hostile debate, he was ever in the thickest of the fight and always true to his colors. Nothing could force him to



recede an inch from the position that he had taken many years before and had always maintained, in defense of slavery and the doctrine of state rights.

In 1851 Mr. Davis resigned his seat in the Senate to become a candidate for governor of Mississippi, but was defeated at the election. In the presidential campaign of the following year he was an active supporter of Franklin Pierce. After Pierce was elected, he called Davis into his Cabinet, as Secretary of War. In this position the administration of Mr. Davis was able and popular. He introduced improvements in military tactics and in armaments, coast defenses and means of transportation. He retired from the Cabinet in 1857, on the accession of James Buchanan, and was at once reëlected to the Senate. Here he again battled in behalf of the principles for which he had before contended. He opposed the "squatter sovereignty" doctrine of Stephen A. Douglas, and favored the extension westward to the Pacific, of the line to determine the northward limit of slave territory, as it had been fixed by the "Missouri Compromise," in 1820.

During the Buchanan administration the drift of events was steadily toward civil war. None would have been willing to admit the unwelcome truth, and the hope was sincere and universal that so dire a calamity might be averted. But the relations between the sections became more and more strained; there was no sign of yielding on either side, and some were wise enough to foresee that the issue could be settled only by an appeal to arms. Secession and disunion became common topics of debate, years before such action was taken by any state. Though unwavering in his devotion to the principle of state rights, Mr. Davis, to the last moment, advocated the preservation of the Union. But he was a champion of slavery, and in 1860, the year before the war, he introduced a series of resolutions, which the Senate adopted, declaring:—

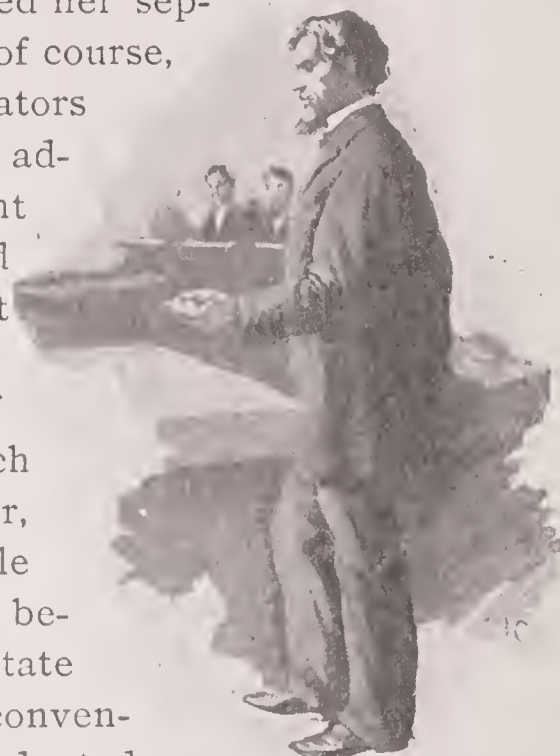
"That the States have formally accepted the Constitution as independent sovereigns, delegating to the general government a part of their power for the sake of security; that the intermeddling, on the part of any one of them, with the domestic institutions of another, is not only insulting, but dangerous to the domestic peace and tending to destroy the Union; that negro slavery is legal, and that neither Congress nor any territorial legislature has the right to interfere with it."

During the months immediately following the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency, the doctrine of state rights was carried to its finality, and the "Cotton states"—South Carolina first, followed by the others in rapid succession—passed ordinances of secession. Mississippi went out of the Union on the ninth of January, 1861. In his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," Volume I., page

221, Mr. Davis expressly declares that "in the action which she then took, Mississippi certainly had no purpose to levy war against the United States or any of them." As soon as Senator Davis had received official notice of the action of his state, he resigned his seat in the Senate and took leave of that body, in the presence of an immense throng that packed the galleries almost to suffocation. Never before, since the foundation of the republic, had so great a peril menaced its existence, and public feeling was strained to the highest tension. The following citations from the speech delivered by Mr. Davis on the occasion of his retirement are full of interest, as setting forth the views entertained by him at that critical time, the climax of his public career:—

"I rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the state of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people, in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions are terminated here. . . . It is known to senators who have served with me here that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of state sovereignty, the right of a state to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause, if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the government, because of my allegiance to the state of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, and counseled them then that, if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when their convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

"I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents toward yours. I am sure that I feel no hostility toward you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent toward those whom you represent. I, therefore, feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceable relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country, and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God and in our firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.



“In the course of my service here, associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision, but whatever of offense there has been to me, I leave here. I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in the heat of discussion, I have inflicted. I go hence unincumbered by the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered. Mr. President and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu.”

The Senators from Florida and Alabama withdrew at the same time, and Mr. Davis spoke for all. It was a solemn and impressive scene, as the Senators left their seats and passed quietly out of the chamber, never to return. It had been known for several days that the states which they represented had seceded and that they would withdraw from the Senate, and the authorities had seriously considered the question whether the gentlemen in question should not be arrested, on the ground that they were engaged in treasonable designs and enterprises; but nothing was done and they were permitted to leave Washington unmolested. On his arrival at Jackson, Mississippi, Mr. Davis found that the convention had made provision for the organization of a state army, and that he had been appointed to its command, with the rank of major-general. Four brigadier-generals had been appointed and were awaiting his arrival to be assigned to duty. For a short time General Davis discharged the duties of his position—which, with no army to command, were not arduous—but before the outbreak of hostilities he was called to a higher and broader field of action.

The congress of delegates from the seceding states assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861. Seven states—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas—were represented, and it was expected that the eight other slave states would soon join the Confederacy. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas did so, but Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, known as the “Border states,” did not. The state of West Virginia had not then a separate existence. It was a part of Virginia, but the people of that section were mostly loyal to the Union, and the new state was carved out of “Old Virginia” and admitted to the Union in 1863, at the middle of the war. At the Montgomery congress, a temporary government was formed and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia,

were elected provisional President and Vice-president, respectively. Mr. Davis had not desired this position. In his first volume, page 230, he says:—

“For reasons which it is not now necessary to state, I had not believed myself as well suited to the office as some others. I thought myself better adapted to command in the field; and Mississippi had given me the position which I preferred to any other—the highest rank in her army.”

Mr. Davis had been selected for President by the unanimous choice of the delegates to the provisional congress. There was no “electioneering” or “wire-pulling” in his behalf, either by himself or by his friends. Indeed, it was well known that he had a strong personal preference for military service. But the call to the presidency was so emphatic that he did not feel at liberty to decline, and he accepted the position. He had consecrated to the cause of secession all his energies of body and mind, and his only desire was to serve his people in the capacity in which they believed he would be most useful. He was installed in office on the eighteenth of February. In his inaugural address he said:—

“Our present political position has been achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations. It illustrates the American idea that governments rest on the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish them at will, whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they are established. The declared purpose of the compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn was to ‘establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity’; and when, in the judgment of the sovereign states composing this Confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and has ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot box declared that, so far as they are concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, defined to be ‘inalienable.’ Of the time and occasion for its exercise they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct; and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we have labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit.

“. . . It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole; where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor and right and liberty and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent, the progress of a

movement sanctified by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by his blessing they were able to vindicate, establish and transmit to their posterity. With the continuance of his favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace and to prosperity."

Not in a controversial spirit, but purely as an illustration of the inflamed and chaotic condition of public opinion at that time, is given here an extract from an editorial article in the "New York Tribune," which was printed soon after the election of Mr. Lincoln. It was written by Horace Greeley, who all his life had been an uncompromising foe of slavery, and to the utmost of his power had resisted its territorial aggressions. Mr. Greeley said:—

"We hold, with Jefferson, to the inalienable right of communities to alter or abolish forms of government that have become oppressive or injurious; and if the Cotton states shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary right, but it exists nevertheless. We must ever resist the asserted right of any state to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof; to withdraw from the Union is quite another matter. And whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep her in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets."

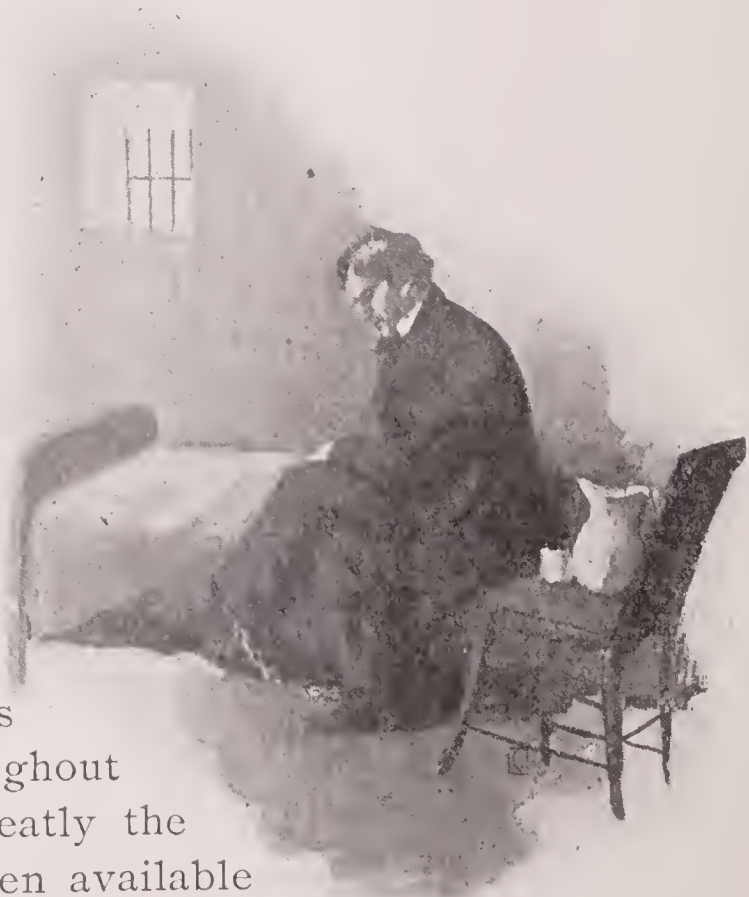
When such sentiments were held and openly expressed by Horace Greeley, it is not a matter to excite wonder that the great majority of the people of the South believed in the right of secession, and that the conditions then existing justified them in the exercise of that right. And this brings us back to the proposition stated in the opening paragraph of this article, that now, when passion and prejudice have been softened by the lapse of years, judgment should be directed by the principle, "Put yourself in his place," as set forth by Charles Reade in his novel, the title of which is the words quoted. Without attempting to pass upon the question of the inherent right of secession, one may, and should, concede to those who engaged in the so-called "rebellion" the merit of a conscientious devotion to a principle in which they believed, and upon the issue of which they freely staked their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. The verdict, reached through years of blood and death, was against them, and they have accepted it as final.

One more example may properly be given to show the feeling that then prevailed to a limited extent among the people of the


North. On the thirty-first of January, 1861, after six states had already declared their separation from the Union, a great meeting was held in the city of New York, to consider the perilous condition of the country. One of the speakers at this meeting was James S. Thayer, an "Old-line Whig," who said:—

"And if the incoming administration shall attempt to carry out the line of policy that has been foreshadowed, we announce that, when the hand of Black Republicanism turns to blood-red, and seeks from the fragment of the Constitution to construct a scaffolding for coercion,—another name for execution,—we will reverse the order of the French Revolution, and save the blood of the people by making those who would inaugurate a reign of terror the first victims of a national guillotine. What, then, is the duty of the state of New York? That the Union must be preserved? But if that cannot be, what then? Peaceable separation! Painful and humiliating as it is, let us temper it with all we can of love and kindness, so that we may yet be left in a comparatively prosperous condition, in friendly relations with another confederacy."

It is not within the province of this sketch to give in detail the events connected with the official career of Mr. Davis, as President of the Confederate States. After the Confederacy had been fully organized, with a membership of eleven states, an election was appointed, to be held near the end of the year 1861. Mr. Davis and Mr. Stephens were duly elected President and Vice-president, respectively. Their term of office, under the Confederate constitution, was six years, but in a little more than three years from their inauguration as permanent officials, early in 1862, the war had been fought, the cause had been lost, the Confederate government had been scattered to the winds, and Mr. Davis was a prisoner in a casemate at Fortress Monroe. During those years the prosecution of the war was a constant and prodigious strain upon President Davis and the members of his Cabinet. At the beginning, and throughout the struggle, the Federal Government had greatly the advantage, not only in the preponderance of men available for military duty, but in the "sinews of war"—arms, ammunition, food, clothing and other supplies, money and credit. All these the Federal Government had practically without limit. The Confederacy began with nothing. Every department and bureau of



the government, the army and the navy had to be organized. No supplies could be obtained from the North, and importations from foreign countries were limited to such as could be brought in by the few vessels that were able to run the blockade.



A great war cannot be successfully conducted with an empty treasury, and the question of finances was a source of constant perplexity. Confederate money, in large volume, was issued and put into circulation. The notes were payable "six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States," but this was too vague and precarious for a standard of value, and this "fiat money" was worth little outside the limits of the Confederacy. Its purchasing power diminished regularly and rapidly, as the war progressed and the prospect of Confederate success became more and more doubtful. This depreciation of the currency, coupled with actual scarcity of the necessities of life, caused prices to go to a point almost beyond belief—that is, if the so-called dollars had had any value. Three hundred dollars for a barrel of flour, one hundred dollars for a pair of boots, four dollars for a pound of bacon, were current market quotations in the South during the last year of the war. The Confederate government made several large issues of bonds. Many of the people bought these, as far as their means would permit, but it was necessary to find also a foreign market. This proved to be a difficult matter, although considerable amounts were sold, at a discount, in England and France. Generally speaking, however, men who had money to invest were repelled by the doubt of the redemption of the bonds. So, from first to last, it was a constant struggle for means to carry on the war—to pay the soldiers and to buy supplies and munitions. At times these were wholly insufficient, and the brave, patient soldiers marched with tattered clothes, shoeless feet and empty haversacks. Laying aside all questions of right or wrong, the world will never cease to admire the valor, devotion and fixedness of purpose that characterized the Southern soldiers during their long and fruitless contest. They "fought a good fight," they "kept the faith," until overwhelmed at Nashville and Appomattox. The wonder is that they were able to keep up the struggle so long.

During the war Mr. Davis lived, with his family, at Richmond, Virginia, at which place the Confederate capital was established when the government was fully organized. As commander-in-chief, by virtue of his office, and director of military operations, he carried a great burden of responsibility, and much of the blame for defeats and failures was laid upon him by the people. He was a man of very decided

opinions and of strong likes and dislikes. It was inevitable that he should engender, in both civil and military official circles, strifes, jealousies and bickerings which alienated the friendship of many, and to some extent impaired his usefulness. A notable instance is the hostility that existed during the entire war between President Davis and General Joseph E. Johnston. The latter had been a brigadier-general in the United States army before the war, and was the officer highest in rank to resign his commission and draw his sword in the Confederate cause. Yet at Bull Run he was made subordinate to Beauregard, who had been only a captain in the "old army," but who then happened to be in the public eye because he had directed the operations at Fort Sumter and received its surrender. The following year Johnston was superseded in the command of the army in Virginia by General Lee, who had been much his inferior in rank. In 1864, by order of President Davis, Johnston was displaced before Atlanta by General Hood, who had been but a lieutenant when Johnston was a brigadier-general, in the United States service. The administration of Mr. Davis evoked much severe criticism, but it may be seriously doubted whether any man could have done better. It was a hard official position, one that taxed to the uttermost all his powers of mind and body.

Sunday, April 2, 1865, was a fateful day at Richmond. A telegraph messenger entered St. Paul's Church and handed a message to President Davis, who was sitting in his pew. For days the situation had been one of extreme tension, and the public mind was in a fever of anxiety and apprehension. For nine months the armies of Grant and Lee had confronted each other in the lines around Petersburg, twenty miles south of Richmond. In the last days of March, Grant had girded his army for the supreme effort. On the first day of April, Sheridan drove the Confederates from their position at Five Forks, and the following morning Grant hurled his compact masses against the intrenchments at Petersburg. The waste of war, which the exhausted resources of the South could not repair, had reduced Lee's once magnificent army to a skeleton; but its spirit was still unbroken and it made stout resistance to an adversary whose strength was fourfold its own, and whose resources were boundless. The stronger battalions prevailed, and it was while his crumbling line was giving way and yielding to the enemy one position after another, that Lee wrote the dispatch that was handed to Mr. Davis in St. Paul's Church. It conveyed the intelligence that Lee was no longer able to hold his line and that Richmond must be evacuated that night.

Mr. Davis immediately rose from his seat and passed out of the church. It was noticed that he was more than usually pale, and his

manner clearly betokened the emotions that had been stirred within him. Every eye in the congregation was fixed upon him, and to every worshiper there came a foreboding of disaster. One and then another followed the President. The service was brought to a premature end, and a hasty benediction dismissed the assemblage. The

baleful tidings spread rapidly throughout the city, and the scene that ensued, words are powerless to describe. The archives of the Confederate government were hastily transferred to a railway train, on which President Davis, members of his Cabinet and other officials were passengers. The train left in the evening for Danville, Virginia, where it arrived the next morning. During that Sunday afternoon and evening, the city of Richmond was in a state of the wildest panic and consternation. Hundreds of the citizens fled in dismay from the dreaded "Yankees," whose appearance was hourly expected.

The lower populace, white and black, became riotous, and ravaged at will through the stores and deserted dwellings. Fires were started and these raged during the night, laying in ashes a very considerable part of the city. It was a night of pandemonium and terror, of wild excess and passion, of desolation and doom. With the dawn came the measured tread of the Union soldiers; and the stars and stripes floated over the Confederate capital, after four years of bloody conflict.

Grant and Sheridan brought Lee to bay at Appomattox, and the surrender of his army marked the end. The Confederate structure crumbled in ruin, as fell the temple of the Philistines when Samson "bowed himself" and wrenched away its pillars. Mr. Davis did not yet abandon hope and favored a continuance of the struggle. But he was alone in considering this as even a possibility. His advisers, civil and military, were unanimous in the opinion that the fight was done—the cause was irrevocably lost. The United States Government offered a reward of one hundred thousand dollars for the arrest of Mr. Davis, and he became a hunted fugitive. He met his wife in Georgia, whither she had gone from Richmond, and in company with her and a small party of friends he made his way to the southwestward. The purpose he had in mind is stated in his work, Volume II., page 697:—

"to go to the south far enough to pass below the points reported to be occupied by Federal troops, and then turn to the west, cross the Chattahoochee, and go to meet the forces still supposed to be in the field in Alabama; if, as now seemed probable, there should be no prospect of a successful resistance east of the Mississippi, I intended then to cross to the



trans-Mississippi department, where I believed Generals E. Kirby Smith and Magruder would continue to uphold our cause."

Near Irwinsville, Georgia, the bivouac of Mr. Davis was surrounded by Federal cavalry during the night, and at dawn the entire party was captured. Mr. Davis was taken to Fortress Monroe, where he was confined in a casemate for two years. Part of the time he was kept in irons, a fact which is not creditable to those who directed that the manacles be placed upon his limbs. In May, 1866, in the United States Court sitting at Norfolk, he was indicted for treason. It is doubtless true that this was done to appease popular clamor at the North, which demanded a sacrifice by way of atonement; but to the thoughtful mind it was difficult to perceive any logical reason why Mr. Davis should be made the scapegoat for all who took active part in the rebellion. There were a hundred, a thousand, others who might with equal fitness be arraigned at the bar of justice. Few persons believed that Mr. Davis would ever be brought to trial and punishment. Time cooled the passion and softened the judgment of men, and in May, 1867, Mr. Davis was released on bail. Horace Greeley, who had been one of his most implacable political enemies, voluntarily signed the bond as one of the sureties. On Christmas Day, 1868, President Johnson issued a general proclamation of amnesty for all who had been engaged in the rebellion, and the legal proceedings against Mr. Davis were discontinued.

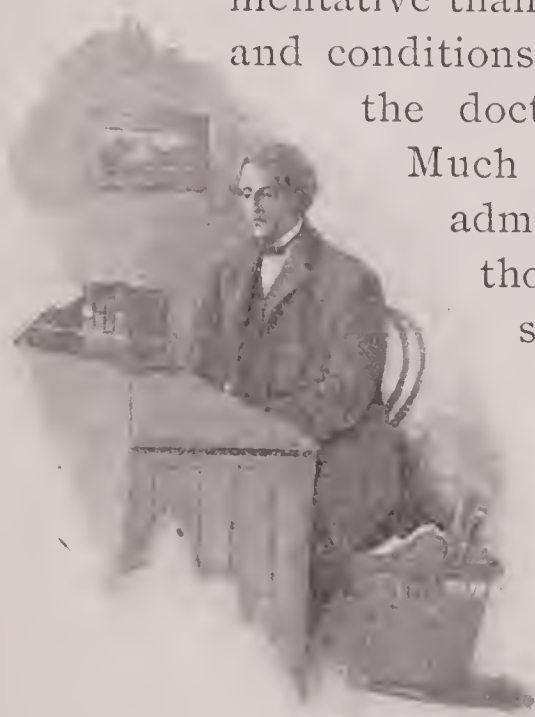
Mr. Davis—as did a few others in the South—remained to the last so true to his convictions that he refused to renew his allegiance to the United States, and was never restored to citizenship. In the opinion of many of his friends, this was not the part of wisdom, but he was the judge of his own motives, and his judgment must stand in justification of his course. None can wonder that he became so embittered against the government, after the harsh treatment, not to say indignity, that he had suffered at its hands. All of his large property had been swept away by the war—his slaves set free by the Emancipation Proclamation, his plantation in Mississippi ravaged, his lands confiscated and his residence burned. He left his prison cell in Fortress Monroe well-nigh penniless, advanced in years and prematurely old by reason of the wound he had received at Buena Vista, and the burden of public cares and responsibilities that he had borne so long. The thoughtful bounty of friends provided a pleasant home for him and his family, which was named "Beauvoir," near Biloxi, Mississippi, and there, in absolute retirement, he spent the remainder of his days, with the exception of some time passed in Europe. He died December 6, 1889, at the age of eighty-one. Public mourning throughout the South was sincere and universal.

The people united in paying the most lofty and affectionate tribute to his memory. His friends were severe in their criticism of the authorities at Washington because they refused to place the flag on the War Department at half mast, as was and is the custom at the death of one who formerly had been at the head of the department. It will be recalled that Mr. Davis was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce, from 1853 to 1857. Nearly a quarter of a century had passed since the close of the Civil War, but the feeling was yet too strong to permit the payment of honors to the memory of one who in years gone by, at least, had served his country well as a soldier, a statesman and a patriot. The remains of Mr. Davis rest beneath a massive monument in the cemetery at Richmond, Virginia. It was deemed fitting that the scene of his labors in the cause of Southern independence should be his burial place.

In 1881 Mr. Davis published his two large volumes, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." The work is more argumentative than historical, and is exhaustive in its review of the causes and conditions that led to the war, and in its stout maintenance of the doctrine of state sovereignty and the right of secession.

Much space is also given to a personal vindication of his administration as the Confederate President, in answer to those who criticized some of his official acts. It is just such a book as might have been expected from Mr. Davis, and reflects much of the bitterness that existed in his heart toward the government that "subjugated" the states of the South. The work shows great ability and care, but its tendency is not to promote peace and good-will between the sections. Some of the utterances of Mr. Davis are regrettable, and yet the reader cannot repress a feeling of charity for one

whose conscientiousness none can doubt, and who suffered and sacrificed so much for the cause in the justice of which he believed. The value of his "Rise and Fall" lies in its presentation of the Southern cause, by which the world may judge of the sincerity of motive and fixedness of purpose that actuated the people of the seceding states.



DAVIS, JEFFERSON C.—Born in Indiana, 1828; died, 1879. A general in the U. S. army. He served in the war with Mexico and at the beginning of the Civil War was a captain in the 1st U. S. artillery; was one of the garrison of Fort Sumter when it was bombarded and taken by the Confederates in April, 1861; was promoted to brigadier-general and major-general; commanded a brigade at Pea Ridge, Ark., a division at Stone River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and in the Atlanta campaign; during the latter he succeeded General Palmer in the command of the 14th corps and with it made the "march to the sea" and the campaign through the Carolinas. Gen. Davis shot and killed Gen. William Nelson, in the Galt House, at Louisville, Ky., Sept. 29, 1862, in an altercation growing out of their official relations. Davis was tried by a military commission, acquitted, and restored to duty.

DIXIE.—A term applied originally to New York City when slavery existed there. According to a myth or legend, a person named Dixie owned a tract of land on Manhattan Island and a large number of slaves. As Dixie's slaves increased beyond the requirements of the plantation, many were sent to distant parts. Naturally the deported negroes looked upon their early home as a place of real and abiding happiness, as did those from the "Ole Virginny" of later days. Hence "Dixie" became the synonym for a locality where the negroes were happy and contented. In the South, Dixie is taken to mean the southern states. There the word is supposed to have been derived from Mason and Dixon's line, formerly dividing the free states from the slave states. It is said to have first come into use there when Texas joined the Union, and the negroes sang of it as Dixie. It has been the theme of several popular songs, notably that of Albert Pike, "Southrons, Hear Your Country Call"; that of T. M. Cooley, "Away Down South where Grows the Cotton," and that of Dan Emmett, the refrain usually containing the word "Dixie" or the words "Dixie's Land." During the Civil War, the tune of "Dixie" was to the southern people what "Yankee Doodle" had always been to the people of the whole Union and what it continued, in war times, to be to the northern people, the comic national air. The tune is "catchy" to the popular ear and it was played by the bands in the Union army during the war as freely as by those on the other side. During the rejoicing in Washington over the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, a band played "Dixie" in front of the White House. President Lincoln began a short speech, immediately afterward, with the remark: "That tune fairly belongs to us now; we've captured it."

DODGE, GRENVILLE M.—Born at Danvers, Mass., 1831. A U. S. general in the Civil War. He entered the service in 1861 as colonel

of the 4th Iowa volunteers and rose to the rank of major-general; served in Missouri and Arkansas during the early part of the war and was then assigned to the Army of the Tennessee, in which he commanded a division and, in 1864, to the 16th corps, in Sherman's army; late in that year he succeeded Gen. Rosecrans in command of the Department of Missouri.

DOUBLEDAY, ABNER.—An officer of the U. S. army. He was graduated from West Point in 1842; served through the Mexican War (1846-48); at the beginning of the Civil War he was major of the 17th U. S. Infantry; was made brigadier-general in February, 1862, and major-general later in that year; he served in nearly all the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac; he succeeded to the command of the First Corps on the death of Gen. John F. Reynolds, the first day at Gettysburg. He wrote a volume, "Chancellorsville and Gettysburg."

DRAFT, MILITARY.—A drawing by lot to select men to fill the ranks of the army in time of war. The method of increasing the army by draft was first resorted to in 1814, during the war with Great Britain. Militiamen only were subject to this draft and the result was unsatisfactory. During the Civil War effort was made to recruit the army by drafts upon able-bodied citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. April 16, 1862, and July 18, 1863, the Confederate Congress passed conscription laws, and during the last two years of the war conscription was enforced with much rigor in order to fill the ranks that had been depleted by the ravage of war. Able-bodied men were scarce and it became necessary to include as subject to draft all such within the ages of fifteen and fifty.

DRAFT RIOTS.—During the Civil War there was throughout the North a very strong popular feeling against forcing men into the army by the operation of the conscription act which had been passed by Congress. The drafting of men for military service caused a violent outbreak in New York City, July 13-16, 1863. A great mob completely overpowered the civil authorities and broke up for the time the work of conscription. For four days the city was the scene of wild turbulence and bloodshed. The rioters were inflamed against the negroes, and scores of these were shot down or hanged in the streets. A detachment of veteran troops from the Army of the Potomac was sent to New York, and the muskets and cannon, freely used, soon quelled the riot. The loss of life during the insurrection is not known, but the best authorities place it at fully 700. Much damage to property was done by the torch and otherwise. The same year there was an organized resistance to the draft in Holmes Co., Ohio. The rioters built a fort, in which they placed two or three old pieces

of artillery. No blood was shed, for the men in buckram fled with precipitation on the approach of a small body of troops that was sent against them. The fortification became known as "Fort Fizzle" and the name continues attached to the spot to this day.

DUPONT, SAMUEL FRANCIS.—(1803–1865.) An officer of the U. S. navy. He entered the navy as a mid-shipman, in 1815, and rose to the rank of rear-admiral; commanded the "Cyane" during the war with Mexico; at the beginning of the Civil War he was a member of a board to prepare a plan of naval operations against the Confederate States; commanded the naval part of the expedition which captured Port Royal, S. C., in November, 1861, in conjunction with a land force under Gen. T. W. Sherman; commanded a naval attack on Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, in April, 1863, which was unsuccessful; his health became greatly impaired and he was relieved of command in July, 1863.

EARLY, JUBAL ANDERSON.—Born in Virginia, 1816; died at Lynchburg, Va., 1894. An officer of the U. S. army and a noted general in the Confederate service during the Civil War. He graduated at West Point in 1837, served in the Seminole War in Florida, and then resigned to practice law in Virginia. During the Mexican War he served as a major of volunteers. He entered the Confederate army in 1861 and rose rapidly to the rank of lieutenant-general. During 1862 and 1863 he held a subordinate command under Gen. Lee in Virginia. In 1864 Lee sent him to the Shenandoah Valley, to make a diversion by menacing Washington, in the hope that Grant would be compelled to detach largely from his army before Richmond and Petersburg. In July Early swept down the valley, turned eastward and reached the very outskirts of Washington, after defeating a force under Gen. Lew Wallace, at Monocacy, Md. His sudden irruption created extreme alarm and consternation. Troops were assembled from all available points and Grant detached the 6th corps from his army and sent it on swift steamers up the Potomac. Had Early shown more enterprise it can scarcely be doubted that he could have taken Washington, but the veterans of the 6th corps arrived at the critical moment and Early was beaten off, in an action July 12, at Fort Stevens, less than five miles from the Capitol building. Thousands of citizens, government clerks, and convalescents were under arms. Early returned to the valley. He dispatched a cavalry force under McCausland into Pennsylvania, and the result of the raid was the burning of Chambersburg. Grant sent Sheridan to the valley and in September, at the battle of Opequan and Fisher's Hill, Early was routed with great loss of men and guns. He was reinforced,

and Oct. 19 fell upon the Union army at Cedar Creek. Sheridan was at Winchester, "twenty miles away," on his return from Washington. He galloped to the scene of action, and found the army beaten and in danger of rout. He rallied the troops, turned upon Early and drove him from the field, making large captures of prisoners and artillery. In these engagements Early lost nearly all of his cannon, apropos of which a Confederate legend tells that a wag in Richmond, seeing a large consignment of artillery about to be sent to Early, so changed the address as to make it read, "To Gen. Phil Sheridan, care of Gen. Jubal A. Early, Shenandoah Valley." Early was a large man, of massive build, and very popular among his soldiers, by whom he was familiarly known as "Old Jubal," or "Jube." He was one of the unique figures of the Civil War.

EASTMAN, SETH.—Born at Brunswick, Me., 1808; died at Washington, D. C., 1875. A brigadier-general of the U. S. army, employed by the bureau of the commissioner of Indian affairs as an illustrator of "The History, Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," published by order of Congress (1850-57).

ECKERT, THOMAS THOMPSON.—Born at St. Clairsville, Ohio, 1825. He was organizer of the U. S. military telegraph service in 1862; brigadier-general in 1865, and assistant Secretary of War (1866-67). He became president of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1893.

ELLET, CHARLES.—Born at Penn's Manor, Pa., 1810; died at Cairo, Ill., 1862. An engineer, who first introduced the use of wire suspension bridges in America. When acting as colonel in the Union army during the Civil War, by a fleet of Mississippi steamers which he had converted into rams, he sank or disabled several Confederate vessels off Memphis, in 1862. During the action he was mortally wounded.

ELLSWORTH, EPHRAIM ELMER.—Born at Mechanicsville, N. Y., 1837; killed at Alexandria, Va., May 24, 1861. A volunteer officer of the U. S. army in the Civil War. He went to Chicago a few years before the war and engaged in business as a solicitor of patents. He had a strong military bent and organized a company of zouaves, which he brought to very high proficiency in drill. He made a tour of the country with his company and gave exhibitions. The wonderful agility and skill of the zouaves and their fantastic uniforms attracted multitudes of people. Ellsworth and his company escorted President-elect Lincoln, from Springfield, Ill., to Washington, in February, 1861. At the first note of war, Ellsworth went to New York, organized the famous New York Fire Zouaves—11th New York volunteers—and was elected its colonel. It was a unique body of men, composed entirely of members of the New York fire department. It

was quickly raised and equipped for service, and early in May went to Washington. On the day of its arrival a fire broke out in Willard's Hotel and got beyond the control of the local firemen. Col. Ellsworth marched his Zouaves to the scene, at a double-quick pace. They swarmed around and into the burning building and soon had the fire subdued. May 24 the Fire Zouaves were sent to occupy Alexandria, Va., on the Potomac River, a few miles below Washington. The few hostile troops in the town fled at their approach. Col. Ellsworth saw a Confederate flag flying from the roof of the Marshall House, a hotel kept by James T. Jackson. Ellsworth dashed into the building to secure the flag. As he was ascending a stairway he was shot and killed by Jackson.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.—Early in the Civil War many persons began to agitate for a proclamation from the President declaring the slaves free. It was the intention of President Lincoln, as he declared; to preserve the Union without freeing the slaves, if possible. Sept. 22, 1862, he issued a preliminary proclamation, as a war measure, calling upon all the people in rebellion against the U. S. to return to their allegiance, promising measures of relief in case of compliance and declaring that in a 100 days thereafter he would declare the slaves to be forever free in those states and parts of states which should then be in rebellion. This had no effect. Accordingly, on Jan. 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued an official proclamation, declaring the freedom of the slaves in all the states which had seceded, excepting the forty-eight counties in West Virginia, seven counties in Virginia, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and thirteen parishes in Louisiana, including the city of New Orleans. The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, in force Dec. 18, 1865, completed the work of emancipation by which 3,895,172 slaves were made free. The text of the Proclamation is as follows:—

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate, as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche,

St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued. And, by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are and henceforth shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages. And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts of said service. And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State*.

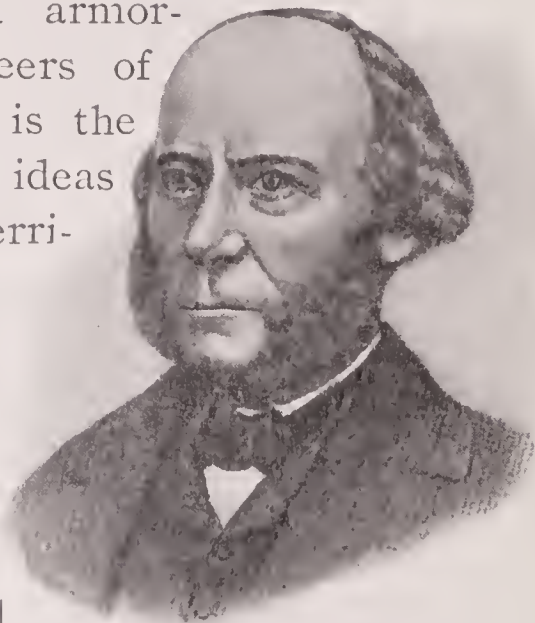
EMORY, WILLIAM HEMSLEY.—Born in Maryland, 1811. An officer of the U. S. army. He was graduated from West Point in 1831, and became a lieutenant of topographical engineers; was on the staff of Gen. Kearny in the Mexican War; served through the Civil War as brigadier-general and major-general; in 1863 he commanded a division in Louisiana, under Gen. Banks, and was conspicuous in the operations against Fort Hudson; in 1864 he commanded the 19th corps in Bank's Red River expedition; later in that year he was transferred, with his corps to Virginia, and served with distinction under Sheridan, during the latter's campaign against Early; was noted for good conduct at Opequan and Fisher's Hill. He was a scholar of high attainments and wrote several books on military and topographical topics. He died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 1, 1887.

JOHN ERICSSON

Who revolutionized the navies of the world.

A NATIVE of Sweden, who emigrated to America at the age of thirty-six, invented the circular, revolving metal turret, within which to operate the heavy guns of a war vessel. He first applied this principle in the construction of the little "Monitor," the famous combat of which with the Confederate iron-plated steamer "Merri-mac," early in 1862, was the first battle between armor-protected vessels. The event awoke the naval engineers of the world and set them to thinking, and the result is the great battleship of to-day, which combines the two ideas of the turreted "Monitor" and the armored "Merri-mac."

John Ericsson, mechanical engineer and inventor, was born in Sweden, in 1803. He was a son of Olaf Ericsson, a large mine operator, and brother of Baron Nils Ericsson, colonel of engineers in the Swedish army and chief engineer of the railway system of that country. He first saw the light amidst mines and iron works, and the earliest sound to greet his ears was the clang of cumbersome machinery for hoisting coal out of the earth. He received a good education for the time, and while but a lad developed a rare taste and aptitude for mechanics. Before he was eleven years old, he had designed a sawmill and built a working model. During the next two or three years, he devised many ingenious contrivances for the improvement of mining machinery, some of which were permanently adopted for their value. He showed such ability in engineering that, when but fourteen years of age, he was trusted to superintend the work of six hundred men on a section of the Gotha ship canal. Then young Ericsson entered the Swedish army. He made a series of military maps, which attracted so much attention for the skill and accuracy displayed that he was at once promoted to a lieutenant. He made a survey of northern Sweden, and did his work so well that it brought him a captaincy. At twenty-four he resigned from the army that he might devote his entire time and energies to mechanics. He built a condensing engine, which marked a step forward in the development of the means to apply steam power to the uses of man. His



fertile mind seemed to know no rest. He was constantly making improvements in machinery for mining and other purposes, chiefly with reference to the more successful use of steam. In 1829 he competed with George Stephenson and others for the prize of five hundred pounds, which was offered for the best locomotive engine, by the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company. The specifications required a speed of not less than ten miles per hour. His engine, the "Novelty," made thirty miles an hour, but the decision was against him, as the judges decided to make traction power, rather than speed, the test, and the prize was awarded to Stephenson's "Rocket." Ericsson also invented a steam fire engine, for which he received a gold medal as a testimonial from the Mechanics' Institute of New York.

By far the most important invention to which Ericsson laid claim is the screw propeller for steam vessels, which revolutionized navigation. His first experiment with the screw as a propelling device was on the River Thames, and its success was such that it attracted the attention of the mechanical world. His invention was protected by patents in Europe and America and came into immediate use. At this time Ericsson was urged to emigrate to the United States, and he did so in 1839. In 1841 he furnished to the government the designs for the screw war ship "Princeton." This was the first war vessel ever built with her propelling machinery below the water line, out of the reach of a hostile shot. So it was that he dictated the reconstruction of the navies of the world in the matter of propulsion, as, years later, he produced the turret as an accessory of naval warfare, the possibilities of which are almost without limit; while his screw propeller laid the foundation for the steam merchant marine, to plow all the navigable waters of the world. Rarely in the history of mankind has a new idea in mechanics been so quickly and universally recognized and adopted. More than sixty of these vessels had been built before any attempt was made to evade the patent on the Ericsson screw. The invention which Ericsson called his "pet" was a caloric engine, on which he experimented for twenty years. He intended this especially as a means for propelling vessels, and built the caloric ship "Ericsson." He did not succeed in the application of caloric as a motive power in navigation, but for mechanical uses, especially for running light machinery, it proved to be admirably adapted, and to-day tens of thousands of caloric engines, constructed on the Ericsson principle, are in use all over the world.

As early as 1836, came to Ericsson the first idea that, twenty-five years later, developed into the historic war vessel "Monitor." The subject was much in his thoughts, and in 1854 he submitted to the Emperor Napoleon a plan for a partially submerged, armored vessel, with

heavy guns in a cylindrical, shot-proof turret. The French monarch did not become sufficiently interested in the project to make a test of its practicability, and the inventor did nothing more until the Civil War in America opened wide the door of opportunity. In 1861 Ericsson laid his plan before the United States Government, which was then putting forth extraordinary exertions to increase its fighting power, on land and sea, by every means at command. Much doubt was entertained as to the feasibility of the project, but it was decided by naval experts that the idea was valuable enough to justify the experiment. Near the end of the year, the navy department commissioned Ericsson to build a vessel in accordance with his plan. By the terms of the contract, he undertook to complete it within the wonderfully brief time of one hundred days. The keel was laid about the first of December. The work was pushed with prodigious energy, night and day, under the watchful eye of the inventor, who gave the most careful attention to every part of the construction, to the minutest detail. It is said of him that during the building of the "Monitor" he did not average more than four hours of sleep in each twenty-four. The vessel was launched at Greenpoint, New York, January 30, 1862, but much was yet to be done to finish and put in place her machinery and armament. No labor was spared to prepare her for service at the earliest possible day. Events in another quarter served as a spur to the utmost limit of human effort.

In 1861, under the stress of Confederate operations against Norfolk, Virginia, the United States Navy Yard at that place had been abandoned, and all the war vessels there had been burned or sunk by the retreating Federals. One of these was the "Merrimac," a 40-gun screw frigate. Although her upper works had been destroyed, the hull was raised by the Confederates and found to be in good condition. On the midship section, a casemate of heavy timber, one hundred and seventy feet long, was built, and this was protected by a heavy iron plating, four inches thick, for which bars of railroad iron were used. The armored sides sloped sharply upward, on the theory that hostile shots, striking at an obtuse angle to the sloping surface, would not penetrate, but would ricochet or glance upward and pass harmlessly over the vessel. She was also fitted with a heavy iron prow, with a beak for the purpose of ramming. This was the first application of armor to a war ship. It was believed that the "Merrimac" would prove invincible against the wooden ships of the Federal navy and that, used as a ram, she could destroy them at will, and the Confederates built high hopes upon the exploits of which they believed her capable. The sequel showed that they had not overestimated her power. With no little apprehension, the

authorities at Washington had watched the progress of the work of converting the "Merrimac" into an armored ram. In theory, and in fact, the United States had no ships that could successfully cope with the monster covered with railroad iron, and as a forlorn hope, all eyes turned to the "Monitor," which, fairly swarming with mechanics, was rapidly assuming shape and form at Greenpoint. In February it began to be rumored that the finishing touches were being put upon the "Merrimac," and that ere long she would sally forth on her mission of destruction. It was naturally believed that her attack would be made on the Federal fleet lying in the adjacent waters of Hampton Roads. Her name was changed to the "Virginia," but she very soon passed out of existence, and is almost universally known by her former name.

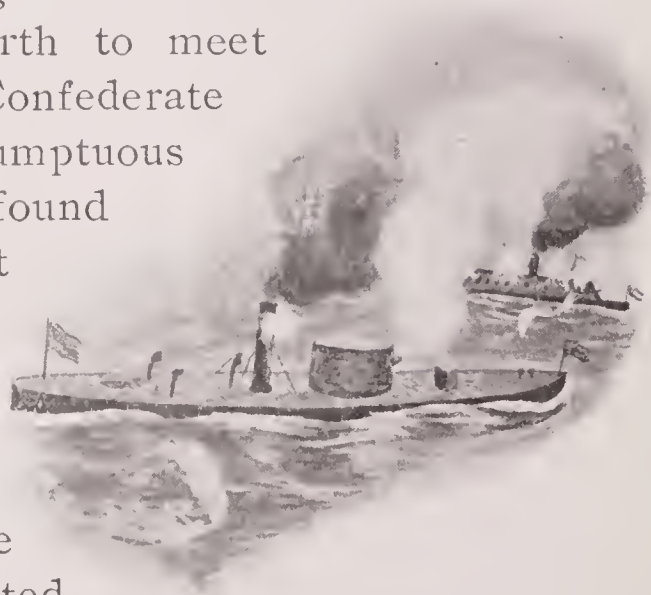
On March 8 the "Merrimac" steamed out of Norfolk, accompanied by one or two small steam vessels as tenders. She was commanded by Admiral Franklin Buchanan. The vessel proved to be unwieldy and difficult to manage, on account of the large added weight of armor, but this gave her a terrible momentum for effective ramming. As soon as she came within range of the Federal ships the action began. The guns of the latter had not the slightest effect on the "Merrimac." The sloping, plated sides of the casemate had been plentifully smeared with grease, and the shot and shell were deflected at the instant of striking, and did no more harm than if they had been pebbles. It was quickly demonstrated that the casemate was impervious and the "Merrimac" then boldly advanced on her prey. The frigate "Cumberland" was rammed and crushed like an eggshell. She sank in a few minutes, carrying down nearly all her crew. The "Congress," another fine ship, was riddled and burned. The destroyer then drew off to make needed repairs and to prepare for finishing her work the following day. It is not difficult to imagine the prodigious excitement and alarm that the irruption of the "Merrimac" created at Washington and throughout the North, and particularly along the Atlantic coast. At Baltimore and Philadelphia, the fear of a devastating visit threw the people into a condition bordering on panic.

Two or three days before, in anticipation of such an event, dispatches had been sent from Washington ordering the "Monitor," which was ready to sail, to hasten with all speed to Hampton Roads. During that day of ravage by the "Merrimac," it was known that the "Monitor" was on the way, and the eagerness for tidings from her was excessive. The "Monitor" may be briefly characterized as a floating battery. She consisted of an iron hull, covered by a projecting iron deck, which was almost awash. Above the deck there

was nothing except the great iron turret, and the small essentials of pilot house, smokestack and air funnels. The crew lived and worked below the water line. Within the turret were two guns of the heaviest caliber. The slow revolution of the turret enabled the gunners to discharge the pieces alternately—one being loaded while the other was being aimed and fired. The nondescript craft was an object of the greatest curiosity to the public, especially to nautical men, and her departure from New York was witnessed by a multitude of people. A popular and not inapt description of her appearance is contained in the phrase “a cheese box on a raft.” She departed with the prayers and good wishes of all, but there were few in that crowd who believed that she would live to reach her destination, or that, if she did, she would prove formidable as an engine of war. Most seafaring men predicted that she would go to the bottom as soon as she should get “outside” and experience heavy weather. She was commanded by Lieutenant John Lorimer Worden, an officer of high courage and capacity.

The “Monitor” reached Fortress Monroe, in Hampton Roads, without mishap, in the evening of March 8, the day of the “Merrimac’s” raid upon the Federal fleet. It was not doubted that the Confederate destroyer would resume operations at dawn and the “Monitor” was put in order for action. Early on the ninth, full of courage born of the previous day’s achievements, the “Merrimac” advanced to the attack, choosing the frigate “Minnesota” as the object of the first assault. Then it was that the little “cheese box” appeared on the scene and threw down the gage of battle to its giant adversary. It was like David going forth to meet Goliath, and the result was much the same. The Confederate commander at first affected to despise the presumptuous little craft, but he soon changed his opinion and found it necessary to devote to it his entire attention. It is true that the guns of neither made much impression on the other. Most of the shots which struck the “Merrimac” glanced from its sloping, tallowed sides, while of the “Monitor” there was nothing to shoot at but the turret, and from it the missiles of the “Merrimac” were instantly deflected.

The battle lasted a good part of the day. The plucky “Monitor” clung to its antagonist with the utmost tenacity. Its persistence was rewarded by finding a vulnerable point, and a fortunate shot so crippled the machinery of the “Merrimac” that she was forced to give up the fight and steam back to Norfolk as best she could. The casualties were few. The most serious on the “Monitor” fell



to Lieutenant Worden, her commander. He was looking through a conning hole in the turret, when a shot from the "Merrimac" chanced to strike the spot. From the force of the concussion and from injury by a fragment of iron, his eyesight was for a time entirely destroyed. He was blind for several years, but his sight was at length partially restored, by a surgical operation.

The "Monitor" had nobly justified the confidence of her inventor. Her praises, and those of Worden and his crew and of Ericsson, were sung loudly and long and in many keys. Government officials and citizens by thousands flocked to Fortress Monroe to view the curious little vessel that had borne herself so gallantly. Those two days of fighting in Hampton Roads comprised the entire career of the "Merrimac." Soon afterward, the Union flag again floated over Norfolk. When the Confederates retired, they blew up and destroyed the huge vessel. The United States Government immediately ordered the construction of vessels of the "Monitor" type, and before the war ended the number in service had reached sixty. Experience has proved that they are not good sea vessels, being cumbersome and slow sailers, but for harbor and coast duty they are formidably effective. The original "Monitor" had a short life. Bearing the honorable scars of the memorable combat in Hampton Roads, she went to the bottom off Cape Hatteras, during a severe gale, near the end of 1862.

Mr. Ericsson lived till 1889, full of honors. He received the thanks of Congress, medals from scientific, mechanical and other associations, and decorations and orders of merit from many foreign governments. The people of his native town, in Sweden, erected, in 1867, a massive monument to commemorate what he had done for the world. During the latter years of his life he projected a war vessel, to be nearly submerged, for submarine warfare, but he did not bring it into practical use. For a quarter of a century he lived, a widower and childless, in the house in which he died, in New York. His body was sent to Sweden by the United States Government, on one of the naval cruisers, and his burial was an occasion of great public solemnity.

EUSTIS, JAMES BIDDLE.—(1834-1899.) An American soldier in the Confederate service, was born in New Orleans, La. He was descended from a Creole family and graduated from Harvard Law School in 1854. He began the practice of law in New Orleans. At the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the Confederate service, on the staff of General McGruder and later was transferred to that of General Johnson, and served in that capacity until the end of the war. He then took up his law practice, served in the Louisiana legislature (1872) and the state senate (1874-78). He was Democratic United States senator (1876), in which capacity he served for three years until appointed professor of civil law in the University of Louisiana. He was reelected to the Senate (1885-91); appointed ambassador to France by President Cleveland (1893-97). He translated Guizot's "General History of the Civilization of Europe" from the French into English.

EWELL, RICHARD STODDARD.—Born in the District of Columbia, 1817; died at Springfield, Tenn., 1872. A U. S. officer, and a general in the Confederate army during the Civil War. He was graduated from West Point in 1840; served on the western frontier and in the Mexican War; became a captain of dragoons in 1849; resigned his commission in 1861 and entered the Confederate service, in which he rose to the grade of lieutenant-general; commanded a division in Lee's army until May, 1863, when he succeeded to the command of "Stonewall" Jackson's corps, when the latter fell mortally wounded at Chancellorsville; was continuously in active field service—except for a time while recovering from the loss of a leg—until the end; was captured, with a large part of his corps, at Sailor's Creek, during Lee's retreat from Petersburg, and three days before the surrender at Appomattox.

EZRA CHURCH (Ga.), BATTLE OF.—In July, 1864, during Sherman's Atlanta campaign, Gen. Johnston was superceded in the command of the Confederate army by Gen. Hood. The former had retreated more than a hundred miles and the latter was given to understand that he must fight. Within nine days Hood made three furious attacks in a determined effort to break Sherman's line, if possible. The hostile lines at this time were drawn closely around Atlanta. Hood's first two assaults are known as the battles of Peachtree Creek and Atlanta (which see). The third was delivered July 28 at Ezra Church near the right flank of Sherman. The attack was made upon a portion of the Army of the Tennessee, commanded by Gen. John A. Logan. The Confederates assailed the line with great gallantry, but the attack was not sustained, and after a brief but bloody action the Confederates

drew off. The Union troops fought behind strong works and their loss was but 700, while that of the Confederates was above 4,000.

FAIR OAKS (Va.), BATTLE OF.—See SEVEN PINES, BATTLE OF.

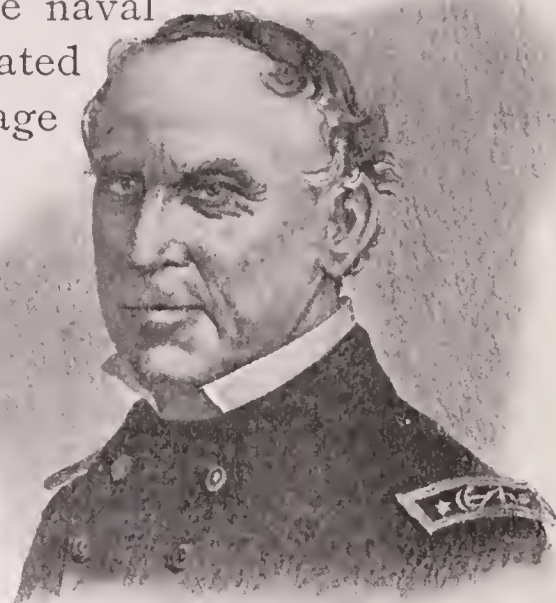
FALLOWS, SAMUEL.—An American clergyman, born in England in 1835. He came to the United States in 1845 and graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1859. In 1861 he was ordained minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He entered the Union service as a chaplain at the outbreak of the Civil War and he soon became known as the fighting parson. He rose to the rank of brevet brigadier-general. He was pastor in Milwaukee until 1871 when he was elected superintendent of public instruction and was twice reëlected. He was president of the Illinois Western University (1874); director of St. Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church in Chicago (1875); and editor of the "Appeal" 1876. He has published a number of works.

FARMVILLE (Va.), BATTLE OF.—One of the last engagements between the armies of Grant and Lee, immediately preceding the surrender of the latter. For a week after the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, Lee had been retreating westward, in the hope of reaching Lynchburg. His army had become much reduced by repeated conflicts with the infantry of Grant and the cavalry of Sheridan, which harassed it continually, day and night. He had lost thousands of his men and much of his artillery by capture, while Sheridan had taken and destroyed his supply trains, and his soldiers were almost without food. Footsore and famished and almost surrounded by thrice their number, the prospect was indeed gloomy. Lee aimed to cross the Appomattox River at Farmville, destroy the bridges, and thus check the Federal pursuit. Part of the Federal army under Gen. Ord was marching swiftly toward the same point, to intercept the Confederates. Ord's vanguard consisted of a small force of infantry under Gen. Theodore Read. He encountered the enemy at Farmville and fighting began at once. Read was killed, his force was brushed aside, and part of Lee's army effected a crossing. But Ord's main body arrived and Sheridan's cavalry also assailed the retreating column. The Confederates were broken and driven in disorder, losing 12 cannon, 250 wagons, and 4,000 prisoners.

DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT

Lashed in the maintop of the "Hartford" at Mobile.

WHATEVER our expanding navy may find to do, and may achieve, in the struggle of the nations for that sea power over which the naval writer, Mahan, has cast such a glamour, it will not be in any short time that the first to be made an American admiral will be lowered to the second place in our naval galaxy. In Farragut we possessed a Nelson, skilled in all the arts of the naval profession, of unvarying detail, quick resource, calculated daring, inspiring demeanor, and that sustained courage which, quailing not at sudden danger, pressed on to safety and success. Despite the popular splendor with which the combats of the Nile and Trafalgar are invested, Copenhagen was the battle that put Nelson to the highest test and exercise of qualities, and in Copenhagen we find the nearest parallel to that "August day with Farragut" in Mobile Bay. To have been less than Nelson, at New Orleans or Mobile, would have meant failure to Farragut.



From midshipman to admiral, Farragut was sixty years in the naval service, and was engaged in three wars; yet a small number of hours would cover the whole time that he was actually under fire. This does not mean that naval glory is won quickly, but that it is won by long training and careful preparation for those brief periods of emergency that compass the actual duration of conflicts. It was said of Nelson that if he had not been a famous admiral, he would have made an excellent pilot. So it might be said of Farragut, that if he had not been an excellent commander, he would have made a good boatswain. In the great days of both, the secret of their unbounded influence was the fact that the men in the forecastle knew that they were familiar with every duty aboard ship, so that their special qualifications for the top place were a clear addition to the sum of ordinary knowledge. Through his whole professional life, Farragut skipped nothing and slurred nothing.

Farragut, born in Tennessee of a Spanish father and an American mother, was brought up at New Orleans. A family friendship there with the celebrated Commodore David Porter, the elder, caused

the latter to rate his young namesake as a "middy" while under the age of ten, and nearly four years later he was with Porter in the desperate fight of the "Essex" with the British war ships in Valparaiso harbor. There, as President Madison told Congress, "humanity tore down the colors that valor had nailed to the mast-head," and Porter lost no glory by the loss of his ship. Young Farragut, who Porter said had behaved handsomely, had before him a standard of conduct on that dreadful day which he never forgot.

He had a little employment in the Mexican War, and in 1855 reached the grade of captain, after forty-five years of service. He had been much on duty at Norfolk, had married there, and was there awaiting orders when the Civil War broke out. As a Southern man, he was expected to join the Confederate cause, but he refused and was obliged to move with his family to the North, to escape disagreeable reproaches. The policy of the Navy Department, at first, was to keep loyal Southern officers on shore duty, in preference to sending them to fight against their own people; but when the expedition against New Orleans was projected, and its formidable character realized, there was a feeling that Farragut was the one man to command it, provided he had no scruple about the nature or place of the duty. He had none, and his appointment was joyfully made.

Nature made the Mississippi a weak strain in the fabric of the Confederacy, and when the Federals neglected their seemingly abundant means of controlling it from end to end of the insurrection limits, the Confederates, realizing their good fortune, made haste to convert it by fortifications into a closed waterway. Not until the Navy Department had made some progress on the enormous line of ocean and gulf blockade, and had met the earlier requisitions of the War Department for assistance in establishing military positions on the coast of the two Carolinas, was it able to give attention to a project for the reduction of New Orleans, a city too large and resourceful to be left at the service of the Confederacy. But that which anybody easily could have done at the outbreak of the war, was the hard task set for Farragut a year later.

New Orleans lies in a pocket of the river, far up from the passes leading in from the Gulf of Mexico, and, though provided with batteries at Chalmette, a few miles below, its real defenses were the two forts, Jackson and St. Philip, about a third of the way up from the Gulf. Fort Jackson was on the south side and Fort St. Philip on the north side of an east-and-west bend of the river. Fort Jackson was a large, strongly built stone fort, heavily armed, with all modern appliances, and flanked on the east by a water battery having a great sweep down the river. Fort St. Philip was a very strong

open work of brick and stone, roomy and of great range, carrying fifty heavy guns to seventy-two of the principal fort. Piled sand bags at Jackson and thick sodding at St. Philip further strengthened the work. Each fort had a fair garrison and was well stocked and equipped for a siege, being considered proof against naval attack. Just in front of Fort Jackson was a boom of logs and hulks of vessels, closing the passage of the river.

A little above Fort St. Philip, toward New Orleans, was moored the unfinished ironclad "Louisiana." The rest of the naval force consisted of the ironclad ram "Manassas," the small wooden steamer "McRea," the smaller steamer "Jackson," two howitzer launches, two Louisiana state boats, converted from coasting steamers, and six powerful converted tugboats. The state gunboats and the tugboats had some iron plating at the bows, and some machinery and boiler protection. There were also some fire rafts. It was a sort of junk-shop fleet; yet, skillfully handled as a unit, it might have proved formidable. But a Confederate naval commander only reached New Orleans four days before the fight; the steamboat captain in command of the tugboat squadron paid no attention to his orders; there were but few seamen, wholly without discipline; and delay, neglect and bungling in the Navy Department at Richmond had left almost everything unprovided, unfinished and unsettled. Out of fourteen vessels of all kinds, with forty guns, only four vessels and twelve guns rendered any service.

Farragut's task was to pass the forts and capture New Orleans. Before he came into command, a fleet of mortar boats had been provided, as though the forts were to be reduced before proceeding to the city. The mortars bombarded Fort Jackson before and after the passage, and did some damage, but they were not necessary to Farragut's intended operation. Farragut had five first-class steam sloops, three second-class sloops, and nine steam gunboats with which to attempt the passage. These were good, regular war vessels, well officered, well manned, heavily armed, well fitted, and under excellent discipline—in short, a powerful and effective squadron for that time. Farragut was close upon sixty-one, but actually in his prime; a strong but pleasant-faced man; grand looking, but full of joviality; driving with energy; firm as adamant; as able and swift, and as eager, if discipline had permitted, at turning a handspring or climbing the braces, as the most active of his crew. He loved to show the youngsters his quick, smart way of doing things, and, abounding in vitality, he was always an animated and cheering figure. Nature had not slighted the outer man in cutting him out for a hero, and time had dealt gently with him in the long waiting.

The Navy Department had contemplated a reduction of the forts before an attempt should be made upon the city. After two days of mortar firing, Farragut summoned all his accessible captains to his flagship, the "Hartford," and told them he was going to pass the forts. When that was done, he would stop and fight it out, if that would leave him still strong enough to reach the city. Some objected to leaving unconquered forts behind, thus cutting them off from their base of supplies. The commander of the mortar fleet objected to being left below, but Farragut declined to hamper his fighting ships by towing the mortar schooners. He closed debate by saying that the ammunition supply was too low for further delay, and they must either act at once or go back into the Gulf and become mere blockaders. That night the boom across the river was broken by two of the gunboats, aided by a heavy mortar fire.

The passage had to be along the left bank of the river, bringing the vessels close under the guns of Fort Jackson. At a quarter before three, on the morning of April 24, 1862, the leading ship came under fire. In less than an hour and a quarter it was all over and Farragut was under way for New Orleans. The flagship was set on fire by a blazing raft which drifted against her, but there was no cessation of the action; the firemen simply went to their stations and, after a critical time of doubt and peril, put out the fire. One gunboat was lost and some other vessels were injured by being rammed, but only thirty-seven men were killed and one hundred and forty-seven wounded by the fire of all the forts and Confederate vessels.

Words cannot describe the amazement, consternation and panic that prevailed in New Orleans, when it became known that the Federal fleet had passed the forts and within a few hours would reach the city. Up to that moment the people had believed the city safe, assured by the Confederate officers that the forts could not be reduced and that they were an absolute barrier to the passage of the hostile ships. Such was the sense of security, that scarcely anything had been done to guard the approaches with batteries and earthworks. There were at hand only a few companies of raw soldiers, scarcely organized, and these scampered away when Farragut arrived and trained his guns upon the city. To the demand for its surrender but one answer was possible, and it was given without the delay of a moment. The stars and stripes were planted upon the public buildings, and the Confederate flag never again floated over the chief city of the South. As soon as New Orleans had been taken, the garrisons of Fort Jackson and St. Philip refused to defend them longer, and they were surrendered to the mortar fleet. Farragut stayed in

the Mississippi several months, running the Confederate batteries at Vicksburg, up the river and then down.

The loss of New Orleans had gradually raised Mobile to high Confederate importance, and in January, 1864, Farragut was busy with plans for the capture of the harbor. Rams and ironclads were building there, and he wished to catch them unfinished. But he needed five thousand men from the army, and he could not get them. When the ram "Tennessee" was completed and in commission, Farragut's wooden fleet in the Gulf was in great peril, and he piteously begged the Navy Department to spare him one ironclad. He also promised not to run away from the ram, if he got no ironclad. But anxiety and sleeplessness, and agitation over the once-detested "teakettles" and torpedoes, were aging the hero, and he no longer chaffed the young men about turning handsprings. But at the beginning of August, 1864, a division of troops was landed on an island in Mobile Bay, and three ironclads were with him and another was on the way. Then he grew young again, his bantering joviality returned, his smooth-shaven face grew ruddy once more, and he took to showing everybody, from "powder-monkey" to deck officer, how to do things according to the standard of the United States navy.

On the afternoon of August 4, Farragut assembled his captains on a steam tender, and they ran up the bay and took a careful look at Fort Morgan, a magnificent work, grandly armed; at the "Tennessee," apparently the most powerful war ship afloat; and at three beautiful gunboats. Across the narrow channel was a bed of sunken torpedoes. Because of these deadly torpedoes, Farragut proposed to take the lead with the flagship, but his captains protested against the risk of losing the commander in the midst of the fight, and he had to yield. So the lead fell to the "Brooklyn," that vessel being provided with torpedo-catching apparatus.

At a quarter before six on the morning of August 5, 1864, the fleet, detained for hours by a dense fog, got under way. It was a hot, midsummer day. The four ironclads were in advance and to the right, where the fort lay. The wooden ships were lashed in pairs, a sloop to a gunboat, for better security. The ironclads were very slow vessels, and soon the "Brooklyn" came right upon them and began backing, threatening to throw the rearward ships into collision and to drift some of them with the tide to the shore, under the fort. The leading monitor drew out of the line to get more room and was instantly blown up by a torpedo and destroyed, with all but a very few of her company. Still the "Brooklyn" was blocked by the remaining monitors and dared not draw out to the left, for fear

of meeting the fate of the destroyed monitor. Meantime, the fleet was at a dead stand and suffering from the fire of the fort:

As the smoke of the battle obscured the deck, Farragut ascended the rigging for a clearer view. The smoke rose and he went higher, till he was not far from the maintop. To prevent his falling to the deck if wounded, the captain sent a seaman up to fasten him to the rigging by a line, an act of thoughtfulness that the Admiral appreciated. Out of this incident grew the absurd story of "Farragut lashed to the shrouds," as though he had purposely selected the rigging for his station and caused himself to be clamped there, in the manner of a spread eagle.

The blowing up of the monitor and the stoppage of the "Brooklyn" held the fleet fast under the guns of the fort for nearly a quarter of an hour. Then, as the least of evils, Farragut turned the flagship, "Hartford," and her lashed gunboat out of the line to the left and forged to the front. As they came alongside the "Brooklyn" and her consort, the warning cry of "Torpedoes ahead!" was passed to the Admiral, who shouted in reply: "Damn the torpedoes, go ahead!" Officers and men on deck heard

the fuses snap as they were struck by the ship's bottom, but no torpedo exploded. The same good fortune attended the "Richmond" and her consort, which boldly followed the flagship's lead. The blockade was now broken, but one of the trim Confederate gunboats kept just ahead of the flagship and riddled her severely. At length the fast gunboat attached to the flagship was cut loose, chased the saucy Confederate far up the harbor, and brought her to a surrender.

The "Tennessee" was lying in wait above the fort, to make havoc with the wooden ships, as Buchanan, the admiral on board, had done with the helpless wooden fleet in Hampton Roads, more than two years before. She now came down past the flagship to the vessels below, but, failing to ram any of them, returned to the harbor. Then she started again, making straight for the flagship, to whose relief the ironclads and wooden ships swiftly gathered. She could have struck the "Hartford" full in the bow, but would have been wedged in and carried down with her victim; she therefore bore off a little and struck a glancing blow, which did no great harm. But the "Hartford" received from one of her sister ships a smashing blow intended for the enemy, and in the moment when she was



supposed to be going down, all thoughts turned one way and the cry went up, "Save the Admiral!" The "Tennessee" was weak in engine power, for her machinery had been taken from a coasting steamer, and she could neither maneuver nor ram with proper force; nor had she the speed to escape from the great fleet into which she had defiantly come. Buchanan was wounded and helpless, but the captain continued the fight gallantly till the rudder chains were shot away, and then, with Buchanan's consent, and to save his men from useless drowning and slaughter, he struck his flag.

As for Fort Morgan, it was besieged by the army and, in due time, surrendered. One, only, of the three gunboats escaped. Mobile was lost to the Confederacy as a blockade running port, and the loss was severely felt.

The dramatic character of the battle of Mobile Bay sent the story of it round the world, and everywhere in Europe the name of Farragut was enrolled in the list of great admirals. As soon as matters were set to rights after the battle, he obtained his relief from command, being enfeebled from his continuous service of more than two and a half years, and especially by the arduous duty along the Mississippi for many months after the capture of New Orleans, and by the anxious months spent off the harbor of Mobile.

In 1866 Congress created for him the full grade of admiral, and in 1867 the U. S. S. "Franklin" was handsomely fitted out and manned, and in her he made a special cruise to the principal ports of Europe. By all classes he was cordially received, and the story of Farragut and Mobile Bay was retold in print in all the languages of Europe. Abroad, as at home, he could no more get away from the tale of his lashing to the shrouds, than could General Sherman from the tune, "Marching through Georgia." When questioned, he would good naturedly explain that there were three lashings: first, when the seaman lashed him; next, when he went a little higher and passed the line himself a few times around his body; and, lastly, after the fort had been passed and he had gone again into the rigging to direct the fight with the "Tennessee," when one of the officers had made him fast. By invitation, he made a festival visit to his father's birthplace in Minorca, and renewed the ties of kinship by addressing his friends and relatives in good Spanish. His cruise was of some public service, for it was the occasion of many official expressions of regard for his country and government. After his return, he lived in retirement till his death on August 14, 1870, after passing his sixty-ninth year.



"FIGHTING JOE."—A popular designation of Gen. Joseph Hooker.

"FIGHTING MCCOOKS," THE.—An Ohio family famous for the military service of its members in the Civil War. Six entered the army and reached the grade of major-general or brigadier-general. Two were killed during the war. The father, nearly seventy years of age, shouldered his rifle and joined the "Squirrel-hunters," who were called out in Ohio, 1863, to meet an emergency.

FISHER'S HILL (Va.), BATTLE OF.—After the defeat of the Confederates under Gen. Early, at Opequan, in the Shenandoah Valley, Sept. 19, 1864, Early continued his retreat twelve miles up the valley to Fisher's Hill, where he rallied his force for a stand. Sheridan had followed him closely, with cavalry and infantry and made dispositions for an immediate attack. He sent Gen. Torbert, with two divisions of cavalry, to assail the Confederate rear, while the main attack was made in front by the 6th and 19th corps. The action took place late in the afternoon of Sept. 22. It was brief, for such was the momentum of the assault that the Confederates everywhere gave way and fled in confusion. Sheridan took 1,200 prisoners and 16 pieces of artillery. Early was unable to offer further resistance and retreated rapidly eighty miles further up the valley, to Staunton and beyond. Sheridan then laid the valley in utter waste, burning barns and grain and driving off cattle and sheep, leaving nothing to aid in the subsistence of the Confederate army.

FISK, CLINTON BOWEN.—(1828–1890.) An American soldier and scholar, born in Griegsville, N. Y. He went with his parents to Michigan in 1830 and his father founded there the town of Clinton. He entered upon a business career in Michigan and later in St. Louis. He entered the Union army in 1861 and attained the grade of brevet major-general, and was a commissioner of the Freed Men's Bureau. He founded the Fisk University at Nashville, Tenn., for the education of colored men and women. He was president of this until he died. The Prohibition party nominated him for President of the United States in 1888.

FIVE FORKS (Va.), BATTLE OF.—A notable victory won by Gen. Sheridan, April 1, 1865; it prepared the way for the successful assault on the Confederate lines at Petersburg, which immediately followed. March 27, Sheridan, with 10,000 cavalry, rejoined Grant at Petersburg after his Shenandoah Valley campaign. March 29, Grant began a movement, the purpose of which was to turn the Confederate right and cut off Lee's line of retreat to the south. Sheridan, with the 5th corps (Warren) and 9,000 cavalry, crossed Hatcher's Run and pro-

ceeded to Dinwiddie Court-house. Warren found the Confederates in strong force (March 31) and in the engagement that followed he was forced to give ground. The following day, April 1, Sheridan, having his force well in hand, assailed the Confederate line and swept all before him. He captured six guns, thirteen colors, and above 5,000 prisoners. Sheridan's loss was about 1,000. The next day Grant overwhelmed Lee at Petersburg—and then came the end.

"FLORIDA," THE.—A Confederate cruiser that for two years greatly harassed and damaged U. S. shipping. Equipped in England as the "Otero," her name was changed to the "Florida," after she had had two narrow escapes from Federal cruisers. October 7, 1864, while she was in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil, she was, in violation of the rights of neutrals, attacked and captured by the U. S. frigate "Wachusett," under the command of Capt. Napoleon Collins. The "Florida" was eventually sunk by a collision in Hampton Roads.

FLOYD, JOHN BUCHANAN.—(1805-1863.) A politician and a Confederate general in the Civil War.

FOOTE, ANDREW HULL.—(1806-1863.) An officer of the U. S. navy. He commanded the naval force which coöperated with Gen. Grant in the reduction of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, in February, 1862, and rendered valuable assistance.

FORT CASWELL.—On Oak Island, N. C.; held by the Confederates till 1865.

FORT CRAIG.—In New Mexico, scene of a battle during the Civil War, Feb. 21, 1862, in which the Federals, under Col. E. R. S. Canby, were defeated by the Confederates under Gen. H. H. Sibley.

FORT DAMNATION (Va.).—A strong work in the line of Confederate defenses around Petersburg, Va., in 1864-65. The fire of its guns was, from its location, especially annoying to the Federal troops, and its strength was such that all attempts to capture it had failed. Grant's soldiers named it "Fort Damnation," and so it was known throughout the siege.

FORT DONELSON (Tenn.), CAPTURE OF.—After the reduction of Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River (Feb. 6, 1862), Gen. Grant at once began operations against Fort Donelson. This was a strong work, on the Cumberland River, sixty-five miles below Nashville. It mounted 70 guns and was garrisoned by 21,000 Confederates; Gen. John B. Floyd was in command, with Gen. Gideon J. Pillow and Gen. Simon B. Buckner as his chief subordinates. The fort completely commanded the navigation of the Cumberland and was relied on to pro-

tect the Tennessee capital from the Federal gunboats. Grant moved against Fort Donelson with 15,000 men, but a large reinforcement under Gen. Lew Wallace increased his force to 27,000. The weather was exceedingly inclement and the troops of both armies suffered intensely from the severe cold. Grant's operations on land were supplemented by a fleet of six gunboats under Commodore Foote. An attack by the gunboats resulted in their repulse, two of them being so crippled as to be wholly disabled. The fort was on a high bluff and could not be effectively reached from the water. Grant invested the fort from the land side, fighting his way at all points. Feb. 15, Floyd made an attempt to cut his way through the Federal lines, but was defeated and driven back, after severe fighting. That night Floyd and Pillow relinquished the command to Buckner and, with a small body of men, escaped by means of boats. The next morning (Feb. 16) Buckner displayed a white flag and sent a message to Grant asking what terms would be granted. Grant replied in terms that at once made him famous, informing Buckner that no other terms than unconditional surrender could be granted, and adding: "I propose to move immediately upon your works." Thereupon Buckner surrendered with nearly 15,000 prisoners. During the fighting Grant lost about 2,800 men, killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate casualties were about the same. This was the first great Union victory of the war and Grant was the hero of the hour. The initials of his name, U. S., were at once popularly applied to two words in his message to Buckner and he was loudly acclaimed as "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. (See GRANT, ULYSSES SIMPSON.)

FORT FISHER (N. C.), CAPTURE OF.—Wilmington, N. C., was the most important of the Confederate sea-ports during the Civil War, because of its natural advantages for the ingress and egress of blockade-runners. Its approaches were defended by heavy works, the chief of which was Fort Fisher. It was eighteen miles below Wilmington, on a peninsula at the mouth of Cape Fear River. It was a work of the first class, mounting seventy-five guns, some of these of the largest caliber and longest range known to the ordnance of the time. In Dec., 1864, an expedition to attempt the reduction of Fort Fisher was organized at Fortress Monroe. It sailed Dec. 13, and consisted of seventy-three vessels, carrying 655 guns, with a land force of 6,500 men, the whole being under the command of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. The naval commander was Rear-Admiral David D. Porter. A novel feature of the expedition was a vessel loaded with 215 tons of gunpowder. This was to be exploded near the fort and it was believed that its effect would be to ignite by concussion the maga-

zines in the fort. The experiment was tried, but the powder ship was at such a distance from the fort that there was no appreciable effect; in fact it only made sport for the Confederates. Dec. 24, the fleet subjected the fort to a terrific bombardment, which really did but little damage. On the 25th, Gen. Butler made a survey of the fort and its surroundings and decided that it would not be wise to attempt an assault. He abandoned the enterprise and the fleet returned northward. Admiral Porter was not satisfied and urged the Washington authorities that he be permitted once more to train his guns upon the fort. Another expedition was dispatched, under the command of Gen. Alfred H. Terry. After a furious bombardment by the fleet, the troops—which had landed under cover of the fleet—assaulted the fort and carried it in gallant style. Everything within the fort was surrendered, including 2,100 officers and men. The entire Federal loss was about 600. (See PORTER, DAVID DIXON.)

FORT HENRY, CAPTURE OF.—In the early days of the Civil War the Confederates established a general line of defense in the west, extending from Columbus, Ky., on the Mississippi River, to the Cumberland Mountains, in eastern Tennessee. Two important factors in this plan were Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland. These fortifications were but twelve miles apart, the rivers flowing near together as they approach the Ohio River, into which they empty. Early in 1862 Gen. Halleck, commanding the department of Missouri, determined upon a movement against these works, and the execution of the plan was intrusted to Gen. Grant, with a coöperating naval force, consisting of a flotilla of ironclad gunboats, commanded by Com. Foote. The expedition left Cairo, Ill., Jan. 30, 1862. The transports, carrying 15,000 troops, were convoyed by the gunboats. Fort Henry was first attacked, and its reduction was easily accomplished. After a bombardment by the gunboats, which lasted an hour and a half, a white flag was displayed and Gen. Tilghman, who commanded the fort, surrendered. Its garrison consisted of 2,700 men, but all except about 100 left before the surrender and made their way to Fort Donelson. (See FORT DONELSON, CAPTURE OF.)

FORT JACKSON and FORT ST. PHILIP (La.).—These fortifications are situated one upon either bank of the Mississippi River, sixty-five miles below New Orleans. During the first year of the Civil War they were occupied by the Confederates. They were put in the strongest possible condition, with an armament of heavy guns, and they were relied upon as a protection to the city of New Orleans. It was not deemed possible that the Federal war vessels would be able

either to reduce the forts or to pass them. To make assurance doubly sure, a boom was extended across the river, consisting of heavy timbers and the hulks of vessels, bound together by chains. But Admiral Farragut forced a passage, passed the forts (Apr. 24, 1862), and took New Orleans. Before the passage of the fleet, the forts were furiously bombarded for six days, by mortar-boats under the command of Com. David D. Porter. The bombardment had little effect in impairing the forts or their armament. After the fall of New Orleans the forts were surrendered to the land forces of Gen. Butler. (See FARRAGUT, DAVID GLASGOW.)

FORT MACON.—On Bogue Island, Beaufort Harbor, N. C., captured by the Federals under General Parke, assisted by a naval force under Commander Lockwood, April 26, 1861.

FORT MCALLISTER (Ga.), CAPTURE OF.—At the middle of Dec., 1864, Gen. William T. Sherman, with 60,000 men, having marched "to the sea" from Atlanta, appeared before Savannah, which was occupied by 15,000 Confederate troops commanded by Gen. Hardee. One of the main defenses of the city was Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee River. This was a strong work which had resisted many attacks by sea and effectually barred the river to the Federal gun-boats. Dec. 14, Gen. William B. Hazen's division, of the 15th corps, crossed the river and stormed the fort from the rear. The work was gallantly carried, the conflict lasting but fifteen minutes. Communication was at once opened with the fleet under Admiral Dahlgren, and the investment of Savannah followed. The fort was erected by the Confederates opposite Genesis Point, Ga., to guard the approach to Savannah.

FORT MONROE.—A strong fortress situated on Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of the James River, Va., the largest military stronghold in America; it commands the anchorage of Hampton Roads; and was an important base of military and naval operations during the Civil War. Immediately after the war, Jefferson Davis, the late Confederate President, was confined in a casemate there while a prisoner, until released on bail.

FORT MOULTRIE (S. C.).—One of the defenses of the harbor of Charleston, S. C. It stands on Sullivan's Island and was built during the War of 1812, but was afterward greatly enlarged and strengthened. Just before the Civil War began, and while the Confederates were preparing to reduce Fort Sumter, it was occupied by a small detachment of U. S. troops, forming a part of the force of Maj. Robert Anderson, who commanded in the harbor. On the night of Dec. 26,

1860, Anderson evacuated Fort Moultrie and withdrew its garrison to Fort Sumter. The abandoned work was immediately occupied by the Confederates.

FORT PILLOW (Tenn.), CAPTURE OF.—A strong fortification on Chickasaw Bluff, Mississippi River, forty miles above Memphis, built by the Confederates early in the Civil War. It fell into the hands of the Federals in June, 1862, its evacuation having been forced by the destruction of the Confederate gunboat fleet. In April, 1864, it was garrisoned by 550 U. S. officers and men, of whom about half were negro troops. On the 12th of that month, Gen. Forrest, with a body of Confederate cavalry, suddenly appeared before it and demanded its surrender. This was refused and Forrest carried the fort by assault. It was alleged that many of the colored soldiers were brutally massacred, even after they had surrendered. This was, however, vigorously denied by Forrest and his officers.

FORT SANDERS (Tenn.), ATTACK ON.—This work was one of the defenses of Knoxville during the Civil War. A few weeks after the battle of Chickamauga, Gen. Bragg, the Confederate commander, detached Gen. Longstreet, with the two divisions which had been sent west from Lee's Virginia army, to operate against Knoxville, in eastern Tennessee, about one hundred miles from Chattanooga. Longstreet laid siege to the place which was defended by the Army of the Ohio, under Gen. Burnside. Nov. 29 the Confederates attempted to pierce the Union line by attacking Fort Sanders. For a distance in front of the work was a network of wires strung a few inches from the ground. This proved most effective in tripping the assailants as they came within range of the musketry from the works. The attempt was a most gallant one, but it was impossible to reach the fort, and after sustaining a loss of 900 men, the troops were recalled. The Federal loss was very small. In the meantime the battle of Missionary Ridge had been fought and 30,000 men under Gen. Sherman were on their way to succor Burnside at Knoxville. After the failure at Fort Sanders, Sherman's advance being but two days' march away, Longstreet raised the siege and returned to Virginia, where he rejoined the army of Lee.

FORT STEVENS (D. C.), BATTLE OF.—In June, 1864, Gen. Lee reinforced Gen. Early, who commanded the Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley, raising his strength to 20,000. He then directed Early to demonstrate against the city of Washington, in the hope that Grant would thereby be compelled to draw largely from his army confronting Lee near Richmond. Early suddenly debouched

from the valley, entered Maryland, and swept eastward, causing great consternation at Washington and Baltimore. He showed so much enterprise that his cavalry, July 11, actually captured a passenger train en route from Philadelphia to Baltimore, taking from it as prisoners a number of Federal officers, one of whom was Maj.-gen. Franklin. At this time Early, having defeated the Federals at Monocacy (which see), moved directly on Washington with his infantry. There is little doubt that had he acted with vigor and promptness he might have captured it, for he was within striking distance before a force adequate to its defense had been assembled. Grant detached the 6th corps (Wright) and it was hurried from City Point to Washington by swift steamers. By good fortune, part of the 19th corps (Emory), which some time before had been ordered up from New Orleans, arrived at Washington at the moment when the need was sorest. Scattered detachments from various adjacent points were gathered at the capital, and thousands of government employees, marines, convalescents, and citizens were organized, armed, and placed on duty at the point of danger. Early reached the outskirts of the city, on the north, and a sharp engagement took place, July 12, at Fort Stevens, a work which had been hastily built with trenches extending a long distance eastward and westward. The Federal force was a motley one having little coherence, but it made such stout resistance that Early was beaten off. He abandoned his enterprise and returned to the Shenandoah Valley. The losses in the action did not exceed 200 on each side. President Lincoln was at Fort Stevens and viewed the battle from the parapet. The fort—on the Seventh Street road, near what is now Brightwood—has been preserved, and is one of the objects of interest to tourists.

FORT SUMTER (S. C.).—The principal work for the defense of the harbor of Charleston, S. C. It has a special historic interest from the fact that it was here that the Civil War began in April, 1861. During the winter of 1860-61, the fort was in command of Maj. Robert Anderson, of the U. S. army, with a garrison of less than one hundred men. The state of South Carolina seceded from the Union Dec. 20, 1860. This was soon followed by the secession of several other states and the organization of a provisional Confederate government. Steps were at once taken looking to the reduction of Fort Sumter. The operations were placed in charge of Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard, and under his direction forts were built at various points commanding Sumter, and a force of 7,000 men was assembled at Charleston. War had not yet been declared, but there was no attempt to conceal the purpose of gaining possession of the fort. During the

winter the food, clothing, and ammunition in the fort became nearly exhausted, and the Confederates would not permit the U. S. Government to furnish the garrison with supplies of any kind, or to throw in a reinforcement of men. In January, 1861, an attempt to revictual the fort was made with the steamer "Star of the West," but she was driven off by the fire of the Confederate batteries on Morris Island. On April 11, Gen. Beauregard sent to Maj. Anderson a demand for the surrender of the fort, which was refused. The next morning the Confederates opened fire. The guns of Sumter responded and for two days a desultory fire was continued. The barracks and other buildings within the fort were set on fire, and the flames threatened the magazines. The unequal contest ended on the 14th when Anderson struck his flag and surrendered. There was no casualties on either side during the engagement. Then came the proclamation of President Lincoln calling for 75,000 volunteers and at once the war-drums were beating in every part of the land. The Confederates held Fort Sumter until Feb. 17, 1865, nearly four years. It passed again under the Stars and Stripes when the northward march of Gen. Sherman from Savannah compelled the Confederate evacuation of Charleston. The replacing of the U. S. flag upon Fort Sumter was made the occasion of great rejoicing. Many leading men from the North were present and an oration was delivered by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

FORT WAGNER (S. C.).—A strong fortification built by the Confederates on Morris Island, in the harbor of Charleston. In April, 1863, a formidable effort to reduce it was made by a fleet of iron-clads and monitors, under the command of Admiral Dupont. The operations were in the nature of an experiment, as it was desired to test the efficacy of this class of vessels against land fortifications. The attempt failed, the fleet being forced to retire, after having been roughly handled. In June following, Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore, a skillful engineer, with a land force of 12,000 men, with a powerful co-operating naval squadron under Admiral Dahlgren, was sent to operate in Charleston Harbor. Gillmore's plan was, if possible, to reduce Fort Wagner and then to proceed against Fort Sumter. Gillmore overcame difficulties that seemed insuperable, and planted in the swamps batteries of the heaviest guns, bearing on Wagner. One of these guns, the foundation for which was built with piles and tens of thousands of bags of sand, became famous under the name of "The Swamp Angel." This gun burst when but a few shots had been fired from it. A combined land and naval attack on Wagner was made July 10, 1863, but it failed. Another attempt was made July

18, to carry the work by storm, but the Federals were repulsed with a loss of 1,200 men. Among the slain was Col. Robert G. Shaw, of the 54th Mass., the first regiment of colored troops sent to the field from a northern state. Gillmore then undertook to approach Fort Wagner by means of parallel trenches. In the meantime, in August, the land batteries were trained upon Fort Sumter, and that work, which was of masonry, was in a few days reduced to an almost shapeless mass. Arrangements were completed for another attempt to carry Wagner by storm, Sept. 7, but during the previous night the Confederates evacuated it. It was estimated that more than 122,000 pounds of metal had been hurled against it, but it had not been materially damaged.

FOSTER, JOHN GRAY.—(1823-1874.) An officer in the U. S. army. He was graduated from West Point in 1846 and in 1860 was a captain in the corps of engineers; was one of the garrison of Fort Sumter when it was taken by the Confederates in April, 1861; was made a brigadier-general, and commanded a brigade under Burnside in the expedition which resulted in the capture of Roanoke Island and Newburn, N. C., early in 1862; served through the war, holding various important commands, was brevetted major-general, and after the war directed important government engineering enterprises.

FRANKLIN (Tenn.), BATTLE OF.—When Gen. Sherman had captured Atlanta, in the autumn of 1864, Gen. Hood assembled the Confederate army at Palmetto, southwest of that city. After a brief rest he marched rapidly northward and entered upon his Tennessee campaign. Sherman, still clinging to Atlanta, followed Hood with a large part of his army until the purpose of the latter had been fully developed. Then he detached the 4th and 23d corps under Thomas to oppose Hood, and with the remainder of his army started on the "march to the sea." Thomas hastened to Nashville, to draw together and equip an additional force, while Schofield was placed in immediate command of the two corps above designated, with orders to impede the advance of Hood, but if possible to avoid a general engagement until his force could be united with that of Thomas. Schofield, with about 18,000 men, came into collision with Hood, who had 35,000 men, at Columbia, forty miles south of Nashville. After much heavy skirmishing, Schofield withdrew and by a rapid march, after repelling an attack by Cheatham's Confederate corps at Spring Hill, ten miles north of Columbia, arrived safely at Franklin, twenty miles from Nashville. Hood followed closely, and reached Franklin in the afternoon of Nov. 30.

Franklin lies in a pocket of the Harpeth River, on the south bank. Hood found Schofield occupying a line just south of the city, and extending from the river above to the river below. The few intervening hours, after the arrival of Schofield's army, had been well improved by the Union troops in throwing up a strong barricade of timber and earth and advantageously posting the artillery. It had not been Schofield's wish to fight at Franklin, but it became a necessity, in order to save his long train of wagons. Stung by the failure of Cheatham to break Schofield's column at Spring Hill and cut off the latter's retreat by getting possession of the pike, Hood determined to strike hard and quickly, hoping to catch his adversary in the confusion of retreat. As fast as his troops arrived they were immediately formed for assault. About four o'clock the bugles sounded and the serried lines swept forward in magnificent array. The advance was over a nearly level cotton field, half a mile in extent, which afforded a clear sweep for the Union musketry and artillery. Two of Schofield's brigades, which had been placed several hundred yards in front of the works, were mistakenly held there too long. In the oncoming rush of the Confederates they were swept away and some 800 were made prisoners. For two hours the fighting was terrific, not exceeded in its stubborn and sanguinary character by any conflict of the war. Again and again Hood's men charged in the face of the deadly blast from musket and cannon, but as often were they repulsed, leaving the ground thickly strewn with the dead and wounded. Once, only, the Union line was pierced and through the break poured several hundred Confederates. The prompt rush of Opdycke's Union brigade, which had been lying in reserve, closed the gap, and nearly all of the Confederates who had leaped the works were captured, including one brigadier-general. The fighting did not cease till night curtailed the awful scene. The Confederate loss was about 1,400 killed, 4,000 wounded, and 800 prisoners; that of the Union army, which was sheltered by its works, was 190 killed, 1,000 wounded, and 1,100 prisoners. The Confederate loss in general officers was larger than in any other battle of the war—six killed, seven wounded, and one captured. During the battle the wagons of Schofield's train were passed rapidly across the river and hurried northward. Before midnight Schofield's army had withdrawn from Franklin, crossed the river, and was on its way to Nashville. It arrived there and joined Thomas during the morning of Dec. 1. (See sketch of JOHN B. HOOD, 223.)

FRANKLIN, WILLIAM BUEL. — Born at York, Pa., 1823. An officer of the U. S. army. He was graduated from West Point in 1843, served in the Mexican War, and in 1861 was colonel of the 12th U.

S. Infantry; was made a brigadier-general at the beginning of the Civil War, and a major-general soon afterward; commanded a brigade at Bull Run, a corps in the Peninsular Campaign, a grand division in the assault at Fredericksburg, and a division under Banks in the Red River Expedition; resigned from the army in 1866. In July, 1864, when Gen. Early led his Confederate army to the very gates of Washington, a detachment of his cavalry captured a railway train between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Among the captives taken therefrom was Gen. Franklin, but he made his escape the following night. After his resignation, Gen. Franklin held various civil positions and was for many years president of the board of managers of the National Homes for disabled soldiers.

FRAYSER'S FARM (Va.), BATTLE OF.—One of the Seven Days' Battles fought before Richmond on June 30, 1862. When Longstreet and A. P. Hill, on June 26, crossed the Chickahominy, in pursuit of McClellan's retreating forces, Huger and McGruder marched around White Oak Swamp to attack his flank. Longstreet and Hill made the attack at four in the afternoon of the 30th, and Huger and McGruder failed to arrive in time. The Confederates had the advantage in a furious battle. About one-fourth of McClellan's division was destroyed in the attack made upon it. The Fourteenth Alabama Regiment was cut to pieces. Eight hundred and sixty out of the 1,400 who crossed the Chickahominy were lost. The battle is sometimes called the Battle of White Oak Swamp.

FREDERICKSBURG (Va.), BATTLE OF.—The authorities at Washington were dissatisfied with the lack of vigor shown by Gen. McClellan after the battle of Antietam (Sept. 16-17, 1862), and on Nov. 7 following he was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac. His successor was Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, who undertook a midwinter campaign against Lee. The losses of Antietam were more than made good by recruitment and the army was augmented to 110,000 men. It was reorganized into three grand divisions, each consisting of two corps. These were commanded by Hooker, Sumner, and Franklin. Soon after the middle of November Burnside marched his army to Falmouth, on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, nearly opposite Fredericksburg, which point he had chosen to effect a crossing. There was a long delay in getting the pontoon trains from Washington, and Lee marched from Culpeper, where his army had occupied a position of observation, to Fredericksburg. The Confederate troops were strongly posted on the commanding hills behind the town. In the face of a galling fire from a heavy line of Confederate pickets that fringed the south bank, Burnside succeeded in laying his pontoons

and the greater part of his army crossed during Dec. 11 and 12. Lee was content to await the Federal attack. The battle took place on the 13th. On the part of the Federals it was a series of disconnected assaults upon the enemy's position, by different corps, acting without coöperation. The fighting was fierce and bloody. The assailants showed the utmost valor, but they strove in vain to ascend the slopes that were swept by murderous storms from artillery and musketry. The Confederates had little difficulty in repelling all of the successive attacks. Gen. Lee stated in his official report that he did not find it necessary to put into action more than 20,000 men—scarcely more than a quarter of his army. On the 14th and 15th the Federals asked a truce for the burial of the dead, and it was granted. During the night of the 15th Burnside recrossed his army to the north bank and took up his bridges. The Federal loss was 1,284 killed, 9,600 wounded, and 1,769 missing, a total of 12,653. The loss of the Confederates was about half as large—a total of 5,377. A few days later Burnside attempted another movement but was compelled to abandon it by reason of a severe and protracted storm that made the roads impassable and caused great suffering to his troops. He put the army into winter quarters at Falmouth, and on Jan. 25 was relieved of the command, at his own request. He was succeeded by Gen. Joseph Hooker.

FREED MEN'S BUREAU.—This was formerly a branch of the War Department of the United States. It was organized by an act of Congress in 1865 on the last day of the Thirty-eighth Congress. It was designed for the relief of freed men and refugees, and included among the latter, those white men who were driven from their homes on account of their loyalty to the Union. The bureau had control and management of all the abandoned lands, and of all subjects relating to refugees and freed men from rebel states. The commissioner was appointed by the President under confirmation by the Senate. The Secretary of War had power to make such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel as were necessary for the immediate relief of the sufferers, their wives, and children. The President had power to appoint an assistant commissioner for each state, not to exceed ten. The abandoned lands were to be assigned in lots of no more than forty acres to a person, who should be protected in the use and enjoyment of it for a period of three years at an annual rental not to exceed 6% of its value. The first commissioner was Major-general O. O. Howard. In five years, 4,239 schools were established, 9,307 teachers employed, and 247,333 pupils instructed. The bureau was in existence until 1870, and during that time it handled a fund of over

\$20,000,000 raised by grants, bounties, and prizes, and was instrumental in relieving the vast amount of temporary distress.

FRENCH, WILLIAM HENRY.—Born, 1815; died, 1881. An officer of the U. S. army. He graduated at West Point in 1857, served in the Seminole War in Florida, and as aide to Gen. Pierce in the Mexican War; was made a brigadier-general of volunteers in 1861, and major-general in 1862; served in the Peninsular, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and other campaigns in Virginia; was retired in 1880.

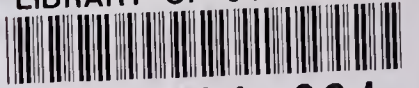
GAINES'S MILL (Va.), BATTLE of—One of the series of engagements known as the Seven Days' Battles, during the Federal retreat down the Peninsula, after the failure of McClellan's attempt to reach Richmond (May-June, 1862). June 27, the day following the battle of Mechanicsville, the corps of Gen. Fitz-John Porter took position at Gaines's Mill, where it was attacked by the Confederate corps of A. P. Hill. Porter was reinforced by Slocum, increasing his force to 35,000, and "Stonewall" Jackson joined Hill, swelling the Confederate strength to nearly 60,000. The action was desperate and sanguinary, and continued till dark. The Federals were outnumbered, but succeeded in holding the enemy in check sufficiently to pass the artillery and wagon trains of the army across the Chickahominy, to defeat which was the aim of the Confederates. The latter lost 3,300 men, while the loss of the Federals was nearly 7,000, including 900 killed. The Confederates captured twenty-two cannon.

GARESCHÉ, JULIUS P.—An American soldier. He was chief of staff to Gen. Rosecrans, with the rank of colonel. At the battle of Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862, while riding by the side of his chief across a field swept by the Confederate fire, he was literally beheaded by a cannon ball. He was an officer of very high soldierly and scholarly attainments. He was born in Cuba in 1821.

GARLAND, AUGUSTUS HILL.—(1832-1899.) He was a member of the Confederate Congress, elected governor of Arkansas in 1875, U. S. Senator from Arkansas (1877-85), and attorney-general (1885-89).



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